

POHNPEI SOHTE EHU:
A SURVEY- AND INTERVIEW-BASED APPROACH TO LANGUAGE ATTITUDES ON POHNPEI

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN
LINGUISTICS
MAY 2018

by
Bradley T. Rentz

Dissertation committee:

Andrea Berez-Kroeker, Chairperson
Amy Schafer
Christina Higgins
Emelihter Kihleng
David Hanlon

To the people of Pohnpei. Kalahngan en kupwuramwail.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help of many people. First, I would like to thank my many friends, colleagues, coworkers, and research assistants on Pohnpei who have graciously hosted, helped, challenged, and supported me on Pohnpei (in no particular order): Carisma Jano, Diana Shigeta, Bernie Helstrom, Rofino, Carvy Hadley, Jade Hadley, Maynard Rodriguez, Banae Kilmete, Cartina Aisek, Celine Fermill, Dave Andrus, Paulina Andon, Yasinda Suzuki, Emy Musrasrik, Jordan Panuelo, Ken Urumolug, Staylor Elidok, Sam Pomplon, Brian Mahoney, Molly Barrett, Rachael Laustrup, Janelle Pety, Janette Fradejas, Sophie Robert, Ignacia Robert, Russell Figueras, Robert Andreas, Damian Sohl, Maire Dwyer, Jacqueline Hazen, Merlynn Abello-Alfonso, Maryann Eperiam, Rana Lai, Chanelle Tallon, Fran Hezel, Josh Levy, Delihna Ehmes, Alice Ehmes, Meredith Pentzien, Nicole McCoy, Kristin Dennis, Brittany Bachant, Elee Shepherd, Claire Burkemper, and many others whose names I have inadvertently missed. Without their significant help and encouragement, I would not have been able to complete this dissertation. *Kalahngan en kupwur koaruhsiehn.*

I would also like to thank the many people at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa who have helped me develop as a linguist. In particular, I would like to thank the amazing chair of my dissertation and my mentor, Andrea Berez-Kroeker, for her constant support and encouragement over the years to forge my own academic path. I would also like to thank Ken Rehg for his guidance and many stories about Pohnpei as I started my academic journey as an MA student at UH. Many thanks are also due to the rest of my committee members, Amy Schafer, Christina Higgins, Emelihter Kihleng, and David Hanlon, for their insights and help in making this dissertation a much better research project. I of course must thank my many friends and colleagues while at UH who have supported me in so many ways and have helped make these past five years so much more enjoyable: Blaine Saito, Brenda Clark, Sam Rarrick, Claire Stabile, Bryn Hauk, Raina Heaton, Catherine Lee, Amanda Brockway, Dannii Yarbrough, Thomas Kettig, Emerson Odango, Kavon Hooshier, John Elliott, Anna Belew, Victoria Chen, Amber Camp, Ryan Henke, Mihoko Sawada, Kirsten Helgeson, Brittany Wilson, Leah Pappas, Nik Toler, Ashleigh Smith, Sejung Yang, Katie Gao, Eve Okura, Nozomi Tanaka, John Van Way, Melody Ross, Noella Handley, James Grama, Hiroko Sato, Colleen Patton, Victoria Anderson, Gary Holton, William O’Grady, Brad McDonnell, and many others. Special thanks as well to Noella

Handley for graciously copyediting most of this dissertation. This project was also graciously funded by Bilinski Educational Foundation.

On O‘ahu, I would also like to thank Jocelyn Howard, Kathy Martin, Keola Diaz, Vid Raatior, Jojo Peter, Yoana Amond, Trevor Mailipiy, Vicky Primo, and all the staff at We Are Oceania.

I would also like to thank my undergraduate advisors at Marquette University, Steven Hartman Keiser and John Pustejovsky, for getting me started on my linguistic journey, as well as Chris Stockdale who first taught me what good scientific research is.

Of course, none of this would have been possible without the love and support of my family, especially my parents.

Abstract

This dissertation provides an analysis of language attitudes of 1.3% of the adult population of the island of Pohnpei in the Federated States of Micronesia. It presents both quantitative survey and qualitative interview data collected July–August 2016 and July–August 2017. The results are situated within a poststructuralist, postcolonial theoretical framework that critically evaluates the colonial history of the island and its ideological effects on language use, as well as highlighting the diversity of opinions found on the island. Because of this framework, the dissertation does not aim to construct a monolithic narrative of language attitudes on Pohnpei, but rather seeks diversity wherever possible. To carry out these goals, the dissertation adapts quantitative methods (multidimensional scaling, cluster analyses, correspondence analysis, and poststratified Bayesian generalized hierarchical modeling) and combines them with critical theoretical tools such as sociolinguistic scale and translanguaging.

The results showed two main different ideological groups both in terms of language use and language attitude patterns. Both groups highly value Pohnpeian, English, and other local languages generally. However, the first group values English over Pohnpeian and other local languages. They in general only use Pohnpeian to connect with Pohnpeians and in situations related to the soupeidi system, but use English for most other situations including education, work, media, and government. This group's language use patterns with scale-based language ideologies, where local levels of scale (such as family and kousapw) are highly multilingual, but become increasingly monolingual as scale increases toward the translocal level. The other group, conversely, finds Pohnpeian to be the most important language for them overall and tend to find Pohnpeian to be the most important language in every domain.

The results of the dissertation indicate a disconnect between the current mostly monolingual English-focused educational practices among both private and public schools on Pohnpei and the desire of the research participants for greater use of Pohnpeian and other local languages. The current educational system likewise devalues the symbolic resources of its students, which has perpetuated negative ideologies about local languages. These ideologies adversely affect both the students and the linguistic future of local languages including Pohnpeian.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	ii
Abstract	iv
List of Figures	xiii
List of Tables	xviii
List of Excerpts	xx
List of Abbreviations	xxi
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Research questions	2
1.2 Structure of the dissertation	3
1.3 Delimitation of the study	3
2 Review of the literature	5
2.1 Poststructuralism	5
2.1.1 Relativity and subjectivity	5
2.1.2 Deconstruction	6
2.1.3 Iterability	6
2.1.4 Heteroglossia	7
2.1.5 Indexicality	7
2.1.6 Symbolic capital and symbolic violence	8
2.1.7 Sociolinguistic scale	9
2.1.8 Language ideology	10
2.1.9 Identity	12
2.2 Postcolonialism	14
2.2.1 Decolonizing research	14
2.2.2 Postcolonial Pacific literature	15
2.2.3 Thirdspace	16
2.2.4 Linguabridity	17
2.2.5 Translanguaging	18

2.3	Language attitudes	19
2.3.1	Positivist language attitudes studies	19
2.3.1.1	Direct methods	20
2.3.1.2	Indirect method	23
2.3.1.3	Other positivist studies	24
2.3.2	Poststructuralist language attitudes studies	25
2.3.2.1	Methods	26
2.3.3	Critiques of both camps	31
2.3.4	Hybrid methodologies	32
2.3.4.1	Analyzing language attitudes via discourse analysis	32
2.3.4.2	Analyzing language attitudes quantitatively	34
3	Environment of the study	36
3.1	Pohnpei's geopolitical context	36
3.2	Pohnpeian political ideologies	42
3.3	Religion	43
3.4	Education policies	45
3.5	Ethnicity and identity	53
3.6	Globalization and media	56
3.7	Linguistic context	56
3.7.1	Pohnpeian orthography	57
3.7.2	Pohnpeian language grammatical overview	59
3.7.3	Honorific registers	60
3.7.4	Pohnpeian dialects	61
3.7.5	Literature in and on languages of Pohnpei State	61
3.7.5.1	Pohnpeian	61
3.7.5.2	Pingelapese	63
3.7.5.3	Mwokilese	63
3.7.5.4	Mortlockese	63
3.7.5.5	Nukuoran	63
3.7.5.6	Kapingamarangi	64
4	Methodology	65
4.1	Positionality	65
4.2	Quantitative analysis	67
4.2.1	The problems with categories	67
4.2.2	Materials	68
4.2.2.1	Design of survey instrument one	68
4.2.2.1.1	Demographics	68
4.2.2.1.1.1	Age (1.1)	69
4.2.2.1.1.2	Gender (1.2)	69
4.2.2.1.1.3	Birth location (1.3)	70

4.2.2.1.1.4	Island of origin (1.4)	71
4.2.2.1.1.5	Village of origin (1.5)	71
4.2.2.1.1.6	Citizenship (1.6)	71
4.2.2.1.1.7	Current municipality on Pohnpei (1.7)	72
4.2.2.1.1.8	Current village (1.8)	72
4.2.2.1.1.9	Length of time in FSM (1.9)	72
4.2.2.1.1.10	Length of time in Pohnpei State (1.10)	73
4.2.2.1.1.11	Length of time in current place (1.11)	73
4.2.2.1.1.12	Travel abroad (1.12)	73
4.2.2.1.1.13	Description of travel abroad (1.13)	74
4.2.2.1.1.14	Highest level of education completed (1.14)	74
4.2.2.1.1.15	Type of elementary school (1.15)	74
4.2.2.1.1.16	Type of high school (1.16)	75
4.2.2.1.1.17	Number of children (1.17)	75
4.2.2.1.1.18	Current occupation (1.18)	75
4.2.2.1.1.19	Mother's occupation (1.19)	75
4.2.2.1.1.20	Father's occupation (1.20)	76
4.2.2.1.1.21	Mother's home island and village (1.21)	76
4.2.2.1.1.22	Father's home island and village (1.22)	76
4.2.2.1.2	Language background	76
4.2.2.1.2.1	First language (2.1)	77
4.2.2.1.2.2	Other languages spoken well (2.2)	77
4.2.2.1.2.3	Ability to speak meing (2.3)	77
4.2.2.1.2.4	Other languages spoken a little (2.4)	78
4.2.2.1.2.5	Mother's languages (2.5)	78
4.2.2.1.2.6	Father's languages (2.6)	78
4.2.2.1.2.7	Languages want to know better (2.7)	78
4.2.2.1.2.8	Languages that want your children to know (2.8)	79
4.2.2.1.2.9	Languages teachers used in K–8th grade (2.9)	79
4.2.2.1.2.10	Languages teachers used in high school (2.10)	80
4.2.2.1.2.11	Languages teachers used in college (2.11)	80
4.2.2.1.2.12	Languages used with family (2.12)	80
4.2.2.1.2.13	Languages used with friends (2.13)	80
4.2.2.1.2.14	Languages used with foreigners (2.14)	81
4.2.2.1.2.15	Languages used at work (2.15)	81
4.2.2.1.2.16	Languages used at school (2.16)	81
4.2.2.1.2.17	Languages used at home (2.17)	81
4.2.2.1.3	Language attitudes	82
4.2.2.1.3.1	Language importance by domain (3.1.1–3.3.7)	83
4.2.2.1.3.2	Agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei (3.4.1–3.4.38)	85

4.2.2.1.3.3	Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian (3.5.1–3.5.27) . . .	88
4.2.2.1.3.4	Choosing words to describe Pohnpeian and English languages (3.6 and 3.7)	89
4.2.2.2	Design of survey instrument two	90
4.2.2.2.1	Demographics	90
4.2.2.2.2	Language background	90
4.2.2.2.3	Language attitudes	90
4.2.2.2.3.1	Agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei	90
4.2.2.2.3.2	Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian	91
4.2.2.3	Translation	93
4.2.2.4	Survey ‘reliability’	94
4.2.3	Procedure	95
4.2.3.1	Survey administration	95
4.2.3.2	Data processing	96
4.2.3.3	Data missingness and data imputation	97
4.2.3.4	Poststratification	99
4.2.4	Analyses	100
4.2.4.1	Hierarchical regression modeling	101
4.2.4.1.1	Hierarchical poisson modeling	104
4.2.4.1.2	Hierarchical negative binomial modeling	110
4.2.4.1.3	Hierarchical cumulative link modeling	111
4.2.4.2	Multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis	112
4.2.4.3	Correspondence analysis	116
4.3	Qualitative analysis	118
4.3.1	Interview questions	119
4.3.2	Procedure	121
4.3.3	Analysis	121
5	Questionnaire results	122
5.1	Respondents	122
5.1.1	Language Background	126
5.1.1.1	Reported language use by domain	136
5.2	Descriptive statistics for language attitudes	137
5.2.1	Language importance by domain	137
5.2.2	Agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei	143
5.2.2.1	Multilingualism	144
5.2.2.2	Identity	147
5.2.2.3	Education	149
5.2.2.4	Utility	150

5.2.2.5	Question that differed in versions 1 and 2	151
5.2.2.6	Questions only in version 2	151
5.2.2.6.1	Identity	151
5.2.2.6.2	Education	153
5.2.3	Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian	154
5.2.3.1	Positive characteristics	154
5.2.3.2	Neutral characteristics	156
5.2.3.3	Negative characteristics	156
5.2.3.4	Question that is different in version 1 and 2	157
5.2.3.5	Questions only in version 2	158
5.2.3.6	Summary of responses	158
5.3	Hierarchical regression modeling	159
5.3.1	Hierarchical poisson and negative binomial modeling	159
5.3.1.1	English selections	160
5.3.1.1.1	Age and gender	160
5.3.1.1.2	Birth location and travel abroad	163
5.3.1.1.3	Years on Pohnpei and Meing ability	164
5.3.1.1.4	Education level and type of schools	165
5.3.1.1.5	Current municipality (grouping variable)	166
5.3.1.1.6	Summary of meaningful predictors for English selections	167
5.3.1.2	Pohnpeian selections	167
5.3.1.2.1	Age and gender	168
5.3.1.2.2	Birth location and travel abroad	169
5.3.1.2.3	Years on Pohnpei and Meing ability	170
5.3.1.2.4	Education level and type of schools	171
5.3.1.2.5	Current municipality (grouping variable)	173
5.3.1.2.6	Summary of meaningful predictors for Pohnpeian se- lections	174
5.3.1.3	All other language selections	174
5.3.1.3.1	Age and gender	175
5.3.1.3.2	Birth location and travel abroad	175
5.3.1.3.3	Years on Pohnpei and Meing ability	176
5.3.1.3.4	Education level and type of schools	177
5.3.1.3.5	Current municipality (grouping variable)	178
5.3.1.3.6	Summary of meaningful predictors for all other lan- guages selections	178
5.3.2	Hierarchical cumulative link modeling	179
5.3.2.1	Age and gender	181
5.3.2.2	Birth location and travel abroad	182
5.3.2.3	Years on Pohnpei	183
5.3.2.4	Education level and types of schools	184
5.3.2.5	Current municipality (grouping variable)	186

5.3.2.6	Summary of meaningful predictors for Meing HCLM	186
5.4	Multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis	187
5.4.1	Language importance by domain	188
5.4.1.1	Social solidarity	188
5.4.1.2	Occupation	190
5.4.1.3	Education	192
5.4.1.4	Media	193
5.4.1.5	Pohnpei-specific	194
5.4.1.6	General	196
5.4.1.7	Summary	196
5.4.2	Agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei	197
5.4.2.1	Multilingualism	198
5.4.2.2	Identity	201
5.4.2.3	Education	203
5.4.2.4	Utility	205
5.4.2.5	Summary	208
5.4.2.6	Questions only in version 2	209
5.4.2.6.1	Identity	210
5.4.2.6.2	Education	212
5.4.2.6.3	Summary	213
5.4.3	Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian	213
5.4.3.1	Positive	214
5.4.3.2	Neutral	217
5.4.3.3	Negative	218
5.4.3.4	Summary	219
5.4.3.5	Questions only in version 2	220
5.5	Correspondence analysis	220
5.5.1	Reported language use	222
5.5.2	Language importance by domain	226
5.5.3	Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian	232
5.5.3.1	Version 2 only	236
6	Interview results	241
6.1	Interview participants	241
6.2	Domain-based attitudes	243
6.2.1	Family	243
6.2.2	Education	249
6.2.3	Work	279
6.2.4	Church	290
6.2.5	Around Pohnpei: public domains	297
6.2.6	Media	317
6.2.7	Languages for the FSM	320

6.2.8	Future of Pohnpeian	326
6.3	Summary	336
7	Discussion	339
7.1	Synthesis of quantitative and qualitative findings	339
7.1.1	Language use	339
7.1.1.1	What languages are spoken?	340
7.1.1.2	Who speaks which language?	340
7.1.1.3	Where are the languages likely to be spoken?	344
7.1.1.3.1	Social solidarity	344
7.1.1.3.2	Pohnpei-specific	346
7.1.1.3.3	Occupation	349
7.1.1.3.4	Education	350
7.1.1.3.5	Media	353
7.1.1.3.6	General	354
7.1.1.3.7	Summary	354
7.1.1.4	Meing	355
7.1.2	Other language attitudes	356
7.1.2.1	Attitudes about languages spoken on Pohnpei	356
7.1.2.1.1	Multilingualism	357
7.1.2.1.2	Identity	359
7.1.2.1.3	Education	366
7.1.2.1.4	Utility	368
7.1.2.2	Perceived characteristics of speakers of languages on Pohnpei	369
7.1.2.2.1	Perceived characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers	370
7.1.2.2.1.1	Attitudes toward Kitti dialects	373
7.1.2.2.2	Attitudes toward Pingelapese and Mwokilese speakers	373
7.1.2.2.3	Attitudes toward English speakers	374
7.1.3	Discussion of analysis methods	375
7.2	Sociolinguistic scales on Pohnpei	376
7.3	Language and education	386
7.4	Future of the Pohnpeian language	388
7.5	Limitations of the study	391
8	Conclusion	393
8.1	Research questions revisited	393
8.2	Summary of the study	395
8.3	Contributions of the study	396
8.4	Directions for future work	398
	Appendices	399
A	Interview transcription system	400

B Survey instrument one	401
C Survey instrument two, version A	408
D Survey instrument two, version B	418
E Interview with DE transcript	428
F Interview with PR transcript	441
G Interview with TK transcript	488
H Interview with MK transcript	504
I Interview with RK transcript	518
J Interview with CE transcript	540
K Interview with DI transcript	563
L Interview with JN transcript	587
References	613

List of Figures

2.1	Stance triangle (Du Bois 2007: 163)	33
3.1	Map of the island of Pohnpei	37
3.2	Map of the Federated States of Micronesia	38
3.3	Kolonia’s main street in 2016	39
3.4	Sokehs rock	39
3.5	Yams presented at a kamadipw	41
3.6	Ruins of German Catholic cathedral	46
3.7	Ruins of Japanese WWII anti-aircraft gun on Sokehs island	50
3.8	Pohnpei Catholic School (K–8th grade) in Kolonia	53
3.9	Pohnpei Catholic School classroom	54
3.10	Estimated relative relationships between ‘Micronesian’ languages	58
3.11	Sign in Pohnpeian for a law firm in Kolonia in 2011	62
4.1	Survey administers in 2017	97
4.2	SDAPS workflow (Berg & Schwenk 2015)	98
4.3	Example of k-NN (Anjanki 2007)	99
4.4	Normal distribution probability density function (Roberts & Roberts 2017)	105
4.5	Poisson probability mass function	106
4.6	Posterior distributions of the sample HPM	109
4.7	Posterior distributions for universities	110
4.8	An example of proportional odds (Halpin 2012)	111
4.9	HCLM output	113
4.10	An example of MDS with 3 PAM clusters	115
4.11	Sample question responses grouped by PAM clusters	116
4.12	Sample CA for domain-based language importance	118
4.13	Sample hierarchical clustering of CA	119
5.1	Map of respondents’ current section of residence on Pohnpei	123
5.2	Reported first languages of respondents	127
5.3	Reported other languages spoken well by respondents	128
5.4	Reported other languages spoken a little by respondents	129
5.5	L1s and L2s of respondents compared	130
5.6	Reported level of Meing knowledge	131

5.7	Reported languages of respondents' mothers	132
5.8	Reported languages of respondents' fathers	133
5.9	Comparison of parents' languages	134
5.10	Languages the respondents want to know better	135
5.11	Reported language use in education domains	137
5.12	Reported language use in relationships	138
5.13	Reported language use at work and with foreigners	139
5.14	Language importance for social solidarity domains	140
5.15	Language importance for occupation domains	141
5.16	Language importance for education domains	142
5.17	Language importance for media domains	143
5.18	Language importance for Pohnpei-specific domains	144
5.19	Language importance for general domains	145
5.20	Agreement with statements about multilingualism	146
5.21	Agreement with statements about language and identity	148
5.22	Agreement with statements about language and education	149
5.23	Agreement with statements about the utility of languages	150
5.24	Agreement with statements that only occurred in one version	151
5.25	Agreement with statements about language and identity (version 2 only)	152
5.26	Agreement with statements about language and education (version 2 only)	153
5.27	Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian	155
5.28	Level of agreement with neutral characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian	156
5.29	Level of agreement with negative characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian	157
5.30	Level of agreement with question 3.5.10_1	158
5.31	Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian (ver- sion 2 only)	158
5.32	Posterior distributions for age and gender for English HPM	162
5.33	Posterior distributions for birth location and travel abroad for English HPM	163
5.34	Posterior distributions for years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability for English HPM	164
5.35	Posterior distributions for education level and types of school for English HPM	165
5.36	Posterior distributions for current municipality for English HPM	167
5.37	Posterior distributions for age and gender for Pohnpeian HPM	170
5.38	Posterior distributions for birth location and travel abroad for Pohnpeian HPM	171
5.39	Posterior distributions for years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability for Pohn- peian HPM	172
5.40	Posterior distributions for education level and types of school for Pohnpeian HPM	173
5.41	Posterior distributions for current municipality for Pohnpeian HPM	174
5.42	Posterior distributions for age and gender for other languages HNBM	177
5.43	Posterior distributions for birth location and travel abroad for other languages HNBM	178

5.44	Posterior distributions for years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability for other languages HNBM	179
5.45	Posterior distributions for education level and types of school for other languages HNBM	180
5.46	Posterior distributions for current municipality for other languages HNBM	181
5.47	Posterior distributions for age and gender for Meing HCLM	183
5.48	Posterior distributions for birth location and travel abroad for Meing HCLM . . .	184
5.49	Posterior distributions for years on Pohnpei for Meing HCLM	185
5.50	Posterior distributions for education level and types of school for Meing HCLM .	186
5.51	Posterior distributions for current municipality for Meing HCLM	187
5.52	MDS of language importance by domains by PAM cluster	189
5.53	Language importance for social solidarity domains by PAM cluster	190
5.54	Language importance for occupation domains by PAM cluster	191
5.55	Language importance for education domains by PAM cluster	192
5.56	Language importance for media domains by PAM cluster	194
5.57	Language importance for Pohnpei-specific domains by PAM cluster	195
5.58	Language importance for general domains by PAM cluster	197
5.59	MDS of statements about languages on Pohnpei by PAM cluster	198
5.60	Agreement with statements about multilingualism for PAM cluster 1	199
5.61	Agreement with statements about multilingualism for PAM cluster 2	200
5.62	Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 1 (part 1)	202
5.63	Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 1 (part 2)	203
5.64	Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 2 (part 1)	204
5.65	Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 2 (part 2)	205
5.66	Agreement with statements about language and education for PAM cluster 1 . . .	206
5.67	Agreement with statements about language and education for PAM cluster 2 . . .	206
5.68	Agreement with statements about the utility of languages for PAM cluster 1 . . .	207
5.69	Agreement with statements about the utility of languages for PAM cluster 2 . . .	208
5.70	MDS of statements about languages on Pohnpei by PAM cluster (version 2)	209
5.71	Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 1 (version 2 only) [part 1 of 2]	210
5.72	Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 1 (version 2 only) [part 2 of 2]	211
5.73	Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 2 (version 2 only) [part 1 of 2]	211
5.74	Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 2 (version 2 only) [part 2 of 2]	212
5.75	Agreement with statements about language and education for PAM cluster 1 (version 2 only)	213
5.76	Agreement with statements about language and education for PAM cluster 2 (version 2 only)	213
5.77	MDS of level of agreement of characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers by PAM cluster	214

5.78	Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1 (part 1 of 2)	215
5.79	Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1 (part 2 of 2)	215
5.80	Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2 (part 1 of 2)	216
5.81	Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2 (part 2 of 2)	216
5.82	Level of agreement with neutral characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1	217
5.83	Level of agreement with neutral characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2	218
5.84	Level of agreement with negative characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1	218
5.85	Level of agreement with negative characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2	219
5.86	MDS of level of agreement of characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers by PAM cluster (version 2)	221
5.87	Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1 (version 2 only)	221
5.88	Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2 (version 2 only)	222
5.89	CA plot of dimensions 1 and 2 for reported language use	223
5.90	Languages than contributed to dimension 1 of the reported language use CA	224
5.91	Domains than contributed to dimension 1 of the reported language use CA	225
5.92	Domain clusters for the reported language use CA	226
5.93	CA plot of dimensions 1 and 2 for language importance by domain	227
5.94	Languages that contributed to dimension 1 for the language importance by domain CA	228
5.95	Domains that contributed to dimension 1 for the language importance by domain CA	229
5.96	Plot of hierarchical clusters for language importance by domain CA	230
5.97	CA plot of dimensions 1 and 2 for level of agreement of characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers	232
5.98	Responses that contributed to dimension 1 for the level of agreement with characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA	233
5.99	Characteristics that contributed to dimension 1 for the level of agreement with characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA	234
5.100	Plot of hierarchical clusters for characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA	235
5.101	CA plot of dimensions 1 and 2 for level of agreement of characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers (version 2 only)	237

5.102	Responses that contributed to dimension 1 for the level of agreement with characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA (version 2 only)	238
5.103	Characteristics that contributed to dimension 1 for the level of agreement with characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA (version 2 only)	239
5.104	Plot of hierarchical clusters for characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA (version 2 only)	240
6.1	Network map of languages and their situations used from interviews	337
7.1	Sociolinguistic scale system on Pohnpei	382
7.2	Percentage of Pohnpei proper population who speaks Pohnpei or English at home over time	390

List of Tables

3.1	Overview of language educational policies on Pohnpei	45
3.2	Pohnpeian orthography	58
4.1	Domain-based language choices	84
4.2	Statements about languages on Pohnpei	87
4.3	Characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers	89
4.4	New statements about languages on Pohnpei	91
4.5	Translated characteristics (new ones in bold, changes in italics)	92
4.6	Survey administrators	95
4.7	Statistical analyses and the questions they answer	101
4.8	Measurement scale properties (Howell 2013)	104
4.9	Sample HPM output	107
4.10	Explanation of sample HPM parameters	108
4.11	Sample HPM output	112
4.12	Sample Gower dissimilarity matrix	113
4.13	Sample contingency table	117
5.1	Non-weighted respondent demographics	124
5.2	Non-weighted respondent demographics by current municipality	125
5.3	Weighted respondent demographics	126
5.4	Number of languages spoken by respondents	130
5.5	Reported level of Meing knowledge	131
5.6	Count of language selections summary	160
5.7	English HPM posterior summary	161
5.8	English HPM meaningful predictors	168
5.9	Pohnpeian HPM posterior summary	169
5.10	Pohnpeian HPM meaningful predictors	175
5.11	Other languages HNBM posterior summary	176
5.12	All other languages HNBM meaningful predictors	179
5.13	Report Meing ability HCLM posterior summary	182
5.14	Meing HCLM meaningful predictors	187
6.1	Summary information of interview participants	242
6.2	Domains contained in each language “community” of the network plot	338

List of Excerpts

6.1	BR1-22 00:03:46.4–00:03:54.6	244
6.2	BR1-22 00:52:29.6–00:53:21.9	244
6.3	BR1-22 00:49:43.2–00:50:50.3	244
6.4	BR1-28 00:00:59.3–00:01:34.4	246
6.5	BR1-21 00:01:57.9–00:02:06.0	246
6.6	BR1-25 00:01:55.5–00:02:40.4	247
6.7	BR1-25 00:11:46.5–00:12:25.3	247
6.8	BR1-27 00:16:48.1–00:17:35.1	248
6.9	BR1-29 00:02:23.5–00:02:54.8	248
6.10	BR1-22 00:02:31.3–00:03:43.2	249
6.11	BR1-22 00:23:36.8–00:25:26.1	250
6.12	BR1-22 00:04:30.4–00:07:07.0	252
6.13	BR1-22 00:16:01.1–00:18:16.0	254
6.14	BR1-22 00:18:55.3–00:20:11.5	256
6.15	BR1-23 00:09:16.3–00:10:36.1	257
6.16	BR1-25 00:02:40.3–00:04:28.4	258
6.17	BR1-29 00:03:26.5–00:06:00.7	260
6.18	BR1-29 00:08:51.8–00:13:56.2	262
6.19	BR1-28 00:09:12.3–00:10:29.2	265
6.20	BR1-28 00:14:06.1–00:15:42.4	266
6.21	BR1-27 00:05:13.2–00:13:54.2	268
6.22	BR1-27 00:18:37.5–00:19:30.4	272
6.23	BR1-27 00:23:09.3–00:24:54.4	273
6.24	BR1-27 00:47:13.8–00:48:01.3	273
6.25	BR1-21 00:02:06.5–00:05:16.3	274
6.26	BR1-21 00:26:19.3–00:27:46.7	275
6.27	BR1-21 00:09:32.5–00:12:57.9	276
6.28	BR1-21 00:22:35.3–00:24:11.7	277
6.29	BR1-26 00:07:45.9–00:09:12.1	279
6.30	BR1-26 00:04:02.4–00:04:28.6	280
6.31	BR1-22 00:03:55.6–00:04:37.2	281
6.32	BR1-22 00:31:28.9–00:33:37.4	282
6.33	BR1-22 00:43:35.5–00:48:29.3	284
6.34	BR1-25 00:12:36.6–00:15:19.6	288

6.35	BR1-21 00:13:18.4–00:20:57.6	290
6.36	BR1-22 00:35:55.3–00:38:16.1	294
6.37	BR1-26 00:19:49.7–00:19:57.5	296
6.38	BR1-26 00:02:12.0–00:02:57.5	296
6.39	BR1-26 00:09:12.4–00:11:11.1	297
6.40	BR1-22 00:38:16.9–00:43:33.5	299
6.41	BR1-25 00:15:22.4–00:19:58.1	304
6.42	BR1-25 00:21:10.9–00:21:55.1	307
6.43	BR1-28 00:13:18.4–00:13:31.5	307
6.44	BR1-28 00:18:13.9–00:22:36.4	308
6.45	BR1-28 00:31:10.0–00:33:16.9	310
6.46	BR1-29 00:30:16.0–00:31:44.1	312
6.47	BR1-29 00:43:02.4–00:47:53.1	313
6.48	BR1-23 00:27:46.1–00:28:56.8	317
6.49	BR1-26 00:17:11.8–00:18:25.6	318
6.50	BR1-25 00:23:16.6–00:24:54.0	319
6.51	BR1-23 00:33:13.3–00:34:51.9	320
6.52	BR1-29 00:49:10.2–00:50:25.9	321
6.53	BR1-22 00:07:9.8–00:12:29.8	323
6.54	BR1-27 00:32:31.4–00:33:18.9	326
6.55	BR1-26 00:11:10.4–00:14:06.1	327
6.56	BR1-25 00:20:00.5–00:21:11.0	328
6.57	BR1-23 00:03:9.6–00:10:4.4	329
6.58	BR1-28 00:33:19.4–00:35:14.4	333
6.59	BR1-28 00:29:06.4–00:30:43.5	334
6.60	BR1-28 00:17:12.3–00:18:12.6	335

List of Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ANOVA	analysis of variance
CA	correspondence analysis
COFA	Compact of Free Association
COM	College of Micronesia
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia
GLM	generalized linear model
HCLM	hierarchical cumulative link modeling
HDI	highest density interval
HNBM	hierarchical negative binomial modeling
HPM	hierarchical poisson modeling
MDS	multidimensional scaling
MGT	matched-guise technique
PAM	partitioning around medoids
PNI	Pohnpei
RMI	Republic of the Marshall Islands
TTPI	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

Chapter 1

Introduction

Pohnpei is the largest volcanic island in the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), which is located in the western Pacific ocean. Pohnpei is home to speakers of many languages, including the indigenous Pohnpeian language (ISO 639-3 pon, Austronesian) as well as languages from neighboring atoll communities. Since the American colonial occupation of the island, starting in the 1940s, English has become increasingly more common on the island. There are also many residents on the island who speak languages from other states of the FSM, as well as neighboring countries, such as the Republic of the Marshall Islands, because Pohnpei houses the capital of the FSM, as well as the regional headquarters of several intergovernmental agencies and NGOs. This is coupled with Pohnpei becoming more directly connected to the outside world with increasing accessibility to high speed internet and mobile data connections, as well as increasing migration to the United States. Because of these factors, Pohnpei is experiencing a time of linguistic flux. However, the effects of these changes on language choices, attitudes, and identities have not been studied.

The title of the dissertation includes a common Pohnpeian phrase, “Pohnpei sohte ehu” (Pohnpei is not one), which has been used historically to refer to Pohnpei’s divided political and cultural structures (see e.g., [Hanlon 1988](#)). However, this phrase is now more than ever relevant to Pohnpei given its increasing ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity over the past few decades. Because of these changes to the island, what it means to be Pohnpeian is also changing. This dissertation in part examines some of the changing language attitudes and linguistic identities on Pohnpei and how they intersect with other changes happening on the island.

Overall, this dissertation provides an analysis of language attitudes on the island of Pohnpei. It presents both quantitative survey and qualitative interview data collected July–August 2016 and July–August 2017. The results are framed with a poststructuralist, postcolonial theoretical framework that critically evaluates the colonial history of the island and its ideological effects on language use. In line with the guiding phrase of Pohnpei sohte ehu, it highlights the diversity of opinions found on the island. Because of this framework, the dissertation does not aim to construct a monolithic narrative

of language attitudes on Pohnpei, but rather seeks diversity wherever possible. To carry out these goals, the dissertation adapts quantitative methods (multidimensional scaling, cluster analyses, correspondence analysis, poststratification, and weighted Bayesian generalized hierarchical modeling) commonly used in other social sciences, but underutilized in linguistic research, and combines them with critical theoretical tools such as sociolinguistic scale and translanguaging. The end goal of this dissertation is to be a useful research document that can benefit the people of Pohnpei by providing meaningful suggestions for institutional changes based off the desires, needs, and experiences with regard to language of the people interviewed and/or surveyed in this dissertation. It does this, though, cognizant of its own limitations and the positionality of the researcher as a mehn wai (foreigner).

The dissertation also fills a major gap in linguistic research about Pohnpei and Oceania in general, since there has been no in-depth research on language attitudes on Pohnpei or in the FSM and very little in Oceania, unlike other regions of the world where numerous studies have been conducted. Researching language attitudes on Pohnpei provides a nuanced understanding of how residents of Pohnpei view the languages around them and how those views affect their everyday life choices and identities. It also examines how institutions both on the island and abroad influence those language attitudes and choices on Pohnpei and vice versa. As such, it provides insight into the extent that those institutions benefit the people of Pohnpei.

This dissertation also discusses the linguistic vitality of Pohnpeian and other languages spoken there, such as Mwokilese and Pingelapese. To this end, it builds upon and provides a much needed update to [Rehg \(1998\)](#) and [Rehg \(2004\)](#), which discuss the linguistic vitality of Pohnpeian based on Rehg's informal observations in the late 1990s.

1.1 Research questions

The primary goal of this dissertation is to understand the language attitudes of the residents of Pohnpei. To do so, I have five main research questions. While this dissertation uses both quantitative and qualitative data, these questions are answered directly by both data types, with each providing difference pieces of the answers.

Research questions:

1. What languages are spoken on Pohnpei and in what domains are they preferred?
2. What are the attitudes of residents of Pohnpei toward the languages spoken?
3. What are the attitudes of residents of Pohnpei toward people who speak those languages?

4. How do these attitudes vary across the island by demographic groups (such as age, gender, municipality of residence, education level, and types of school attended) and across them?
5. How are these attitudes affected by local and translocal institutions and ideologies?

In addition to the main research questions, this dissertation also briefly addresses the implications of the research findings on both the linguistic vitality of the languages spoken on Pohnpei as well as Pohnpei's educational system.

1.2 Structure of the dissertation

In order to answer the research questions, this dissertation contains eight chapters. This first chapter provides introductory material for the dissertation, as well as a roadmap for the study. Chapter 2 summarizes the relevant literature on language attitudes and other theoretical frameworks and tools used in the dissertation. Chapter 3 discusses background information about Pohnpei, its history, and languages spoken there to provide the necessary context for understanding the study. Chapter 4 provides the methodology used in the dissertation. It also includes my positionality statement as the researcher, which frames my methodological decisions. The survey results are presented next in Chapter 5. This chapter is followed by the results from the interviews in Chapter 6. The results from Chapter 5 and 6 are synthesized in Chapter 7. That chapter also provides detailed answers to the research questions, as well as the limitations of the study. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation with concise answers to the research questions, a summary of the findings, the contributions of this study to the field, and directions for future research. The appendices include transcription conventions, copies of the survey instruments, and the full transcripts of the interviews used in the study.

1.3 Delimitation of the study

While this dissertation is about language attitudes on Pohnpei, there are several definitions of what Pohnpei means geographically. For this dissertation I define it as 'Pohnpei proper', which includes only the wehi (municipalities) of Nett, Kolonia, Sokehs, Kitti, Madolenihmw, and Uh. It does not include the neighbor island¹ municipalities of Pohnpei State, which include Pingelap, Mwoakilloa, Sapwuhfik, Nukuoro, and Kapingamarangi. If members of those communities live on Pohnpei proper,

¹In the dissertation I adapt the term 'neighbor islands', which is now used in Hawai'i instead of outer-islands, but is still very common in the literature about Pohnpei and the FSM. The term 'neighbor island' shifts the center away from Pohnpei proper as the discursive norm and treats those atoll communities more as equals, instead of distant, insignificant members of Pohnpei State.

then they are considered within the scope of the project. Since Pohnpei is home to speakers of dozens of languages, it would be difficult to discuss attitudes toward all of the languages spoken there. This study, instead, focuses mostly on attitudes toward Pohnpeian, English and to a lesser extent other indigenous languages of Pohnpei State like Mwokilese and Pingelapese. Other languages are discussed briefly as referenced by the survey respondents or interviewees.

In terms of residents of Pohnpei, the dissertation aims to have a representative sample of all major demographic subgroups found on the island, such as groups based on age, gender, birth location, citizenship, municipality and section of residence, and formal education level. However, only residents 18 years old or older were allowed to participate in the study given limitations by the study's approved IRB. Further limitations of the dissertation are discussed in §7.5.

Chapter 2

Review of the literature

Language attitudes [are] about mobility, diaspora, contacts,...identities and memberships. [They are] about struggles, negotiations, and transformations in multilingual spaces...

Liang (2015: 179)

This chapter is a review of the literature relevant to this dissertation. The chapter first describes the philosophical frameworks that inform the theories and analyses used, starting with poststructuralism in §2.1 and followed by postcolonialism in §2.2. After introducing the philosophical frameworks, it presents theories on language attitudes in §2.3 as well as discourse analysis and quantitative methods for language attitudes in §2.3.4.2.

2.1 Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism is a philosophical movement that heavily influences the research of this dissertation. Poststructuralism is a broad movement that encompasses many, often conflicting ideas. It has influenced many fields, including linguistics. Instead of a general description of poststructuralism, the main concepts relevant to this dissertation are discussed, namely: relativity and subjectivity, deconstruction, heteroglossia, indexicality, symbolic capital and symbolic violence, language ideology, and identity.

2.1.1 Relativity and subjectivity

Poststructuralism is a critique of structuralism and modernism. The earlier structuralist movement was based on the belief that the phenomena of human life have an inherent constant abstract structure that is expressed in 'surface' local variation (Blackburn 1996). From comparing surface forms (whether linguistic, cultural, or otherwise), structuralists believe that universal patterns or rather structures

can be found. In contrast, poststructuralism primarily deals with how reality is talked about and the often hidden power dynamics that create this reality. Poststructuralists critique the structuralist view of a so-called ‘objective’ or ‘universal’ reality, by pointing out that realities are influenced by social and historical forces and that what seems self-evident or objective is merely the result of the power structures of that given place and time and thus there is a *relative, subjective* reality (Kincheloe & McLaren 2005). Furthermore, a centralized power does not directly enforce these Discourses,¹ but rather the people, whom it controls, diffusely recreate and police it (Foucault 1977). Reality is no longer an objective entity to be abstracted, but rather a relative entity (locally situated) that each participant actively creates subjectively.

2.1.2 Deconstruction

Derrida (1976, 1988) expanded the poststructuralist framework to show that words have meaning only in relation to other words as part of a constantly shifting system of meaning. One cannot take a word in isolation and know what it means, because it only has meaning when it is connected to other words and meanings. This means that discourse creates what we view as reality. However, that meaning cannot be fully known or pinned down, since it constantly shifts and evolves. Precisely because of the unstable form of meaning, Derrida states that one can *deconstruct* any text or discourse by pointing out the inherent contradictions that show that it is not a seamless whole (or a stable structure) but rather a series of conflicting interpretations. As a result of this work and works by other poststructuralists like Foucault, a Discourse has been shown to never be a totalizing Discourse (one that is complete, coherent, and stable), but rather incomplete, fractured, unstable, and only partially seen. Likewise, the results of any research project are never complete but rather a partial, subjective view of a given reality.

2.1.3 Iterability

A fundamental aspect of language that stems from deconstruction is its *iterability* (also called citation-ality) (Derrida 1988), which means that language does not start from nothing but rather cites earlier linguistic usages. Silverstein (2005) and Motschenbacher (2016) theorize two aspects of this process: ‘tokens’ and ‘types’. Tokens are the actual contextualized uses of language that “cite the decontextualized discursive materiality (‘types’) that certain forms have gained across a chain of earlier uses

¹There are two forms of the word ‘discourse’ used in the literature: a lower-case ‘d’ discourse and a capital or big ‘D’ Discourse. This convention is orthographically confusing at times, so I will try to avoid it as much as possible. The big D Discourse refers to larger societal discourses, while the lower case use refers to more local or small scale discourses.

(Motschenbacher 2016: 67). This process means that the tokens (actual speech) never have the same exact meaning as the types that they build upon. This idea builds upon and critiques the structuralist view of a linguistic sign having “an arbitrary connection between form and meaning that is regulated by convention” (p. 67), since the connection between form and meaning have their own contextualized histories.. The gap between the ‘tokens’ and the ‘types’ is what allows for language change and creates room for linguistic performativity.

2.1.4 Heteroglossia

Although Mikhail Bakhtin was not a poststructuralist, several poststructuralists have used his theorization of *heteroglossia* (see e.g., Liang (2015), García & Wei (2014), Bourdieu (1991), Fairclough (1989)). Heteroglossia is the idea that: (1) every language has internal diversity (whether class, social, ethnic, political, historical, geographic, or otherwise), (2) a community may also have access to other languages with their own diversity as well, and (3) an individual has multiple ‘voices’ (ways of communicating), whereby they navigate through the complexity of the linguistic resources available to them (Bakhtin 1981). Heteroglossia also implies that language is not neutral but rather completely situated in the ideologies of the speakers, since it exists as a product of the speaker and the context wherein it was uttered (García & Wei 2014). This recognition that every place and person has multiple voices and that language is always contextually situated fits in well with the poststructuralist desire of exposing the power structures, complexity, and contradictions in a given discourse. This tool will be used to examine how people maintain and navigate complex layers of language.

2.1.5 Indexicality

Building on the idea that language is contextually situated, *indexicality* is the process where social meaning gets mapped onto linguistic features (Silverstein 1985, 2005, Ochs 1990, Woolard & Schieffelin 1994, Johnstone 2007). The linguistic features that can bear an indexical relationship can comprise almost every part of language including specific phones (sounds), grammatical forms (e.g., affixes), syntactic patterns (word order differences), and even discursive patterns (e.g., different patterns for different genres of speech). This process occurs through interaction and is in a constant state of flux, being continually renegotiated. These indexical relationships “evoke specific identities...that are socially recognized as characterizing those identities” (De Fina 2013: 42) (see Ochs (1992), Weatherall (2002), Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003), Abbou & Baider (2016) for examples of language indexing gender and sexuality and Johnstone (2007) for examples of indexing localness and geographic place). Ochs (1990) theorizes that there are two general types of indexical relationships: direct and indirect.

Och uses the example of the Japanese participle ‘ze’ to demonstrate these two different levels of indexicality. Direct indexical relationships are unmediated relationships between linguistic forms and context dimensions. The grammatical participle ‘ze’ in Japanese indexes the speaker’s feelings, directly indexing an affect of coarse intensity. Indirect indexical relationships are those that are evoked through the indexing of some other feature. The indirect relationships are constituted by meanings that are conventionally linked to the direct meaning. While ‘ze’ directly indexes an affect of coarse intensity, it also indirectly indexes the Japanese cultural construct of maleness.

2.1.6 Symbolic capital and symbolic violence

Another poststructuralist author, Pierre Bourdieu, looks at the role of normative language and power and coins the term *symbolic capital* to refer to how linguistic practices are a resource (e.g., prestige) (Bourdieu 1991, García 2009a). Symbolic capital, however, is not distributed evenly in a community and leads to *symbolic violence*, which means that dominant ideas are powerful because they are the assumed (and thus hidden) parts of an explicit ideology (Bourdieu 1991, Blackledge 2004). This process, also called hegemony, is where dominant groups exert power over society and whereby one form of language appears to be ‘naturally’ better or more legitimate than other varieties and therefore conveys more status than others (Blackledge 2004). For Bourdieu, symbolic violence comes about as a result of ‘misrecognition’, where the hegemonic language is implicitly (and unquestionably) misrecognized as inherently better than the others; it becomes a matter of common sense and is constantly replicated in areas such as media, education, and politics (Bourdieu 1991, Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). This symbolic domination works by “convincing all participants in an activity that the rules are, in fact, defined by one group as natural, normal, universal, and objective, and that it is in everyone’s interests to accept those rules” (Heller & Martin-Jones 2001: 6). It becomes “common sense in the service of sustaining unequal relations of power” (Fairclough 1989: 84). Both the dominant and the dominated group are complicit in this process, though it often also involves coercion (Blommaert 2005). Hegemony, thus, purports itself to be a totalizing discourse—a seamless, complete, constant, self-evident whole. But like all Discourses, hegemony is not stable and all encompassing. Its control is not complete, and it is rife with contradictions and ambiguities that can lead to counter-narratives (Blommaert 1999, Blackledge 2004). Nonetheless, the common sense nature of hegemony is often used in politics to justify policies and laws that lead to direct discrimination and harm. Language, then, is the vehicle for power, but also for resistance and solidarity (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004, García 2009a).

2.1.7 Sociolinguistic scale

To understand indexicality and symbolic capital adequately, one must take into account *sociolinguistic scale*. Scale in general is the idea that social phenomena are vertically ordered hierarchically starting from the smallest level (local) to the largest level (global) with many intermediate levels (Blommaert 2007, 2010, Dong & Blommaert 2009, Fairclough 2006, Swyngedouw 1996). At each of the levels of the scale there are different symbolic resources available as well as different social, cultural, and linguistic norms (Dong & Blommaert 2009). Sociolinguistic scale focuses on the distribution of symbolic resources. For example, at the smallest local level, one may speak a certain language with one's family, but that language may not be useful at a higher scale such as at school or work. Each of the levels of the scale are also socially constructed through linguistic performance and are available (though not necessarily referenced) in every interaction and space (Blommaert 2007, Dong & Blommaert 2009). Because of this performance, certain linguistic resources become indexically mapped onto certain levels of the scale. That means that space (such as home, work, school, or a grocery store) is never neutral, but rather has specific norms and required linguistic resources in order to adequately perform in that space that coincide with the scales that are present there (Dong & Blommaert 2009). In any given social interaction, one may have to balance the norms and required linguistic resources of multiple scales.

As the level of scale increases, there is more power associated with it (Dong & Blommaert 2009). Typically an increase in power (and scale) correlates with less diversity. For example, at the most local level, there may be much linguistic diversity, but as the scale increases to national or global levels, there are fewer languages that are valued. As scale increases, more linguistic resources are misrecognized—that is to say their inherent value as perfectly functional means of communication is ignored—which leaves their users without linguistic resources and thus unable to perform at that level of scale (Dong & Blommaert 2009). In a given interaction, one who has access to many levels of scale may choose to 'upscale' the conversation to reference higher levels of scale, which may 'outscale' others in the conversation if they do not have access to those scales (Blommaert 2007). An example of upscaling is using professional jargon in a conversation, which can be used with colleagues to discuss their work or can be used to purposely exclude others from the conversation and to show a sense of superior expert knowledge. Institutions, such as education, also often invoke certain levels of scale that exclude some people from engaging it in. Because of this hierarchy, those who only have linguistic resources at lower levels of the scale must learn the linguistic resources of the higher levels if they want to access the higher levels of the scale (Blommaert 2007). However, those higher level resources are often unattainable for those at the lower end of the scale. Blommaert (2007) gives

an example of this where South African youth in the townships recognize that speaking a certain variety of English (i.e., white South African variety) can lead to economic success, but that the variety of English available to them spoken by their teachers is different and ‘substandard’ (marked lower on the scale). Even though the students recognize that a certain variety of English would provide more symbolic capital, they are unable to access it in the institutions and means available to them.

Since sociolinguistic scale is socially constructed, it is not a stable entity. It is constantly being challenged and renegotiated, but also struggling to be maintained by power structures such as the nation-state (Fairclough 2006).

2.1.8 Language ideology

Ideologies are very hard to define and many authors describe them in vastly different ways. The definitions of language ideologies, generally fall into two camps: the cognitive/ideational or the material/practices (Woolard 1998, Blommaert 2005). The first group views ideologies as a set of ideas, knowledge, or socialization experiences that are acquired and retained in the mind that guide a person’s actions, thoughts, and speech (van Dijk 1995). The other group believes ideologies may have a cognitive aspect, but that they stem from political, material, or institutional environments (Blommaert 2005). That is to say “[i]deas operate alongside and inside material conditions and institutions” (p. 163) or as Althusser (1971) puts it, ideologies are the “spontaneous lived experiences” in a particular reality (p. 223). An example of this view of ideology is Foucault’s analysis of Jeremy Bentham’s ‘panopticon’. The panopticon is a specially designed prison where the guards can observe all the prisoners from a single place. A specific kind of knowledge is created through the institution by the material practices of observing and disciplining that are both the product and instrument of new forms of knowledge (Foucault 1977, Blommaert 2005). Blommaert (2005) provides a third camp by combining the two sides of the debate:

A safe position, consequently, may consist in adopting a view of ideologies as materially mediated ideational phenomena. Ideas themselves do not define ideologies; they need to be inserted in material practices of modulation and reproduction. (p. 164)

Ideologies are a layered phenomenon (Blommaert 2005). In virtually every aspect of one’s life there are different ideological norms or rules at play. The norms of the workplace are different from those of the home as are those in a courtroom setting or in a school setting or within a particular religious or social group. A person’s speech and actions in these settings index the ideologies at play in that given situation. One is also able to flout the rules by indexing ideologies that are not normative or appropriate for the given situation. In both situations (following or flouting the norms), one calls

upon and reinforces the hegemonic associations that link utterances to social patterns and structures. These rules though are not typically logical or consistent; ideologies are messy, piecemeal, and rife with contradictions (Woolard 1998). They are like the “cacophony of sounds and signs of a big city street” (Therborn 1980: viii).

As a result of hegemony, speakers of different language varieties are often idealized. A speaker’s behavior can be conflated with their language, and each language or variety has stereotyped idealized persons (Gal & Irvine 1995). These confluations lead to the development of *language ideologies* that “locate linguistic phenomena as part of, and evidence for, what they believe to be systematic behavioral, aesthetic, affective, and moral contrasts among the social groups index” (Irvine & Gal 2000: 37). One example of this hegemony are *raciolinguistic ideologies* where “certain racialized bodies [are conflated] with linguistic deficiency unrelated to any objective linguistic practices...[that result in the production of] racialized speaking subjects who are constructed as linguistically deviant even when engaging in linguistic practices positioned as normative or innovative when produced by privileged white subjects” (Flores & Rosa 2015: 150).

Gal & Irvine 1995 and Irvine & Gal (2000) formulate three processes by which the languages become linked to the ‘nature’ of their speakers: *iconicity*, *fractal recursivity*, and *erasure*.

*Iconicity*² is the process of mapping linguistic practices or varieties onto social groups and practices, so that the linguistic practices appear to represent the inherent nature of the social group (Gal & Irvine 1995).

Fractal recursivity is the process of projecting “an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (Gal & Irvine 1995: 974). This process means that each group can be divided into new groups recursively. Likewise, this process is not stable or fixed but rather constantly shifting. Individuals can also be members of competing groups and use them as “discursive or cultural resources to claim and thus attempt to create shifting ‘communities,’ identities, and selves, at different levels of contrast” (p. 974).

Erasure is the process of rendering some people, activities, or linguistic phenomena invisible (Gal & Irvine 1995). Things that do not fit into the ideology may be ignored or changed into something else that fits. Erasure, though, does not necessarily destroy the entity it is ignoring.

One aspect of language ideology, especially in multilingual communities is *linguistic authority*—that which by virtue of the language they use gives speakers the ability to command and convince an audience (Woolard 2008). For western societies, there are two distinct ideological complexes according to Woolard (2008): authenticity and anonymity. Authenticity “locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community” and “must be perceived as deeply rooted in social and ge-

²Iconicity in this instance can be used almost interchangeably with indexicality.

ographic territory in order to have value” (p. 304). Authentic speech must be ‘from somewhere’ and its significance is often more about signaling who the speaker is rather than what they are saying. Since an ‘authentic’ language variety indexes a particular image of an essentialized person or group, in order for a member of that essentialized group to benefit from that ‘natural’ and ‘authentic’ image, they must sound like that image. In multilingual places, the minority languages often take on the role of authenticity.

In contrast to authenticity, anonymity is the purview of hegemonic languages. Dominant languages appear to be from nowhere. They do not “belong to any identifiable individuals but rather seem to be socially neutral, universally available, natural and objective truths” (Woolard 2008: 306). This anonymity is generated by a misrecognition of the “historical developments and the material power difference between social groups that underpin that authority” (p. 310) and leads to hegemony as a result of ideological erasure (Irvine & Gal 2000).

2.1.9 Identity

The last idea presented in this section is *identity*. Identity for poststructuralists is not something that exists in the mind of an individual but rather emerges from linguistic interaction, a.k.a. discourse, as a social and cultural phenomenon (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). It depends on “context, occasion, and purpose” (Blommaert 2005: 203). Identity, like all discourses, is co-created, constantly shifting, being renegotiated, and is not a single unity. It is not a state (one does not have an identity) but is a process that “takes place in concrete and specific interactional occasions [and] yields constellations of identities instead of individual, monolithic constructs” (De Fina 2013: 42). One constantly produces, enacts, and performs identity that is “an outcome of socially conditioned semiotic work” (Blommaert 2005: 205). These constructed identities encapsulate all areas of life (see e.g., Baker (2008) and Butler (1990) for discussions on the role of language in constructing gender and sexuality)

In order for an identity to be socially salient it has to be both performed and recognized (Blommaert 2005). Because identities have to be recognized by others, an individual is often grouped into identities by others. This grouping into social categories, frequently the result of institutional processes, is called *othering*. Identity, in contrast to what some schools of thought hold (see e.g., Schegloff (1999)), can pre-exist a given interaction. Blommaert (2005) gives an example of a Belgian police officer and a Turkish immigrant interacting. Even though neither participant in the conversation may have overtly ascribed the categories of *police officer*, *Turkish*, or *immigrant* to the other, both are very much aware of the other’s identities and these identities mediate their interaction.

To examine identity in more detail, Bucholtz & Hall (2005) propose five principles for understanding it: emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality, and partialness. They write:

1. *Emergence principle*: Identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon (p. 588).
2. *Positionality principle*: Identities encompass (a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles (p. 592).
3. *Indexicality principle*: Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups (p. 594).
4. *Relationality principle*: Identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations, including similarity/difference [adequation and distinction], genuineness/artifice [authentication and denaturalization], and authority/delegitimacy [authorization and illegitimation] (p. 598).
 - (a) *Adequation and distinction*: Adequation looks for how entities are positioned to be the same. Distinction looks for how they are positioned as different.
 - (b) *Authentication and denaturalization*: Authentication is the process where identities are verified and considered genuine. Denaturalization is the process where the authenticity and seamlessness of an identity is questioned and subverted.
 - (c) *Authorization and illegitimation*: Authorization is the process of affirming an identity through institutionalized power structures and ideology. Illegitimation is the opposite process of using power structures to dismiss, censor, ignore, or otherwise control an identity.
5. *Partialness principle*: Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts (p. 605).

2.2 Postcolonialism

Postcolonialism is a philosophical movement that is both a reaction to colonialism and an active process of decolonization. Postcolonialism sharply critiques western scholarship because of its control and reshaping of knowledge and research. [Said \(1979\)](#) denounces western research for taking knowledge from what the west labels the Orient and twisting it to fit western ideologies and needs. From a postcolonial perspective, research is not just a pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but a political pursuit that has served the needs of the colonizer. The twisting of knowledge by western research legitimizes the role of the colonizer and reshapes the colonized into the images required to justify and maintain their domination. Though many postcolonialist authors have been influenced by poststructuralism, many rightly critique it in that its ideas have been widely shaped by European experiences and has become ‘monological’ and has not incorporated non-Western points of view ([Connell 2007](#)). Many poststructuralists ironically strove for universal tools while simultaneously critiquing universals. At the same time, they failed to understand that all knowledge is locally situated. Their ‘universals’ are really European tools for European problems ([Gandhi 1998](#)).

2.2.1 Decolonizing research

[Tuhiwai Smith \(2012\)](#) and other indigenous researchers have called for a postcolonial, indigenous reshaping of the research process. In this method Indigenous communities are no longer the subjects of research but rather active agents in the research process who shape the research’s goals, outcomes, theories, and conduct. Research should be empowering and done to fit the needs and interests of the community where the research is being conducted. It should also privilege and incorporate local epistemologies (knowledge systems) and voices. Research should be a process that allows Indigenous communities to recover self-determination ([Bishop 2005](#)).

This reshaping of research calls into question who has a right to do research with an indigenous community. The typical western view of research holds that anyone who has an interest and the training to do so has a right to do so. [Narayan \(1993\)](#) reframes who can do research by stating:

what we must focus our attention on is the quality of relations with the people we seek to represent in our texts: are they viewed as mere fodder for professionally self-serving statements about a generalized Other, or are they accepted as subjects with voices, views, and dilemmas—people to whom we are bonded through ties of reciprocity. (p. 672)

For Narayan, one must have the right relationships and intentions to do research with indigenous communities.

But what does this kind of research look like? For example, [Bishop \(2005\)](#) gives five concerns of the Māori for any research project that address what they think research should be like: initiation, benefits, representation, legitimacy, and accountability. *Initiation* focuses on how the research process begins, whose concerns, methods, and interests determine the research outcomes. *Benefits* asks who will actually gain directly from the research and if anyone will be disadvantaged. *Representation* questions how the results are presented and whose interpretation of social reality will be used. *Legitimacy* revolves around what sources of knowledge are or are not seen as authoritative. *Accountability* asks who has control over the entire research process and the distribution of the newly created knowledge.

2.2.2 Postcolonial Pacific literature

Most of the Pacific has unjustly been colonized at some point, Pohnpei included, which has fueled to a new field of Pacific postcolonial literature. One of the leading authors of this genre, Epeli Hau'ofa, has documented how colonizers have reshaped and renamed the Pacific. In so doing, the colonizers have arbitrarily divided it into groups, colonies, and states, separating complex familial, historic, and economic ties. They have also framed Oceania as inherently small, deficient, isolated, and dependent on others ([Jolly 2007](#)). As a response to these views, [Hau'ofa \(1994\)](#) has powerfully written:

Oceania is vast, Oceania is expanding, Oceania is hospitable and generous, Oceania is humanity rising from the depths of brine and regions of fire deeper still, Oceania is us. We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth and together use it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us again, physically and psychologically, in the tiny spaces that we have resisted accepting as our sole appointed places, and from which we have recently liberated ourselves. We must not allow anyone to belittle us again, and take away our freedom. (p. 160)

For Hau'ofa, Oceania is a complex, interconnected, and agentive *Sea of Islands*. He refuses to see Oceania as divided, small, and isolated, but rather a region with a rich history of mobility and connectedness. Research must recognize this and seek it out and be critical of discourses that try to limit and control it.

Other authors have questioned the ways the outside researchers and colonizers have talked about Indigenous cultures by deconstructing the term 'traditional'. [Wendt \(1976\)](#) in particular critiques the 'traditional' by asking the following questions:

- (a) Is there such a creature as *traditional culture*?
- (b) If there is, what period in the growth of a culture is to be called *traditional*?

- (c) If *traditional cultures* do exist in Oceania, to what extent are they colonial creations?
- (d) What is authentic culture?
- (e) Is the differentiation we usually make between the culture(s) of our urban areas (meaning *foreign*) and those of our rural areas (meaning *traditional*) a valid one? (Wendt 1976: 75).

Wendt does not see the term *traditional* as a useful way to talk about Oceanic societies. For him, the *traditional* never existed. It was always just the contemporary way of living. Rather he views the idea of a ‘*traditional*’ culture as just a way of talking about cultural purity and perpetuating the colonial idea of island paradises occupied by noble savages. Instead, he points out that no culture is perfect, even before colonization, and every culture has internal diversity with subcultures. Authentic culture then is defined by what is actually done. It is not a relic of the past and does not have a single definition. Instead of focusing on a nonexistent idyllic, monolithic past, he suggests creating new cultures based on the past, but not revivals, that strive to be more just by removing the bad as well as being “free of the taint of colonialism” (p. 76).

Other authors have also questioned the western view of Pacific literatures. Many outsiders have viewed the Pacific historically as primarily oral, illiterate societies until the arrival of European colonizers. Teaiwa (2010) and Kihleng (2015) demonstrate how many Pacific peoples used technologies similar to writing, such as carvings, weavings, and tattoos, that could semiotically convey linguistic meaning. These technologies and the information they conveyed were often ignored or demeaned by colonizers and their societies were seen as ‘deficient’ for lacking written traditions. Writing was often portrayed as a foreign import that was counter to ‘*traditional*’ culture. Despite these views, many Pacific communities have rich systems of interconnected oral and visual literatures.

2.2.3 Thirdspace

The processes of colonization have physically reshaped landscapes as well as cultures, languages, and societies. These effects have generated new entities (e.g., identities, landscapes, cultures, cuisines, etc.) that are hybrids, which have some pieces from the old pre-colonial ways, some from the colonizers, and some that are uniquely their own. *Thirdspace* is a postcolonial idea originally proposed by Homi Bhabha and further developed by Edward Soja that deals mainly with the concept of *hybridity*. Many postcolonial authors have dealt with issues around hybrid identities stemming from the complex interplay of race, class, age, locality, sexual orientation, multilingualism, geopolitical situation, and other identity factors (García 2009a). The complexity of these identities makes it impossible to pin down set boundaries. Hybridity then is an important tool for understanding identities in (post)colo-

nial places where there is (forced) cultural mixing. Hybridity, though, is not a loss of culture or some 'impure' mixing, but rather a creative process that recognizes and responds to an ever changing and complex world of interconnected relationships (García & Wei 2014). For Soja, the Thirdspace is the place where this hybridity and creativity can happen, which he summarizes as

a space of extraordinary openness, a place of critical exchange where the geographical imagination can be expanded to encompass a multiplicity of perspectives that have heretofore been considered by the epistemological referees to be incompatible, uncombinable. It is a space where issues of race, class, and gender can be addressed simultaneously without privileging one over the other; where one can be Marxist and post-Marxist, materialist and idealist, structuralist and humanist, disciplined and transdisciplinary at the same time. (Soja 1996: 5)

The Thirdspace then is a place where contradictions and complex interaction can take place that lead to the creation of new and alternate identities (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004).

Canagarajah (2001) and other postcolonial authors reinforce this positive view of hybridity. He says that he holds:

that hybrid subjectivity is a position of strength, as it is able to withstand the totalizing (and essentializing) tendencies of both center and periphery agencies. The detachment that [they] have from monolingual and culturally essentialist discursive positions...enables them to resist policies that contribute to symbolic domination...[their hybridity allows them to] still be able to define their own subjectivity, even in a context where hegemonic agendas are imposed. (pp. 210–211)

2.2.4 Linguabridity

Anchimbe (2007) uses the term *linguabridity* to describe “people who grow up with two languages that belong to two, often competing or conflicting, cultures” (p. 66). This group, Anchimbe argues, does not switch between the two languages but rather exist somewhere outside of both groups by having their own unique identity and linguistic patterns. Children that grow up this way do not switch between language identity groups, but, through their bilingual practices, express their own different identity. This process can result in these 'linguabrids' not fitting in with either of the two language communities, since they cannot identify as either one. The two language communities whose languages they speak have their own political histories. These histories may compete, putting linguabrids in the middle of conflicts. An example of this phenomena, which Anchimbe described,

is in in Cameroon, where both French and English have complex histories. Bilingual children in Cameroon, often of monolingual parents, cannot identify as either Anglophones or Francophones like their parents and become cultural and linguistic outliers. For adults, speaking French or English is a politically loaded choice. The children on the other hand are less aware of the politically charged nature of speaking one or the other. On the contrary, for them speaking both languages seems natural given their everyday experiences. Being bilingual breaks down the boundaries between languages and identities for them, but also positions them as a new group not within the normal cultural and linguistic binary.

2.2.5 Translanguaging

Translanguaging is similar to linguabridity but also builds upon heteroglossia. It shows that bi- and multilingual speakers do not switch between separate language systems. Instead, they have one cohesive system where speakers use the appropriate linguistic resources available to them in order to navigate a complex linguistic and social environment (García 2009b, García & Leiva 2014, García & Wei 2014). Translanguaging breaks down barriers between languages and “creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience[,] and environment” (Wei 2011: 1223). Wei calls this social space ‘translanguaging space’. This space

emphasizes the capacity of the multilingual individual as active agent in social life. Multilingual speakers are not simply responding, rationally or not, to broader social forces and structures, but are creating spaces for themselves using the resources they have. In doing so, they have the capacity to change society.

It breaks down the artificial dichotomies between the macro and the micro, the societal and the individual, and the social and the psycho in studies of bilingualism and multilingualism. Multilingual spaces...are interactionally created. The focus on the interactional process by which individuals create and manage their social spaces integrates what has so far been treated as different and separate levels of multilingualism. (Wei 2011: 1234)

Translanguaging space is a Thirdspace because it goes beyond the individual languages and their hybridity to allow for a space of creativity and power that transforms the present by “reinscribing our human, historical commonality in the act of languaging” (García & Wei 2014: 25).

2.3 Language attitudes

Language attitudes is a broad field that started with [Pear \(1931\)](#). Since then, hundreds of studies have been conducted.³ Because of the long history of language attitudes studies, several camps have emerged with their own philosophies and methodologies. In general, there are two main ideological camps of language attitudes studies: positivist and poststructural studies. Each camp defines language attitudes in different ways and even within each camp there are different definitions. While these two ideological groups are useful for describing the majority of language attitudes studies, there are a minority of studies that fall in the middle that take an ideologically agnostic approach.

2.3.1 Positivist language attitudes studies

The earliest language attitudes studies fall into the positivist camp. These studies, often conducted by social psychologists, view language attitudes as mental constructs that exist in an individual's mind. Furthermore, they are viewed as having a three-part structure of affective, cognitive, and behavioral parts ([Baker 1992](#)). The affective part entails how people feel about a certain object (e.g., approval or disapproval about a certain way of speaking) ([Liang 2015](#)). The cognitive part refers to beliefs about an object (e.g., correctness or incorrectness of a way of speaking). The behavioral part refers to a person's predisposition to act in a certain way. The mental construct approach to language attitudes believes that language attitudes can be directly identified and measured as they exist in the mind. To do so, the so-called 'direct method' is used, whereby surveys and interviews are used to directly ask an individual to describe their attitudes ([Garrett et al. 2003](#), [Garrett 2007](#)). But some have criticized this approach for its potential of "‘acquiescence bias’ (where people may give the responses they felt the researchers are looking for) and ‘socially desirable responses’ (where people voice the attitudes they think they ought to have, rather than the ones they actually hold)" ([Garrett 2007](#): 117).

In response to the criticisms of the direct method, [Lambert et al. \(1960\)](#) developed what is called the matched-guise technique (MGT) which attempts to capture the supposedly true underlying attitudes that individuals are reluctant to share via the direct method. The MGT uses vocal 'guises', recordings of a single speaker using different registers, dialects, or languages, to deceive listeners into thinking they heard multiple speakers saying the same text in different ways. By using a single speaker, this method seeks to vary only the different speech varieties. It controls all of the other variables, so that any differences in responses must stem from listeners judging the speech varieties differently ([Garrett 2007](#)). The results of the study purportedly probe social categorizations that are triggered by the different speech styles that will lead to sets of group-related traits ([Giles & Coupland 1991](#)).

³For a more detailed early history of the field see [Giles & Coupland \(1991\)](#)

Researchers typically infer these traits from a series of perception rating scales that they use during the MGT, such as competence (intelligence, ambition, or confidence) or social attractiveness (sincerity, friendliness, or generosity).

While used prominently for several decades, later research called into question the usefulness of the MGT. [Potter & Wetherell \(1987\)](#) in particular found that attitudes are not stable and durable ‘psychological states’. Instead, they emerge from social interaction. They are quite variable and unstable. [Garrett \(2010\)](#) questions whether attitudes can exist in one’s mind away from the actual objects of the attitudes as they exist in the real world. [Garrett \(2010\)](#) also critiques the MGT for its ethical problems of deception, purposeful decontextualization that may miss the richness of language attitudes that arise as a result of contextual factors, and issues of whether or not participants are actually evaluating the style features the technique is purporting to test. Likewise [Garrett et al. \(1999\)](#) have shown that dialect differences alone could not fully account for differences in language preferences, but were rather conditioned by social and contextual factors that were at times contradictory and competing with each other.

Methodologically, positivist studies tend to take a mostly quantitative approach to analyzing language attitudes, regardless of using a ‘direct’ or ‘indirect’ method for gathering data. The quantitative approaches vary but typically include correlation analyses ([Jenckes 1997](#)), t-tests ([Jenckes 1997](#), [Kircher 2016](#)), some form of ANOVA⁴ ([Ball 1983](#), [Jenckes 1997](#), [Dörnyei & Csizér 2002](#), [Dailey et al. 2005](#), [Kircher 2016](#)), regression ([Ianos 2014](#), [West 2015](#), [Lapresta-Rey et al. 2016](#), [Peng 2016](#)), factor analysis ([Ball 1983](#), [Baker 1992](#), [Githinji 2003](#), [Dörnyei et al. 2006](#), [Peng 2016](#)), structural equation modeling ([Dörnyei et al. 2006](#)), or rarely multidimensional scaling (MDS) and cluster analysis ([Garrett et al. 2003](#)). The quantitative methods are occasionally supplemented by qualitative data, but are often accorded less importance than the quantitative data.

2.3.1.1 Direct methods

The direct methods, typically interviews and surveys, used in the language attitudes studies vary significantly in both their forms and research goals. Because there are hundreds of language attitudes studies, a smaller subset of studies are discussed here to show the diversity of positivist direct methods.

[Baker \(1992\)](#) is an early influential language attitudes study that was done in North and Mid Wales among 797 school aged children. This study is firmly rooted in the language attitudes as mental construct camp. The only data source for this study was the use of questionnaires (one in English and one in Welsh). The questionnaires comprised of six parts: (1) demographics, (2) information of ‘youth

⁴Includes ANOVA, MANOVA, ANCOVA, etc.

culture', (3) language use in specified domains, (4) the importance of the Welsh language for certain activities, (5) statements about the Welsh language, and (6) statements about both the English and Welsh languages (attitudes on bilingualism). The results of the questionnaires were analyzed statistically using correlation analysis, factor analysis, cluster analysis, and structural equation modeling.

The demographic information collected included age, gender, language background, type of school, and ability in Welsh. The 'youth culture' section asked students how often they went to youth clubs, played sports, went to discos, and other common activities, with a goal of constructing youth culture scales. A factor analysis of the results of the youth culture section generated two youth culture scales: Welsh traditional and literary culture (items like 'read books out of school' and 'go to Eisteddfodau') and popular culture (items like 'opposite sex friendships' and 'go to discos'). These scales were then used as demographic variables to analyze the attitudes.

In designing questions about the language attitudes, Baker used a three-way distinction for attitudes: instrumental attitudes, integrative attitudes, and general attitudes. Instrumental attitudes reflect "pragmatic, utilitarian motives" and tend to be "mostly self-oriented and individualistic...[and concerned] with the need for achievement" (p. 32). Integrative attitudes are those that are "mostly social and interpersonal in orientation...[and] links with the need for affiliation" (p. 32). General attitudes were those that did not fit into either of the other categories.

The section about attitudes about Welsh contained several questions from each of the three types of attitudes: general (e.g., I prefer to be taught in Welsh), integrative (e.g., talking to friends in school), and instrumental (e.g., get a job). The results of the attitudes about Welsh indicated that: (1) those who were more immersed in Welsh traditional and literary culture had more favorable views of Welsh, (2) girls and younger students had more positive attitudes toward Welsh than boys and older students, (3) immersion in 'popular culture' had a negative effect on attitudes toward Welsh, and (4) type of school had only a negligible effect on attitudes, though this result may be due to limited sample size of schools and limited statistical methods at the time of publication, both of which the author mentioned.

The bilingualism questions formed a single scale and contained twenty-five questions. The results showed that 'popular youth culture' had the strongest (negative) effect on attitudes toward bilingualism, whereas family and school had virtually no effect. Gender, age, and ability in Welsh had minor effects on the attitudes. Overall, study concluded that youth culture had the strongest effect of any variable on the attitudes toward Welsh.

Garrett et al. (2003) was an update on Baker (1992) that analyzed language attitudes among teachers and students in Wales via a new approach. The study took a theoretical middle road approach, recognizing positives and critiques of both the discursive and mental construct camps, though it leans more toward the mental construct side.

The study comprised of two separate parts: (1) a survey of teachers' attitudes via questionnaires as the main data elicitation tool and (2) a comparison of teachers' and students' attitudes via narrative analysis. The first part's questionnaires included several tasks including a map-filling and labeling task and semantic-differential attitude rating scales. The second part used focus-group conversations as well as presenting recorded audio excerpts of teenagers from all over Wales telling stories in their local dialects and asking the respondents to respond to the narratives via a questionnaire. Overall, about 345 respondents participated in the study.

The results of the map identification task showed that teachers were very sensitive to regional dialect differences in Wales and on average identified 7.72 dialect zones. The labeling of the created zones embedded social evaluations of dialect differences, such as 'city harsh' or 'cultured Welsh' (p. 118). The social evaluations used were grouped into five categories: linguistic form (evaluations on how the dialects sound to them, such as 'nasal' or 'open'), affective (emotional responses, such as 'warm' or 'annoying'), status and social norms (responses about education level or class, such as 'uneducated' or 'posh'), geo-social belonging (being Welsh or not Welsh, such as 'second-language English speakers' or 'anglicized'), and rural vs. urban.

The semantic-differential questionnaire results were analyzed in terms of four scales: prestige, pleasantness, dynamism, and truly Welsh. Standard British English was rated as the most prestigious followed by rural Welsh varieties, then urban varieties last. Southern Welsh was rated as most pleasant, with Cardiff Welsh and Northern Welsh ranked as the least pleasant. All varieties were ranked low on dynamism. Southern Welsh, Northern Welsh, and Valleys Welsh were ranked the highest for truly Welsh, with other Welsh varieties ranked low and Standard British English rated the lowest. Overall, the results were fairly mixed for the varieties, such as the Valleys variety that was seen as the least prestigious but otherwise pleasant, dynamic, and truly Welsh.

The narratives analysis comprised of seven different questions that each teacher was asked about the pre-recorded student narratives: Do you like, good at school, like you, make friends, how Welsh, good laugh, and interesting story. The results for each of the scales were mapped into a two-dimensional plane via multidimensional scaling (MDS)⁵ to find the 'hidden structure' of the data. The results of the MDS were then clustered into groups by hierarchical clustering statistical method. Each scale differed in the number of resulting clusters. The results of the cluster analysis suggested that differences in all but the 'how Welsh' category were mainly the result of what the authors called narrative performance. But the 'how Welsh' category clustered around dialect differences. The results of this analysis drew light on how the evaluations of speech are actually an evaluation of its performance.

⁵For an introduction to MDS see <http://www.analytictech.com/borgatti/mds.Htm>.

Lapresta-Rey et al. (2016) was a language attitudes study that examined differences in attitudes among 527 immigrant youth in Catalonia toward Spanish and Catalan. In particular, it examined the role of being a Spanish-speaker and immigration generational cohort in these attitudes. The study did not align itself with a particular language attitudes camp, citing both Baker's (1992) tripartite (cognitive, evaluative, and behavioral) view and Woolard & Schieffelin's (1994) interplay of language attitudes and language ideologies. The data for the study were gathered via questionnaires that asked 20 yes/no attitude questions (10 for each language), plus questions on socio-demographics.

The results were collected into four variables: attitudes toward Catalan (ranged from -10 to 10), attitudes toward Spanish (-10 to 10), family language (Spanish-speaker or non-Spanish speaker), and generational cohort (coded 1.25 for those who arrived in Catalonia between ages 13–17, 1.50 for arrived between 6–12, 1.75 for arrived 0–5, and 2.0 for those born in Catalonia to foreign parents). The data were then analyzed with generalized linear models (GLMs).

The analysis of the data showed that young people who spoke Spanish at home had more positive attitudes toward Spanish and more negative attitudes toward Catalan. Those born in Catalonia (cohort 2.0) had more positive attitudes toward Catalan than those in the lower cohorts. But these results showed that home language and immigration cohort can be meaningful correlates of language attitudes.

2.3.1.2 Indirect method

The primary indirect method used by positivist language attitudes studies is the MGT. These studies have much less diversity in method, since this technique assumes the existence of similar underlying attitudinal scales that all research communities follow to differing degrees. Because of the high levels of similarity, only two example studies is presented.

Jenckes (1997) is the only language attitudes study from the so-called region of 'Micronesia'. The study took place on the island of Saipan in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) and looked at the language attitudes of 100 students aged 17–20 at a single public high school. All the students spoke English, Chamorro, and a third home language. The ethnic background of the students included Carolinians, Chamolinians,⁶ Chuukese, Filipinos, Palauans, and Koreans. The study assumed that language attitudes are a mental construct and elicited them using MGT. The students were asked to rate four guises spoken by six different bilingual speakers. The guises included: (1) Native English (educated in the U.S.), (2) L1 speakers of Chamorro and Carolinian, (3) English spoken by Chamorros and Carolinians who went to school in 'Micronesia', and (4) Chamorro spoken by L1 English speakers. The different speakers of the guises also used different texts. The texts included both

⁶The author defines Chamolinians as those of mixed Chamorro and Carolinian ethnicities.

‘common’ Chamorro and honorific Chamorro registers, as well as different genres, such as Catholic prayers and well-known stories, poems, and texts about Chamorro and Carolinian customs. During the MGT the students were asked to rate the guises using 9 four-point bipolar adjective scales that was designed to elicit attitudes based on competence, personal integrity, and social attractiveness. The results were analyzed quantitatively using multiple regressions, correlation tests, t-tests, and repeated-measures analysis of variance.⁷

The results of the study indicated that the Chamorro language spoken by Chamorros educated in the US and Chamorro and Carolinian spoken by those educated in ‘Micronesia’ ranked the highest overall. The lowest ranked scores were for the English guises. The guises spoken by women also had higher rating than those spoken by men. The study also reported that a listener’s gender and ethnicity played a significant effect in the rating of the guises. Overall, the study found positive ratings by Chamorros and Chamolinians of the Chamorro language regardless of L1 or L2 speakers, which the author correlated with language revitalization movements on the island, though at the time high schools did not teach Chamorro.

Kircher (2016)⁸ examined the language attitudes of 147 students in both English- and French-medium schools in Montreal via questionnaires and MGT experiments. The results were analyzed quantitatively with independent samples t-tests (for the questionnaire data) and repeated measures ANOVAs (for the MGT data). Overall, all L1 groups⁹ had more positive attitudes toward English than French across the all of the status variables (intelligence, dependability, education, ambition, and leadership). In terms of the solidarity variables (kindness, humor, warmth, likeability, and sociability), both francophone and anglophone groups rated their respective L1 more positively than the other language on the questionnaires; however, the MGT results showed that all L1 groups evaluated English more favorably than French. These conflicting results showed that different methods with the same participants can elicit significantly different responses.

2.3.1.3 Other positivist studies

Other positivist studies that are not discussed here include Lambert et al. (1960), Williams & Hewett (1976), Trifonovitch (1981), Shaw (1981), Ball (1983), Zahn & Hopper (1985), Abrams & Hogg (1987), Luhmann (1990), Dörnyei & Csizér (2002), Githinji (2003), Ferguson (2003), Marley (2004), Dailey et al. (2005), Tuwakham (2005), Dörnyei et al. (2006), Bangeni & Kapp (2007), Namei (2012), Davies &

⁷See https://en.wikiversity.org/wiki/Advanced_ANOVA/Repeated_measures_ANOVA for an introductory explanation of repeated measures ANOVA.

⁸Kircher (2016) is based off research originally in Kircher (2009).

⁹The study grouped the participants into one of three L1 groups: Francophone, anglophone, or allophone (neither English or French L1).

Bentahila (2013), Painter & Dixon (2013), Pantos & Perkins (2013), Ianos (2014), Santello (2015), West (2015), and Peng (2016).

2.3.2 Poststructuralist language attitudes studies

Poststructuralist language attitudes studies are a reaction against the positivist view of language attitudes. In particular, the poststructuralist camp critiques the view that language attitudes are a mental construct. Instead, they view language attitudes as emergent from social evaluation in interaction. That is to say, that language attitudes are a product of discourse. Potter & Wetherell (1987) argue for using discourse analysis of semi-structured interviews to describe language attitudes as they emerge through evaluative stances in interaction. Unlike the mental construct approach that views an individual's 'true' attitudes as distorted by social factors, the discourse method views them as the product of interaction and lacking a stable underlying form (Liang 2015, Garrett 2010). The discourse approach is also able to link the micro-level personal interaction to larger social discourses and processes (Liang 2015).

Poststructuralist language attitudes studies often focus on larger societal influences on language attitudes, which some call language ideologies. The relationship between language attitudes and language ideologies is not clear cut and somewhat under-theorized. That being said, language ideologies are intricately linked to language attitudes, though they are somewhat distinct from them. Language ideologies are inherently social and exist beyond any one individuals. But individuals do construct language ideologies (Liang 2015). More specifically "language ideology is the social, evaluative belief system related to languages and language practices, which affects the individual and social treatment of languages and interpretation of linguistic behaviours" (Liang 2015: 55). Furthermore according to Liang, language ideologies are the 'taken-for-granted' common-sense 'knowledge', rather than the 'subjective' evaluations of attitudes. In contrast to language ideologies,

[t]he process of construction and expression of language attitudes is an active appropriation, contestation and reconstruction of socially shared language ideologies, based on one's social position and relationships. In other words, by performing language attitudes, the individual is constantly participating in language ideology. Language attitude and language ideology are not two different levels of the delicious mille-feuille (cake), but different forms of egg white—depending on how one beats it, the egg white peaks in different forms and may be used for different purposes. They may be usefully distinguished to certain extent, but at some stages, they become indistinguishable. It is argued that language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk (Mcgroarty

2010), and I would add that language attitudes mediate between language ideologies and forms of talk. (Liang 2015: 55)

Given the high level of overlap and the highly social nature of both language attitudes and language ideologies, this dissertation rarely makes a clear distinction between the two. Occasionally, this dissertation uses language ideologies to describe the more macro-level phenomena and attitudes the more micro-level, but again such a distinction is not clear cut and nor theoretically beneficial to the analyses used in the dissertation.

Because the poststructuralists view language attitudes as emergent from discourse, they typically use direct methods—such as interviews, open-ended questions, or other written texts—as their primary data collection methods. They typically analyze the data qualitatively and rarely use quantitative methods.

2.3.2.1 Methods

Poststructuralist language attitudes studies have used a variety of data collection and qualitative analysis techniques. Because of the large number of poststructuralist studies, only a small subset are discussed to show the diversity of methods.

Hyrkstedt & Kalaja (1998) was an early discourse-based language attitudes study that called for making the shift from MGT to looking at the social construction of attitudes. The study took place in Finland and examines languages attitudes of 57 university students toward English and Finnish. Each of the students were given a fictitious letter to the editor entitled “Is English our second mother tongue” (p. 349) that argued that: (1) “Finnish was losing its vitality to English”, (2) it is a good idea to maintain the purity of languages by legislative action, and (3) that Finns overall have a low proficiency in English and that the U.K. might have to intervene to maintain the purity of the English by correcting its use in Finland. The students were asked to write a response to letter, which ranged from 30 to 400 words long. The responses were put into two groups for each of the editorial’s three arguments: those who supported the argument (negative attitude group) and those who did not (positive attitude). They were then analyzed via the discourse analysis steps of Potter & Wetherell (1987).

The results showed that students were about evenly divided on the arguments that Finnish is losing vitality to English and that Finns’ proficiency in English is not high. However, no one supported legislative action to protect the purity of the languages. In addition, the authors identified several ‘interpretative repertoires’¹⁰ in both the positive and negative texts.

¹⁰Potter & Wetherell (1987) define interpretative repertoires as “recurrently used systems of terms that characterize and evaluate actions, events or other phenomena. A repertoire...is constituted through a limited range of terms used

The interpretative repertoires for the negative texts were identified as “segregating, national-romanticist, fatalist, and realist repertoires,” (p. 350) whereas the positive repertoires were the “empiricist, nationalist, and utilitarian repertoires” (p. 351). The negative repertoires were all framed via some sort of conflict (e.g., English vs. Finnish, American things vs. Finnish things, or Pure Finnish vs. mixed Finnish). The positive repertoires implied a flaw in the counter argument (e.g., languages have always influenced each other or Finns are better at other languages than Southern Europeans). Interestingly, the study found that several of the repertoires had corresponding opposites (i.e., fatalist vs. empiricist or realist vs. utilitarian), which indicate that participants were aware of the counter-views and drew upon them to express their own attitudes.

Overall, the study found several different language attitudes toward Finnish and English that were highly contextualized. It showed how those arguments were constructed and that participants often use more than one interpretative repertoire to construct their arguments. These results revealed the unstable nature of language attitudes. Because of the highly contextualized and unstable nature of the documented attitudes, the authors argued against using MGT for studying language attitudes.

A later study, [Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain \(2009\)](#) is firmly rooted in the language attitudes as discursive construct camp. They begin their article by pointing out criticisms of some quantitative methods namely:

the difficulty in applying these findings to real-life situations; the suppression of variability in the findings; the separation of the attitude from the language and its speakers; the pressure on participants to respond along a scale that has been worked out by researchers; and finally the fact that different participants may well mean different things by, for example, checking off a point along a semantic-differential scale. ([Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain 2009](#): 195)

As an alternative to such methods, the authors presented three discourse-based approaches: content-based, turn-internal semantic and pragmatic, and interactional approaches. Of the three approaches, they exemplified the interactional approach with their own data.

The authors argued that the interactional approach to studying language attitudes allows for an understanding of how the attitudes are constructed in actual speech. The analysis looked not only at how the attitudes themselves are expressed, but how they are contextualized and used in relation to others. They argue that since language attitudes are created through interaction, studying them interactionally helps understand how they are actually generated and negotiated.

in particular stylistic and grammatical constructions. Often a repertoire will be organized around specific metaphors and figures of speech” (p. 149).

Liebscher & Daily-O'Cain used two datasets to showcase this method. The first came from conversations with western Germans who migrated to Saxony after the fall of the Berlin Wall. The second dataset came from conversational interviews with German migrants in two Canadian cities. They selected the two datasets to show that language attitudes are embedded within particular contexts (Germans in Canada will have different attitudes than Germans in Saxony). Both datasets included attitudes about German dialects.

The language attitudes were analyzed in the datasets via positioning, which the authors define as “a process by which interactants make their orientation toward social categories relevant” (p. 201). This analysis allows them to analyze stance as a highly dynamic process that is contextualized and can change from moment to moment.

The results of the study showed that languages attitudes were

constructed in interaction through negotiation with interactants, in specific circumstances and with specific interactional intentions. Thus, language attitudes are context dependent in at least two ways: they emerge within the context of the interactional structure, and they are expressed under the influence of the situational context, which includes both larger ideologies present in a culture and the immediate context of the interactants and how they are seen by others. Building on this, it can be said that language attitudes are created and transmitted through talk, but they retain power through larger cultural ideologies that are perpetuated through individual instances of talk. In this sense, attitudes are both created and shaped through interaction, and brought to each individual interaction in the form of ideology. Speakers involuntarily contribute to these ideologies by asserting or rejecting them, and their positionings may be affected by them as well. (p. 217)

In addition to their conclusions about the nature of language attitudes, the authors again reiterated the need for analyzing language attitudes interactionally. For them, “[f]ar too often, however, the analysis of such data stops at surface-level assertions of language attitudes, and...this is far from sufficient. A great deal of information is lost when analyses fail to take the linguistic and interactional details into account” (p. 217). They did not eschew quantitative methods per se, but they warned that such methods led to simplistic views of language attitudes. They also noted that quantitative methods answer different questions than the ones they examined. According to them, the ideal study would use both an interactional discourse and quantitative approaches to gather a much more detailed picture about language attitudes. That being said, their interactional approach was still quite powerful analytically:

an interactional approach can be just as adept at uncovering indirectly expressed attitudes as the matched-guise technique can, and that it can shed light on how these attitudes emerge, the ways in which they are ideology driven, and how they are influenced by the immediate context. (p. 218)

Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain also recommend caution with any quantitative generalizations, since they can obscure much of the nuance of language attitudes, especially how language attitudes are created through interaction. They argued that ignoring context (especially with the MGT) does not mitigate its effects. They asserted that all language attitudes are contextualized, even answering questions during an experiment or survey. Searching for 'context-independent true' attitudes, they claimed, is a futile act.

Hiss (2012) is a language attitudes study that looks at attitudes toward proposed Sámi-Norwegian bilingual policies in Tromsø, Norway. Hiss analyzed thirty letters to the editor that appeared in local newspapers to investigate the language attitudes. The study abided by the language attitudes as discursive construct view and used Martin & White's (2005) Appraisal framework to analyze the thirty letters.

The Appraisal framework is a system for describing the linguistic mechanisms of evaluation and views meaning as a system of choices, where "any linguistic choice is viewed in relation to a system of potential alternative choices" (Hiss 2012: 182). This framework is then broken up into three subsystems: Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation. Hiss (2012) primarily focused on the Attitude subsystem which is how affective, emotional, or value-oriented evaluations are expressed. Attitude is then further divided into three more subsystems: Affect (expression of emotions and feelings), Judgement (evaluation of persons and their actions and attitudes), and Appreciation (expressions of evaluations of ideas, things, and events).

The results of the study showed that, overall Judgement and Appreciation were the most common types of Attitude expressed. Within the Attitude of Judgment, negative responses were the most frequent. These general results suggested that the discussion centered on a struggle for social authority as well as having a very negative tone. The letter writers invoked common values, morals, and ideologies to support a view of what is right and wrong, which in turn revealed the authority struggle. The letter authors also overwhelmingly negatively evaluated the Sámi people, the Tromsø town council, bilingual road signs, and the Sámi administrative area, while very positively evaluating the actions and attitudes of the objectors (those not in favor of the bilingualism policy).

The results also showed that the authors constructed both boundaries and bonds vis-à-vis the bilingualism debate. The authors created boundaries via their negative and polarizing positions and simultaneously created bonds with their respondents by their evaluations. This hybrid approach

allowed them to openly confront the issue while also trying to implicitly persuade. The construction of boundaries also helped lead to the construction of an other, which was necessary for them to construct their own identity.

The attitudes in the letters also demonstrated the construction of ideology via the three semiotic processes outlined in [Irvine & Gal \(2000\)](#) (see 2.1.8): Iconicity (called rhematization by Hiss), fractal recursivity, and erasure. In Hiss, iconization arose from the representation of the Norwegian language as essential to a common Tromsø identity that was threatened by Sámi. Fractal recursivity stemmed from new boundaries the letter writers created between themselves and others, especially between the Sámi and Norwegian residents. These constructed differences are also expanded from linguistic difference, the main issue of the debate, to other issues relating to Sámi autonomy like an independent Sámi police force or health service. Erasure emerged in the letter writers' construction of a homogenous other, the Sámi, that ignores the Sámi's inherent differences.

[Liang \(2015\)](#) is a discourse-based, poststructuralist language attitudes study that examined language attitudes in two primary school communities in Guangzhou, China. The study used informal surveys, interviews, focus groups, and participant observation to collect data. The number of 'participants' in the study was unclear because the results came from observations and interviews from an unspecified number of students, teachers, administrators, and relatives of students. The study did indicate that there were at least 26 people interviewed. Because [Liang \(2015\)](#) was heavily influenced by poststructuralism, it devoted large portions of the analysis to translanguaging/heteroglossia and language ideologies.

The results of the study showed that, given the high rate of migration and multilingualism in the region, students likewise have complex, hybrid linguistic identities that make use of the patchwork of linguistic resources available to them. The complexity of these identities resist gross generalizations and "problematise the notion of discrete, countable languages and monolingual norms about language competence" (p. 176). These results also required "the traditional notions of language shift and maintenance...to be reformulated. What is lost or suppressed may not be whole languages, but the deployment of certain linguistic resources in certain domains...Therefore, we will have to reconsider what we mean by 'loss' or 'shift' in such cases" (p. 180).

However, Liang highlighted the fact that because the study only included two schools it had serious limitations. The study would benefit from both a larger sample size and further longitudinal studies. She also recognized the partiality of any discourse or subjective reality in poststructuralist inspired research.

Overall she concluded that

[t]he story I have found through language attitudes is about mobility, diaspora, contacts, and re-/coconstruction of ethnolinguistic identities and memberships. It is about struggles, negotiations, and transformations in multilingual spaces which were preoccupied and continue to be occupied by old and new dwellers. It is about coming to terms with challenges imposed by traditional monolingual norms and new demands for heteroglossic language competencies. Nevertheless, I have shown that studying language attitudes ethnographically in situated interactions and analysing the data by sociolinguistically informed, multilevel analysis can provide valuable insights into issues such as multiple ethnolinguistic identities, mediation of language policies, epistemic injustice, and translanguaging practices. (p. 179)

For her, the study of language attitudes was not really about the language attitudes themselves, but rather the story of the people who created them.

Atkinson & Kelly-Holmes (2016) is a study examining language attitudes of fifteen university students in Ireland toward Irish, English, and immigrant languages (such as Polish). The study used focus groups with bilingual signage, graffiti, and single-word textual prompts to assist the discussions. While the study stated no explicit theoretical framework, its methodology and analysis suggested that it followed a language attitudes as discursive construct framework.

Previous research on attitudes toward the Irish language showed general positive attitudes, but that these positive attitudes did not directly translate to greater usage of the Irish language. This study on the other hand found mostly negative attitudes toward Irish. The negative attitudes expressed fell into four general categories: Irish lacking functionality, Irish use having a ‘hidden agenda’, Irish indexing ‘amplified’ Irish culture, and Irish representing exclusivity. These negative attitudes called into question Irish’s authentic status (see Woolard’s (2008) ‘authentic’ vs. ‘anonymous’ legitimating ideologies distinction in §2.1.8). Instead, participants assigned authenticity to the immigrant languages. Atkinson & Kelly-Holmes argue that because Irish does not fit into one of the two main ideological categories, it exists in an ideological limbo that translates into little societal impetus for people to use Irish. The lack of societal impetus explains the general low levels of Irish use.

2.3.3 Critiques of both camps

Both language attitudes camps have meaningful contributions to the study of language attitudes and neither of them by themselves can provide a complete picture of language attitudes. The qualitative methods of the poststructuralists, which often includes a fairly small amount of data based on situated

social interaction can easily lead to the risk of overgeneralization. On the other hand, it can provide a rich, nuanced understanding of a contextualized interaction.

On the positivist side, large-scale survey attitude research can help find larger or general trends in a given population that can be missed with discourse analysis. Surveys, however, are prone to pre-specifying the dimensions of value judgements, since they often limit the potential responses (Coupland & Jaworski 2004, Garrett 2007). In light of these limitations, Garrett et al. (2003), Garrett (2007), and Garrett (2010) suggest using both discourse analytical and larger-scale survey methods to study language attitudes. This dissertation follows their advice and will approach studying language attitudes through both large-scale surveys and discourse analysis.

2.3.4 Hybrid methodologies

Philosophically, this dissertation falls into the poststructuralist camp for analyzing language attitudes. However, it falls into its own niche of being a quantitative and qualitative poststructuralist language attitudes study, which to the author's knowledge does not currently exist. This section describes how this hybrid approach to language attitudes is developed from the existing literature.

2.3.4.1 Analyzing language attitudes via discourse analysis

Discourse is the embodiment of ideology and the site of a constellation of power relations (Wooffitt 2005). As such, there need to be analytical tools capable of handling complex, overlapping, layered, and potentially contradictory data. One such proposed tool is analyzing discourse via stance-taking.

For Du Bois (2007), stance is a complex construct that is defined as

a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.
(p. 163)

This definition assumes that stance is achieved dialogically, that is to say that a speaker's words "derive from, and further engage with, the words of those who have spoken before" (p. 140). That means that stance-taking is done intersubjectively (in relation to another's subjectivity) as a process of co-creation. This view of stance is visualized in Figure 2.1.

Du Bois' definition of stance, while useful, does not fully capture the complexity of discourse. Du Bois assumes a certain level of stability for the stances observed and that one can make clear judgements as to how subjects (dis)align and position stance objects. Given the nature of discourse

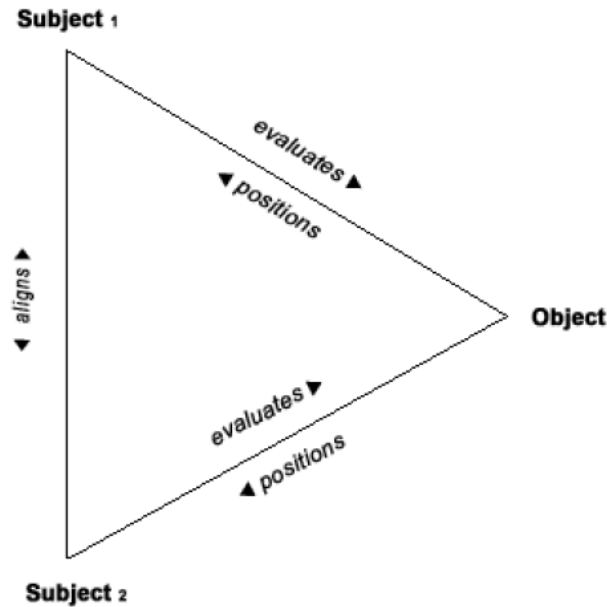


Figure 2.1. Stance triangle (Du Bois 2007: 163)

discussed previously, such clear distinctions and meanings cannot always be made. This model misses first the inherent contradictory nature of discourse. It also assumes a single subject interacting with another (or multiple) single subjects, instead of the myriad of subjectivities that a given person has (De Fina 2013). This leads to a second tool of analysis: *positioning*.

Positioning, first used by Hollway (1984), is defined as the “discursive construction of personal stories that make a person’s action intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts and within which the members of the conversation have specific locations” (Harré & van Langenhove 1991: 396). Positioning is a reciprocal process, where individuals not only take positions but also are attributed positions and constantly negotiate them dialogically (Harré & van Langenhove 1991, De Fina 2013). Positionings are not permanent, but context-dependent and able to change from moment to moment (Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain 2009).

De Fina adapts the three-level positioning system of Bamberg (1997). The first level looks at how individuals are positioned in relation to one another. The second level deals with how a narrator or storyteller positions themselves relative to those in the storytelling world. The third level describes how speakers or narrators “position a sense of self/identity with regards to dominant discourses or master narratives” and how they “make these relevant to the interaction in the here and now” (Bamberg 1997: 385, 391).

For De Fina, the analysis should start at the first level of positioning. She views identity neither as a given nor as a product, but instead as a process that happens at the most local of interactions

that will eventually create macro discourses. The third level of analysis then deals with how speakers deal with “less locally produced sense of who they are” (De Fina 2013: 43). The separation of levels of positioning is important for her, because they are not always similar or even compatible. In the first level, speakers have “relative freedom of positioning...in interaction” (p. 43), while the third level recognizes the constraints and “reification of social roles and identities” (p. 43) that occur with the macro level Discourses. To find these macro level Discourses, De Fina suggests looking for recurring data patterns from the same community and examining ethnographic knowledge and data.

2.3.4.2 Analyzing language attitudes quantitatively

Most quantitative research abides by a positivist/structuralist philosophical framework (Kincheloe & McLaren 2005, Winter 2000). In this framework, quantitative analyses are seen as ways of abstracting some greater truth or finding some latent structure. Such research is concerned with two main objectives: Validity and reliability (Winter 2000, Brown 2014). Validity stresses the supposed accuracy of the analysis, or rather, if the thing being measured is what the researchers think they are measuring. Reliability looks at the reproducibility of results and the consistency of methods. One of the corollaries of these two objectives is the idea of generalizability—the ability of the results to accurately apply to a larger community or sample beyond what was tested.

Given the theorization of language and language attitudes used in this dissertation (see §2.3), the ideas of validity and reliability are not very useful. Language attitudes are inherently unstable and context specific. Validity make sense with language attitudes insofar as the methods used actually capture some aspect of language attitudes. There is, however, no underlying structure or system to be abstracted. Likewise with reliability, accuracy and replicability are impossible goals, since one would have to recreate that exact moment to have the same expression of language attitudes. Similarly, generalizability takes on a new meaning. Rather than predicting future language attitudes in the general population, here generalizability means having a sample that strives to represent as many different voices as possible from the given population.

Instead of using statistical models to abstract some latent stable structures of language attitudes, I use them as tools for finding patterns in the results (see Chapter 4 for details on the methods). These patterns are simply snapshots of specific expressions of attitudes.

Quantitative research has unfortunately been used to oppress Indigenous peoples across the world (Walter & Andersen 2013). Such research used western constructs as guiding categories, which were assumed to be objective. Indigenous phenomena were then analyzed using these western categories. Indigenous peoples were often found to be lacking when analyzed this way. The results of such research has led directly to some colonial governments acting to remedy a supposed deficiency of

particular Indigenous groups. [Walter & Andersen \(2013\)](#) encourage researchers to be aware of the hegemonic/colonial discourses that are embedded in their research methodologies and to move toward Indigenous designed projects that incorporate more meaningful categories and methodologies.

Unfortunately, poststructuralist quantitative methods has been under-theorized and under-utilized in prior language attitudes research.

Chapter 3

Environment of the study

This chapter aims to provide a brief introduction to the relevant background information about Pohnpei and the Federated States of Micronesia that help contextualize the results of this dissertation. There have been many books, chapters, and articles written about many aspects about Pohnpei, such as history, cultures, politics, geography, ethnobotany, and art. This chapter does not try to recreate these works, but rather summarizes some relevant areas. In particular this chapter provides an overview of Pohnpei's: current geopolitical context (§3.1), indigenous historical political ideologies (§3.2), religious history (§3.3), historical and contemporary educational policies (§3.4), intersections of ethnicity and identities (§3.5), globalization and media (§3.6), and current linguistic context (§3.7).

3.1 Pohnpei's geopolitical context

The island of Pohnpei is a volcanic high island located in the Pacific Ocean at approximately 6°53'N 158°14'E (Figure 3.1). It is the largest island in the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) (Figure 3.2). Politically, Pohnpei is part of Pohnpei State, one of four states—Kosrae, Pohnpei, Chuuk, and Yap—that comprise the FSM. Pohnpei State is made up of 11 municipalities, six of which occur on island of Pohnpei—Nett, Kolonia, Uh, Madolenihmw, Kitti, and Sokehs—and the other five are neighboring atolls—Pingelap, Mwoakilloa, Nukuoro, Sapwuahfik, and Kapingamarangi. The capitol of the FSM is located in Palikir in Sokehs municipality and the capitol of Pohnpei State is located in Kolonia. The population of the island of Pohnpei according to the 2010 FSM census is 34,789 ([Division of Statistics FSM Office of Statistics, Budget, Overseas Development Assistance and Compact Management 2010](#)). The population center with the highest population density on the island is the island's only town, Kolonia, which has a population of about 6,000 during the 2010 census (Figure 3.3). Kolonia also houses the island's only airport.

Pohnpei, in addition to an ethnic Pohnpeian population, has several prominent communities of people from neighboring islands. In Sokehs municipality (Figure 3.4) there are Mwokilese, Pinge-

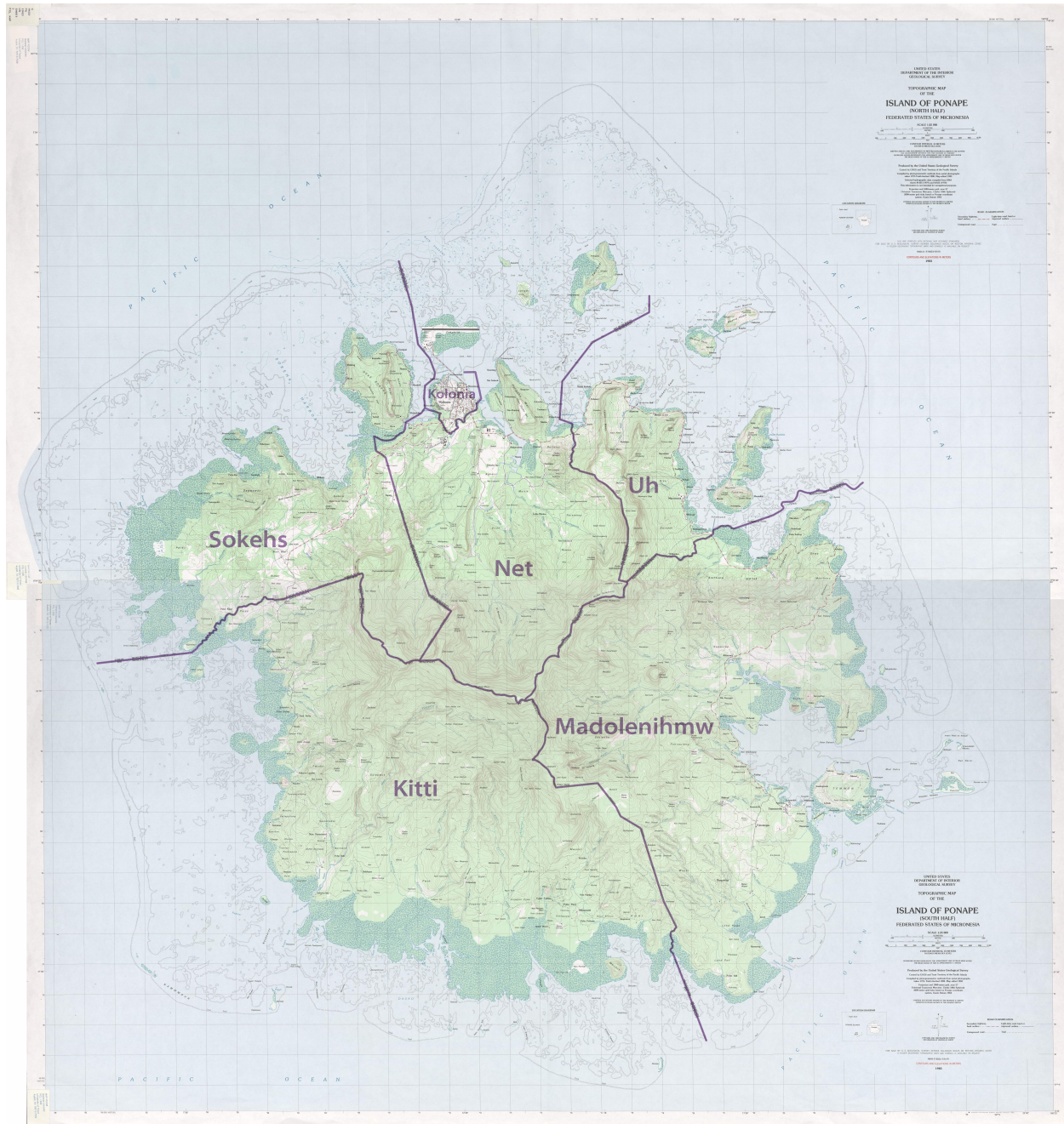


Figure 3.1. Map of the island of Pohnpei (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/55/Pohnpei_Island_municipalities.jpg)

lapese, and Mortlockese communities whose families were moved there in 1911–1912 by the German colonial administration after their islands were devastated by major typhoons in 1905 (Pingelap and Mwoakilloa) and 1907 (Mortlocks) (Hazel & Berg 1979). The land in Sokehs was available because the German administration exiled many Sokehs' residents after the Sokehs Rebellion in 1910–1911.

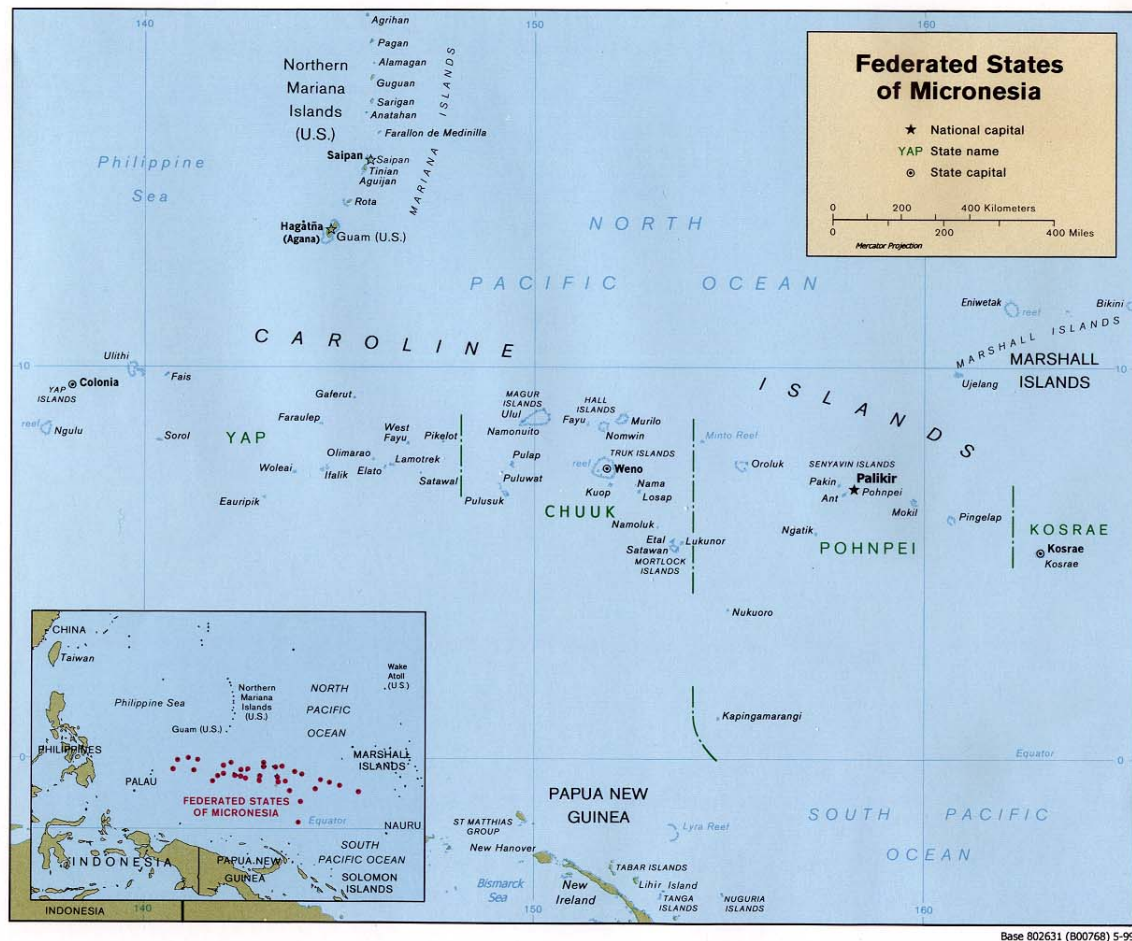


Figure 3.2. Map of the Federated States of Micronesia (https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/islands_oceans_poles/micronesia_pol99.jpg)

In Kolonia there is a Kapingamarangi village, Porakied that developed in 1919 under the Japanese colonial administration after a drought on Kapingamarangi atoll (Lieber 1977). There are also smaller and not as centrally organized communities from Nukuoro and Sapwuahfik atolls, which are part of Pohnpei State.

In addition to these older communities on Pohnpei, there are many families from each of the other states of the FSM since Pohnpei houses most of the offices of the National Government and the national campus of the College of Micronesia. There are also several NGOs, embassies, and businesses



Figure 3.3. Kolonia's main street in 2016

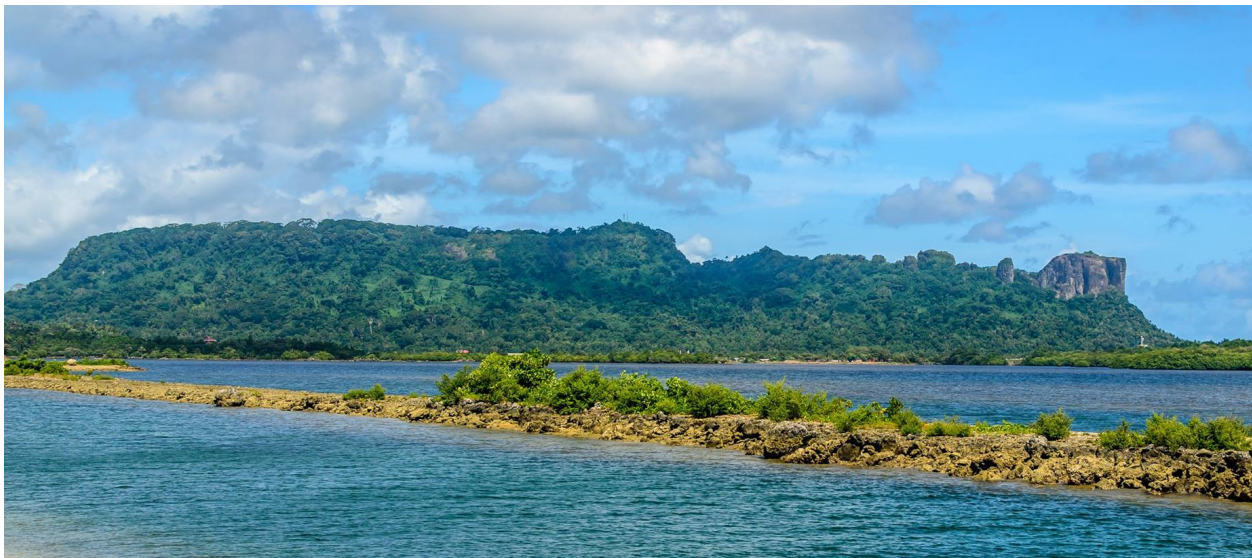


Figure 3.4. Sokehs island located in Sokehs municipality where most neighbor island communities were resettled

that employ people from all four states of the FSM and foreigners from many countries. Many of these people live in Kolonia or Nett.¹

¹The historic and contemporary spelling of Nett is <Nett>. However, according to the official Pohnpeian orthography it should be <Net>. The locally preferred names will be used in lieu of the official orthographic forms.

Politically, Pohnpei island has a dual system. All official legal power is controlled by an elected, democratic system that has national (FSM-level), state, and municipal levels. The official language of the FSM National Government is English which all legislative proceedings are done in (FSM National Government 2005). However, the National government does allow for translations for those who are not fluent in English. The Pohnpei State government recognizes both English and Pohnpeian as official languages (Pohnpei State Government n.d.). There also exists a chiefly political system, which I will refer to collectively as the soupeidi system, where each wehi [municipality] (excluding Kolonia which for this system is included in Nett) is led by a dual line of paramount chiefs that are headed by the Nahnmwarki and Nahnken respectively (Hanlon 1988). The Nahnmwarki is the highest ranked individual for each wehi and as such is expected to remain somewhat distant from commoners. The Nahnken typically acts as the ‘talking chief’ who can mediate between the people and the Nahnmwarki (see Hanlon (1988) for the history of the development of the position of the Nahnken). Each wehi is ranked in terms of whose titles have greater precedence, though are autonomous. Inside each wehi are smaller political divisions called kousapw [sections]. Each kousapw is headed by a Soumas en kousapw [chief]. The highest titles in each wehi and kousapw are passed down through one’s clan, which is determined matrilineally. Other titles can be bestowed by those with royal or chiefly titles (i.e., a Nahnmwarki or soulik). Nearly all adult Pohnpeians have a title in this system, though the majority only have commoner titles that are mainly just used in kamadipw (feasts). The soupeidi system thus regulates many aspects of life on Pohnpei, especially kamadipw and funerals (Figure 3.5).

Historically, Pohnpei was colonized several times. The first was by Spain from 1886–1899, followed by Germany from 1899–1914, then Japan from 1914–1945, and finally by the United States from 1945–1986 (Hezel & Berg 1979). During the American occupation of the island, Pohnpei (formerly called Ponape) was a member district of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI). The TTPI also included the districts of Palau, Yap, Mariana Islands, Truk (Chuuk), and the Marshall Islands. Kosrae was included in the ‘Ponape district.’ The TTPI was initially administered by the U.S. Navy from Honolulu, Hawai‘i, but later switched to the U.S. Department of the Interior and was administered from Saipan in the Mariana Islands (Hanlon 1998). In 1986, Pohnpei, together with Yap, Chuuk, and Kosrae, formed the independent nation of the Federated States of Micronesia, which is when it also entered into the Compact of Free Association (COFA) treaty with the U.S. The treaty was renewed in 2003. However, Pohnpei was the only state of the FSM to vote against the COFA in a 1983 plebiscite (Petersen 1985). Instead, the majority of Pohnpeians wanted to be completely independent from the colonial presence of the U.S., which many Pohnpeians saw the COFA as a continuation of.



Figure 3.5. Yams presented to the Nahnmwarki at a kamadipw in Wone, Kitti in 2011

The Compact of Free Association closely links the two countries (FSM National Government 2003).² The COFA allows citizens of both countries to live and work freely in either country without the need for a visa. The COFA also provides the FSM with funding to support its governmental expenditures. In return, the FSM allows the U.S. military exclusive control over the FSM's legal territory. The COFA has led to high rates of emigration to the U.S. As of 2012, about half of the FSM's citizens live in the U.S. (about 50,000 out of 104,000) (Hezel & Levin 2012). The FSM also has a higher per capita enlistment rate in the U.S. Armed Services than any U.S. state and a per capita casualty rate that is five times higher than the U.S. national average (Azios 2010).³

²The Republic of Palau and the Republic of the Marshall Islands also have their own COFA agreements with the U.S. There is also free movement between the FSM, Palau, and the Marshall Islands.

³A 2017 film, "Island Soldier" about a Kosraean soldier and his family discusses the challenges faced by FSM citizens in the US military. More information about the film can be found at <http://www.islandsoldiermovie.com/>.

3.2 Pohnpeian political ideologies

This section briefly outlines the historical political ideologies that have influenced contemporary Pohnpeian views of power, hierarchy, and knowledge creation/sharing. The concepts are important for Pohnpeian identity and understanding the language attitudes responses in this dissertation.

Political ideologies before Western colonization and missionization centered on a balance between centralized and decentralized power. The prominent creation and early history stories of Pohnpei, depict how Pohnpei was created by several voyages of people who each brought something new to the island, such as new plants or skills (Bernart 1977, Fischer n.d.a,n, 1953a,b). These diverse settlers worked together collectively to construct the island and become Pohnpeians. After some time, the stories show how power became more centralized under the Saudeleur chiefs. The Saudeleur dynasty was started by two men Olosohpa and Olosihpa who arrived on Pohnpei from abroad. They found an island that had no central leadership and much disorder, so they decided to build Nan Madol as a symbol of centralized power and religion (Hanlon 1988). To build this structure of artificial islands, they conscripted the people of Pohnpei to help build it. Eventually the subsequent Saudeleur chief ruled the island in an ever more vicious manner. Particularly egregious was the fact that the Saudeleur retreated to his home at Nan Madol and ruled away from the public eye and without hearing their concerns. Eventually, another outsider, Isokelekel, invaded Pohnpei with his warriors and overthrew the Saudeleur. Isokelekel, though, adapted Pohnpeian ways and respected the people of Pohnpei.

After overthrowing the Saudeleurs, he established a new political system by becoming the first Nahnmwarki. This new system replaced the more unified system of the Saudeleurs by delegating power to other, smaller geographic chiefdoms (Hanlon 1988). It also involved a new system of feasting where the people were allowed into the same feast house as the Nahnmwarki and had much greater proximity and access to him. This period also saw the creation of a second line of paramount chiefs headed by the position of Nahnken. The Nahnken's role is to be an intermediary between the people and the Nahnmwarki. Since the Nahnmwarki is a sacred position, it should be more removed from the people. The Nahnmwarki system (called the soupeidi system in the previous section) allowed the development of

a way of being called *tiahk en sapw* 'the custom of the land'. *Tiahk en sapw* provided cultural unity that at the same time allowed division. A common relationship with a sacred land united a people, while traditional distinctions in the beliefs and practices they brought with them from other lands kept them apart. *Pohnpei sohte ehu*, 'Pohnpei is not one,' is the way Pohnpeians explain that fact today...[T]here had evolved a flexible, resilient cultural order that maintained itself by accepting alien forces from the outside,

neutralizing their more threatening aspects, and incorporating their advantageous, beneficial features. (Hanlon 1988: 25)

This resilience has been tested by the many colonizers and the many changes and hardships they caused. Despite those extreme challenges, Pohnpei and its people have still survived.

Petersen (1993) argues that Pohnpei's soupeidi system is inherently both hierarchical and egalitarian and is supported by the Pohnpeian value of kanengamah. Kanengamah is a way of concealing knowledge and waiting to share appropriate pieces of knowledge at the most ideal time. Petersen explains that part of this value is the ability to hide one's inner emotions and thoughts so that they are not externally visible. Because of this, knowledge should not be flaunted, and it is assumed that everyone else is also concealing their knowledge by omission or distortion. Politically, Petersen claims that for Pohnpei, hierarchy and egalitarianism are not opposites but two distinct entities that are overlapping and at times inconsistent. This distinction is seen when the soupeidi system is approached through the lens of kanengamah.

On the outside, the soupeidi system appears hierarchical with a complex series of titles, honorific language use, and ritualized feasts. Kanengamah, however, prevents any one chief from gaining too much power. Since a chief never fully knows what his people think of him or want, he has little power over them; the people control the power. The chief has his power only by virtue of his ability to master kanengamah and the wahu 'respect' that stems from it. If the people like the chief's orders, they will follow them. If not they will be ignored. The mastering of kanengamah allows for opinions to "be changed and acted upon, [with] neither submission nor loss of face" (Petersen 1993: 347). Overall, this seemingly strong hierarchy actually allows for a large amount of individual autonomy. It is "strong enough to preserve the autonomy and dignity of each community within the larger community of chiefdoms...[and] simultaneously weak enough to safeguard the autonomy and dignity of the individual members of the community" (p. 348).

3.3 Religion

Prior to converting to Christianity, Pohnpei had a dynamic religion, which, like Pohnpei itself, evolved and changed over time based on outside influences (Dobbin 2011). The name of the island, pohnpei 'upon a stone altar', indicates how integral the worship of the gods was to the island (Hanlon 1984). This religious system, replete with priests and elaborate rituals, viewed the many gods as being accessible and at work in people's lives. The spirits of one's ancestors were also revered as lesser gods who could be sources of knowledge and power for one's clan.

The first Christian missionaries arrived in Pohnpei in the 1830s (Hanlon 1988). These initial missionaries found Pohnpeians to be uninterested in the new religion and did not stay long. The first long-term missionization of the island started in 1852 with the arrival of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) protestant missionaries from Boston (via Honolulu). These missionaries abhorred the people of Pohnpei calling them, among other things a “moral Sodom” and a “loathsome mass of depravity” (Hanlon 1988: 90). The missionaries saw Pohnpei as a place of barbaric, Satan-worshipping evil that must be both civilized by their enlightened American, protestant ways and converted to the one true religion. These racist missionaries saw most aspects of Pohnpeian culture as abhorrent, especially practices of feasting that included sakau (kava) (Hanlon 1988).

Chiefs on Pohnpei initially resisted conversion because they saw the missionaries more as political tools that could bring them resources from European and American sailing vessels (Hanlon 1988). Eventually though, some chiefs and their people did convert to Christianity. The Pohnpeian religious system began a steady decline after 1854 outbreak of smallpox caused by the American ship *Delta*. This outbreak led to a rapid, drastic decrease in population. During the outbreak, the Christian missionaries and Pohnpeian priests competed for religious power as each group tried to heal people based on the power of their gods. The missionaries successfully vaccinated some Pohnpeians and claimed the success was due to the power of their god. They also refused to vaccinate Pohnpeian priests. After the epidemic, the Pohnpeian political and religious systems were greatly traumatized which allowed the Christian missionaries to gain a greater following. Some Pohnpeians began to believe that the Christian god had more manaman ‘spiritual power’ than the Pohnpeian gods.

As the missionaries gained more power, they imposed more and more cultural changes on Pohnpeian society, many of which resulted in substantial resistance from Pohnpeian chiefs. One of the first major changes they imposed was the banning of Christians from participating in feasts that included sakau, which was at the heart of Pohnpei’s political system (Hanlon 1988).⁴ They also imposed monogamous marriage on Christian chiefs, attempted to change land tenure rules, aimed to impose a new legal system, and even attempted to change how and where people built their houses. The more radical of these changes, such as the legal system and land tenure did not go into effect. However, by the late 1870s, the missionaries had converted at least half of the island’s population and had translated the bible and other religious texts into Pohnpeian.

While the paramount chiefs’ first reactions were to ban the missions, because of their radical changes, they instead gave up some of their power in order to preserve their system, such as agreeing to monogamous marriage. This decision by the chiefs was “an eminently intelligible, pragmatic, and logical one that called upon historical precedent...Much of the missionaries’ own frustration...re-

⁴Some later Christian groups, like the Roman Catholics, do not currently ban the use of sakau.

sults from their failure to recognize that becoming Christian did not necessarily mean ceasing to be Pohnpeian” (Hanlon 1988: 143).

Other religions, such as the Roman Catholic Church supported by the Spanish and German colonial governments (Figure 3.6), later gained followers on the island. At present over 99% of Pohnpei’s population identifies as being some sort of Christian (FSM Office of Statistics, Budget and Economic Management, Overseas Development Assistance, and Compact Management 2010). About half of the island’s population is Catholic and the other half protestant (the same protestant denomination as the ABCFM missionaries). The two denominations offer services mostly in Pohnpeian, Pingelapese, or Mwokilese, and worked collaboratively to retranslate the bible into Pohnpeian. Other Christian denominations that make up smaller percentages of the island include Baptists, Pentecostals, Latter Day Saints (Mormons), Jehovah’s Witnesses, and others. Many of these smaller groups are actively working to convert Pohnpeians to their version of Christianity.

Today many Pohnpeians and outer islanders on Pohnpei have come to view their pre-Christian past through the lens of the missionary worldview. Many identify the island’s past as being ‘dark’ and their pre-Christian ancestors as ‘Satan worshippers’ or using ‘black magic’ (Poyer 1993). They associate their current Christian time as being enlightened by the true religion. Though not all believe this, Christianity has shaped views of the island’s history and cultural identities.

3.4 Education policies

This section provides a short overview of the history of educational policies on Pohnpei. Table 3.1 provide a short summary of the language education policies discussed in this chapter.

Table 3.1. Overview of language educational policies on Pohnpei

Administration	Policy	Years
Missionaries	English for commercial purposes and some Pohnpeian for bible reading	1870s–present
Japanese	Conversational Japanese for commercial purposes	1920–1945
U.S. Navy	Pohnpeian, English as universal language	1945–1951
U.S. Dept. Interior (Gibson)	Local languages through 4th grade, then transition to English	1951–1961
U.S. Dept. Interior	English only	1961–1972
U.S. Dept. Interior	Bilingual education (Pohnpeian and English)	1972–1986
FSM Dept. Education	Bilingual education (Pohnpeian and English)	1986–present

Prior to the missionization and colonization of Pohnpei, education was a process done primarily in the family (Colletta 1980). The information and skills that were shared were categorized into two general groups: open knowledge and closed knowledge. Older members of a clan taught children



Figure 3.6. Ruins of German Catholic cathedral destroyed during WWII, located in Kolonia

skills necessary for survival, *tiahk en sapw*. This included how to interact properly with others. Children primarily learned these skills through observation, and there were few limitations on access to

this information.⁵ Closed knowledge included winahni (ritualized magical healing) and poadoapoad (legends), both of which were sacred information (Colletta 1980, Hazen 2012). This information would only be shared in small pieces over many years to only select relatives. The closed information was subject to greater kanengamah ‘concealment’ and one would only share this closed information completely when one was close to death (Petersen 1993). The goals of this sharing of knowledge were to survive, create a functional society, and to safeguard sacred knowledge (Colletta 1980).

The first known institutionalized school on the island was created by the ABCFM missionaries for young girls to both ‘civilize’ them and instruct them in Christian religious practices (Colletta 1980). This school operated until the 1880s when it was closed by the Spanish colonial authorities. Catholic mission schools also appeared around this same. The goal of these early religious schools, while overtly religious education, was also to teach trade skills (Hezel 1975), western views of work ethic and productivity, and the idea that acquiring foreign languages (a.k.a. European languages of trade) was profitable. These additional notions of education were designed to form Pohnpeians into ideal middlemen in order to facilitate the “economic exploitation of human as well as natural resources” on the island (Colletta 1980: 38). This education system also differed drastically from the Pohnpeian style of education in form where students were now subjects in a classroom controlled by an instructor, rather than the Pohnpeian master-apprentice model. This system of religious education was the only education institution on the island during the Spanish and German colonial occupations. Religious education on Pohnpei continues to this day.

The Japanese were the first colonial government to develop a non-religious formal education system on Pohnpei. The goals of the Japanese colonial administration were:

- (1) to develop the islands economically; (2) to prepare them for Japanese [immigration], thus relieving population pressure in Japan; (3) to Japanize the natives as quickly as possible through education, propaganda, inter-marriage, and by promoting cultural exchange; and (4) to fortify the islands in preparation for war in the Pacific (Colletta 1980: 39).

The education system they created facilitated the achievement of these goals, particularly the ‘Nipponization’ of the Pohnpeians. To do this, they created a two tiered school system. Pohnpeian children attended a ‘public’ school with only three grade levels that focused mostly on oral Japanese language skills, basic mathematics, Japanese ethics, and other manual labor skills that supported colonial industries. Japanese youth on the island would attend a ‘primary’ school that resembled the education system in Japan. This racialized education system aimed to create effective, docile, colonial

⁵Some information such as clan/family specific highly specialized skills, such as techniques for growing yams or canoe building, would have been more closely guarded information according to Colletta (1980).

subjects out of Pohnpeian youth by teaching them enough Japanese to be effectively ruled, but not enough to resist. The Japanese enforced this system by requiring all children of the appropriate age to attend. Parents who refused were often beaten or publicly shamed by Japanese police. This system was largely effective, since Colletta argues that the Japanese system of strict hierarchy, rigid discipline, and public shaming strongly resembled Pohnpeian methods of controlling behavior, so much so that many Pohnpeian parents condoned such educational practices. Both the Japanese schools and the missionary schools instilled the notion that Pohnpeians were morally and culturally inferior to outsiders.

The Japanese school system on Pohnpei ended with the surrender of Japan at the end of WWII in 1945 and the beginning of the American occupation (Figure 3.7). The initial American occupation was run under the Department of Defense, in particular the U.S. Navy, from 1944–1951. During this time, the American administration publicly aimed to create little institutional change on the island, except for the removal of all Japanese occupants and institutions on the island. As part of this goal, they aimed to create schools that “will not disturb their social, economic, or aesthetic standards, which are adequate to them” (Colletta 1980: 44). This goal did not last long. In 1947, with the establishment of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the goal of education shifted to “raise the standards of food production and the nature of the food supply, and to equip the local inhabitants for the conduct of their government and the management of their trade and industry” (p. 45). To this end the schools were designed to foster and encourage

- a. The native language, history, arts and crafts.
- b. Instruction in the English language to inhabitants of all ages.
- c. Preprofessional training in medicine, nursing, and teaching...
- d. Experimental and demonstrational projects in agriculture (Peacock 1990: 9).

In terms of language policy, this early period was unsure of what should be emphasized more, local languages or English, and what language should be used to encourage communication between culture groups. The administration decided to start early education in the ‘vernacular’ language and then start adding more and more English as a ‘supplementary’ language as they got older. They decided on this balance because

continuing contact with the modern world beyond the Trust Territory is inevitable, education should be so adjusted that, without unnecessarily disrupting the indigenous way of living, it may help the island people to understand the outside influences that play upon them and to choose for their own only the best of these outside skills and practices (Peacock 1990: 10).

This policy, however, was inherently contradictory because the process of learning in this way was inherently disruptive, as is choosing outside practices to add. In practice, the Navy struggled with this balance and viewed English as a more important language of education. This bias toward English is seen in comments from the Navy in 1951 during the transfer of power to the Department of the Interior:

- (1) A common language is needed for direct communications between CIVAD [Civil Administration] and the majority of the people.
- (2) A common language is needed for communication between peoples from different areas or islands of the territory.
- (3) A modern universal language is required to facilitate extra-curricular adult education.
- (4) The greatest incentive to elementary school attendance is the opportunity to learn English (the language of the administrators). The children want to learn English. The teaching of English in the elementary school is considered the most efficient and practical medium of achieving the above (Peacock 1990: 30).

The Navy saw English as a tool to better manage the U.S.'s new colonial possession.

The new Department of the Interior team, headed by Dr. Robert Gibson, pushed back against the ways of the U.S. Navy and made sweeping changes starting in 1951. Gibson viewed education as tool that should benefit each local community. As such he wanted each school to be catered to each island. To do so he commissioned local textbooks and histories in local languages and framed by local cultures. He developed curricula centered on local languages and cultures instead of a one-size-fits-all approach used by the Navy and Japanese. He also encouraged elders to teach students their skills through actual use, such as fishing and in so doing, the students would also learn other 'school' skills such math outside the classroom. He also encouraged American educational staff in the Trust Territories to learn local languages because "[it] is inconceivable that we can learn what the educational needs of these people are without being able to communicate with them in their own language" (Peacock 1990: 45).

The Gibson administration also highly valued literacy in local languages, which should take precedence over English (Peacock 1990). Gibson did see a place for English in education and as a universal unifying language. The question for him was when English should be taught. To this end intermediate schools did teach classes in English, as did other institutions of higher learning. But it was of the utmost importance for him that elementary education be done in local languages, because he thought that introducing English earlier would lead to the loss of local languages and cultural identities.

Despite his strong support of local languages and cultures, his administration was limited in its abilities to carry out some of his ideas because of tight budget restrictions. His staff linguist, whose



Figure 3.7. Ruins of Japanese WWII anti-aircraft gun on Sokehs island

job it was to develop local orthographies, dictionaries, and grammar books, was cut due to budget restrictions (Peacock 1990). Instead much of the 'language development' work was carried out on the district level by local and American staff and occasionally even students, which lead to many inconsistencies and a varied quality of translations. Even with budget restrictions, he and his staff were able to create many textbooks, storybooks, and other scientific texts locally for use in the schools, which were often mimeographed into low quality copies.

Overall, Gibson viewed education in the Trust Territories as a tool to lead the islands eventually to self-governance and did what he thought was the best way to get there. His efforts and views though were not always reciprocated by American politicians. Starting in the late 1950s several reports criticized the Department of Education's use of local languages and locally used textbooks. Several recommended greater use of English in the curriculum and creating more opportunities that foster an increased use of English in the daily lives of teachers and students to improve their fluency (Peacock 1990). The election of Kennedy as President of the U.S. in 1960 marked the beginning of the end for Gibson's language policies.

The U.N., who oversaw the U.S.'s occupation of the Trust Territories criticized the U.S. for not developing the islands fast enough into an independent nation in a 1961 report. The report in particular noted how a lack of proper English education has failed to create a lingua franca in the islands, which is necessary to promote 'Micronesian Unity' (Peacock 1990). Despite the criticisms about language policy, the Trust Territory sponsored report by Charles Hockett in 1961 supported Gibson's language policies. Despite these reports, a representative body elected by members from each of the Trust Territory districts voted in favor of a statement that supported lowering the age to first grade for the teaching of English. As a result of this vote and the changing winds of language ideologies, the Trust Territory administration decided to make English the universal language of 'Micronesia' in 1961 (Peacock 1990). Though the administration decided to make English the language of 'Micronesia', there were few qualified English teachers available. To rectify this, they requested Peace Corps volunteers to provide the necessary English language teacher workforce, though the request was rejected until 1966. From 1961 until the early 1970s, education on Pohnpei and the Trust Territories was predominately English only and used U.S. educational materials. The many Peace Corps volunteers in the islands starting in 1966 radically shifted the use of English in education.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, with the Johnson administrations 'War on Poverty' and the civil rights movement, new interests in indigenous language and bilingual education arose (Peacock 1990). Starting in the early 1970s, the University of Hawai'i received funding from the Trust Territory government to create reference grammars, dictionaries and other education materials for Trust Territory languages under the Pacific and Asian Language Institute (PALI) book series. This renewed interest led to the creation of standard orthography for Pohnpeian and a reference grammar (Rehg & Sohl 1981) and dictionary (current online version of Sohl et al. 2017). In 1972 Pohnpei started a bilingual education program. This program taught children in grades one and two how to read and write in Pohnpeian (even for neighbor island communities) and also taught English as a second language. Then in third grade the students learned how to read and write in English, but the rest of the subjects were in Pohnpeian. By fifth grade, half the subjects were taught in English and half in Pohnpeian. High school and college, however, were taught in English because they had students from multiple districts. Because of political changes in the U.S. these bilingual programs were much better funded than the earlier Gibson programs.

The bilingual education programs of the 1970s, however, suffered during the 1980s under the Reagan administration, which again reduced funding for these programs. The American colonial education system often fluctuated based on the political and funding whims of the current administration. This led to many on the ground irregularities and constantly shifting policy goals and training programs. While some of the programs, such as Gibson's, had what they thought to be the best interest

of the island's residents in mind, they imposed a new colonial language as well as many cultural changes, despite their stated desire of minimal change.

Education on Pohnpei today resembles the bilingualism program from the 1970s.⁶ In the public schools, education up through fourth grade is in the 'vernacular' language. On Pohnpei the 'vernacular' language is Pohnpeian, as well as on neighbor islands whose language is not Pohnpeian (though implementation is another issue). English is also introduced in these early grades. After fourth grade, education is only in English with no classes officially in Pohnpeian. Educational materials for the younger grades are often limited and sometimes unfortunately of poor physical quality. Some organizations such as Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL)⁷ and Island Research & Education Initiative (iREi)⁸ on Pohnpei are dedicated to creating educational materials in Pohnpeian and other local languages to supplement the materials available from the Pohnpei Department of Education. The English educational materials are mostly textbooks from the U.S. and the education standards are still highly influenced by the U.S. education system, especially schools on Guam and Hawai'i. Private schools on Pohnpei are also quite popular. These schools are run solely by religious organizations such as the Catholic Church (Figures 3.8 and 3.9), Seventh Day Adventists, and Baptists and are located in Kolonia. These schools are often considered 'better' (more American in style) than the public schools and mostly educate the island's elite. The private schools only teach in English at all levels and often have students from all the states of the FSM, especially children of National Government officials. The curricula and materials used by the private schools very closely resemble that of American schools.⁹ In all of the private schools, speaking in a language other than English is often punished with detention or other punishments. Some of the elite students on Pohnpei, also attend Xavier High School in Chuuk, which is a boarding school run by the Jesuits. Some of these private schools such as Xavier High School are accredited by the U.S.-based Accrediting Commission for Schools of the Western Association of Schools and College (WASC)¹⁰ and offer a college preparatory curriculum that focuses on getting students ready to attend U.S. colleges and universities. The main community college on Pohnpei, the College of Micronesia-FSM campus, is run like an American college and is also accredited by the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges of the

⁶There is currently a draft proposal to include a Pohnpei studies curriculum, which including teaching Pohnpeian language and culture at every grade level in public schools. The plan was originally for this program to be implemented for the 2017–2018 school year, but was put on hold by Pohnpei Department of Education officials (pers. comm. Emerson Odango 2017).

⁷<http://prel.org/>

⁸<http://islandresearch.org>

⁹The private elementary school that I taught at on Pohnpei adapted its curriculum almost verbatim from a school district on Guam.

¹⁰<http://www.acswasc.org>

WASC. Many students on Pohnpei also take the SAT, ACT, TOFEL, and Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) standardized tests in high school.



Figure 3.8. Pohnpei Catholic School (K–8th grade) in Kolonia

All of the colonial educational programs on Pohnpei have focused on the benefits of a colonial language, taught students the values of the colonizer, and have mostly ignored indigenous way of knowledge production and knowledge transfer. The effect of this colonial history can still be seen in the current educational system. The effects of this colonial education legacy on language attitudes are explored in this dissertation.

3.5 Ethnicity and identity

Pohnpei's history is centered on what it means to be Pohnpeian. It is a story of how outsiders become Pohnpeian by acting in an appropriate Pohnpeian way. In the process of becoming Pohnpeian, they brought with them new skills, technology, and resources that both change and improve the island. Conversely, Pohnpei's history is also a story of Pohnpeians' abilities to pragmatically adapt to outsiders in order to survive, while still maintaining the core of their identities. Because of this pragmatism, Pohnpei has survived many outsiders and colonizers. This section explores some of the ways that Pohnpeian identities and ethnicities intersect.



Figure 3.9. Pohnpei Catholic School classroom

Pohnpei has never been a homogenous ethnic group. Each of its many clans represents Pohnpei's history of immigration. Each clan has a unique history and characteristics that collectively have become Pohnpei. This complex weaving of groups was complicated by colonization, which has brought several neighbor island communities to Pohnpei since the German colonial period. Many of these communities, such as the Ngatikese, Pingelapese, and Mwokilese communities, speak languages closely related to Pohnpeian, though not entirely mutually intelligible. Although their languages are closely related, these atoll communities maintained little regular contact with the communities on Pohnpei historically. Pohnpei had little to no political influence on them (Poyer 1990, 1993). Some of these communities, like the Nukuoro, Kapingamarangi, and Mortlockese, speak more distantly related languages and had virtually no pre-colonization interactions with Pohnpei. Starting with the German occupation and continuing with the Japanese, significant percentages of these neighbor island communities were relocated to Pohnpei because of natural disasters. These relocations forged new ties between Pohnpei and these atoll communities. This bond was strengthened under the American occupation, when many atolls were tied politically to a high island district center (e.g., Pohnpei). For the historic Ponape district, this meant that Pohnpei had direct political control and influence over these atoll communities. This relationship has continued under the FSM, with the former district (except for Kosrae) now being Pohnpei State. While these atoll communities make up

five of the eleven municipalities in Pohnpei State, they only hold five out of twenty-three seats in the Pohnpei State Assembly ([Pohnpei State Government n.d.](#)), which gives them very little political sway. Likewise, Pohnpei State only recognizes Pohnpeian and English as official languages. [Poyer \(1993\)](#) describes how some Pohnpeians (from the island of Pohnpei) have viewed the neighboring atoll communities as inferior, particularly when it comes to language and traditions, such as how to show respect to a Nahnmwarki. Some Pohnpeians have even gone as far as taking it upon themselves to teach these communities, such as the Ngatikese, how to carry out traditions, such as feasts in the ‘proper’ Pohnpeian way. These atoll communities on Pohnpei, thus, often face pressure to perform feasts and funerals in a Pohnpeian way, rather than in the manner of their home islands. Some still do maintain the ways of their home island despite this pressure.

For the Ngatikese, [Poyer \(1993\)](#) argues that Ngatikese (or Pohnpeian) identity is not necessarily based on genetics or birth, but rather is fluidly defined based on actions. One can be Ngatikese by acting in a Ngatikese way. Likewise this same person can later be not Ngatikese by acting in an un-Ngatikese way. For those Ngatikese living on Pohnpei, this becomes a delicate balance of fitting in and acting Pohnpeian, while at the same time being distinct and maintaining their home identity of being Ngatikese. Poyer also notes that many Ngatikese (and perhaps other atoll communities) view the Pohnpeian language as more formal than their own language and will use Pohnpeian with government officials on Pohnpei. They also are not comfortable with the formal honorific Meing, which is more hierarchical than their traditions. She also notices that some Ngatikese, try not to speak their language outside of their home community for fear of being marked as other or being made fun of on Pohnpei. [Damas \(1985\)](#) has also commented on how Pohnpeians are condescending toward atoll communities such as the Pingelapese. [Lieber \(1977\)](#) likewise wrote about how the Kapinga living on Pohnpei use Pohnpeian as a way to interact and do business with the greater Pohnpeian community.

Poyer argues that ‘ethnic’ identities on Pohnpei are not necessarily rigidly defined by biology, but rather through the performance of certain linguistic and cultural norms. Atoll communities then can be marked as non-Pohnpeian or Pohnpeian based on whether or not they perform Pohnpeian norms. In my own experiences living on Pohnpei, many Pohnpeians would make comments that a certain person was not really Pohnpeian, because they did not follow prescribed norms (such as accepting apologies to save face and keep the peace). However, this view is in contrast to the views of ethnicity imposed by Pohnpei’s colonizers. The Japanese colonizers viewed ethnicity as biological and had distinct policies based on biological racial categories (different school systems based on race described above). They also made distinctions between island groups as seen during the final days of WWII where some groups of islanders were given better food rations than others ([Falgout 1991](#)). The earlier Christian missionaries likewise judged islanders based on biological terms and ranked

islands based on their supposed barbarism (Jolly 2007). While not well-researched on Pohnpei, there is mostly likely some tension between the Euro-american view of ethnic identities as being based on set biological categories¹¹ and a more performative view of identity.

3.6 Globalization and media

Pohnpei has changed rapidly in the past couple of decades as a result of globalization. In particular, Pohnpei now has widespread access to the internet (both via a continually expanding aDSL and cellular data networks) that reaches most parts of the island, as well as to some of the neighboring atolls via satellite connections. In Kolonia and neighboring areas, there is also access to cable TV which broadcast international networks such as CNN and the BBC. This new level of connectivity has made it much easier for people to receive information from anywhere in the world as well as making it easier for family abroad to connect with relatives on Pohnpei via Skype or Facebook. Children now grow up with access to this information. This level of access is unprecedented and its effect on Pohnpei has not been studied. Rehg (1998) noticed over twenty years ago that the use of English had increased drastically since his earlier visits to Pohnpei, because of the increasing connectivity offered by commercialization and globalization. This has of course increased rapidly since then.

In addition to technological access, globalization has also physically connected Pohnpei to other parts of the world, as well as brought myriad foreign goods. Many Pohnpeians now live abroad, especially in Guåhån (Guam), Hawai‘i, or the U.S. continent. There are now generations of Pohnpeians who have grown up abroad and who have never been to Pohnpei. Some of these communities abroad, such as the one in Kansas City, have grown big enough that they have been incorporated as a kousapw (section) of Pohnpei with its own chief (Hubbard 2013).

Given the amount of physical changes induced by globalization, Pohnpeian culture and language will change as well. This dissertation examines some of the attitudes that center on globalization and how it intersects with languages issues. Virtually no prior research has addressed how globalization on Pohnpei has affected language use.

3.7 Linguistic context

There are many languages spoken on Pohnpei. Pohnpeian and English are the most commonly spoken and are official languages of Pohnpei State. There are also many other languages spoken on the

¹¹This is not to say that Pohnpei identity historically was not tied at all to biology as clan membership and the histories of one’s clan were very important in belonging to Pohnpei (Hanlon 1988). But at the same time adoption, intermarriage, and cultural adaptivity complemented those views.

island as a result of the many diverse communities living there. Most of these languages are spoken by communities from other islands in the FSM and from the Marshall Islands, Palau, Guåhån, and the CNMI. The most common of these languages are Mwokilese, Pingelapese, Ngatikese, Nukuo-ran, Kapingamarangi, Mortlockese, Kosraean, Marshallese, Chuukese (Chuuk lagoon), Satawalese, Ulithian, Woleaian, Yapese, Palauan, Chamorro, and Carolinian. There is also a fairly large Filipino community on Pohnpei who speak a variety of languages, the most common being Tagalog, Ilocano, Cebuano, and Pangasinan. There are also people who work for international NGOs on Pohnpei who speak Fijian, Tongan, Sāmoan, Māori, other Pacific languages, French, German, and other European languages. There are also several people from Asian countries who work for embassies on Pohnpei or in other industries like fishing and shipping. The most common Asian languages are Japanese, Mandarin, Korean, and Vietnamese. Overall, Pohnpei is a linguistically diverse island with dozens of language communities.

This dissertation focuses primarily on the so-called ‘Micronesian’ language communities¹² on the island, but there are many more that are equally worthy of study. All of these ‘Micronesian’ languages are members of the Austronesian language family, though many are quite distantly related. Some, however, are fairly closely related which can lead to special relationships between language communities based on some level of mutual intelligibility (e.g., Mwokilese and Pingelapese). The relative relationships of the most common ‘Micronesian’ language communities on Pohnpei are visualized in Figure 3.10. The visualized relationships are based on the estimated shared cognates and only represents a very basic measure of similarity. Languages that are closer together are more similar and those farther apart are more different. The exact distance apart is somewhat uninterpretable and roughly translates to more dissimilarity. The figure is only meant as a simple heuristic for linguistic similarity and does not aim to be quantitative indication of (dis)similarity.

3.7.1 Pohnpeian orthography

Since Pohnpei and the Pohnpeian language are a major focus of this dissertation, several Pohnpeian words and phrases are used throughout this dissertation. In order to facilitate the pronunciation of those words, a short description of the Pohnpeian orthography from [Rehg & Sohl \(1981\)](#) is presented

¹²The term ‘Micronesian’ languages has been used in multiple ways in the literature on these languages. Some use the term to mean any language spoken in the so-called geographic ‘Micronesia’, which includes Palauan through Kiribati and the so-called ‘polynesian outliers’. Others, such as [Bender et al. \(2003\)](#), use it to mean only those languages that comprise a ‘Micronesian’ sub-branch of the Austronesian language family that only includes Chuukic languages, Pohnpeic languages, Kosraean, Marshallese, Nauruan, and Kiribati. In this dissertation, I use it in the broader geographic sense only when there is no better way to describe the languages.

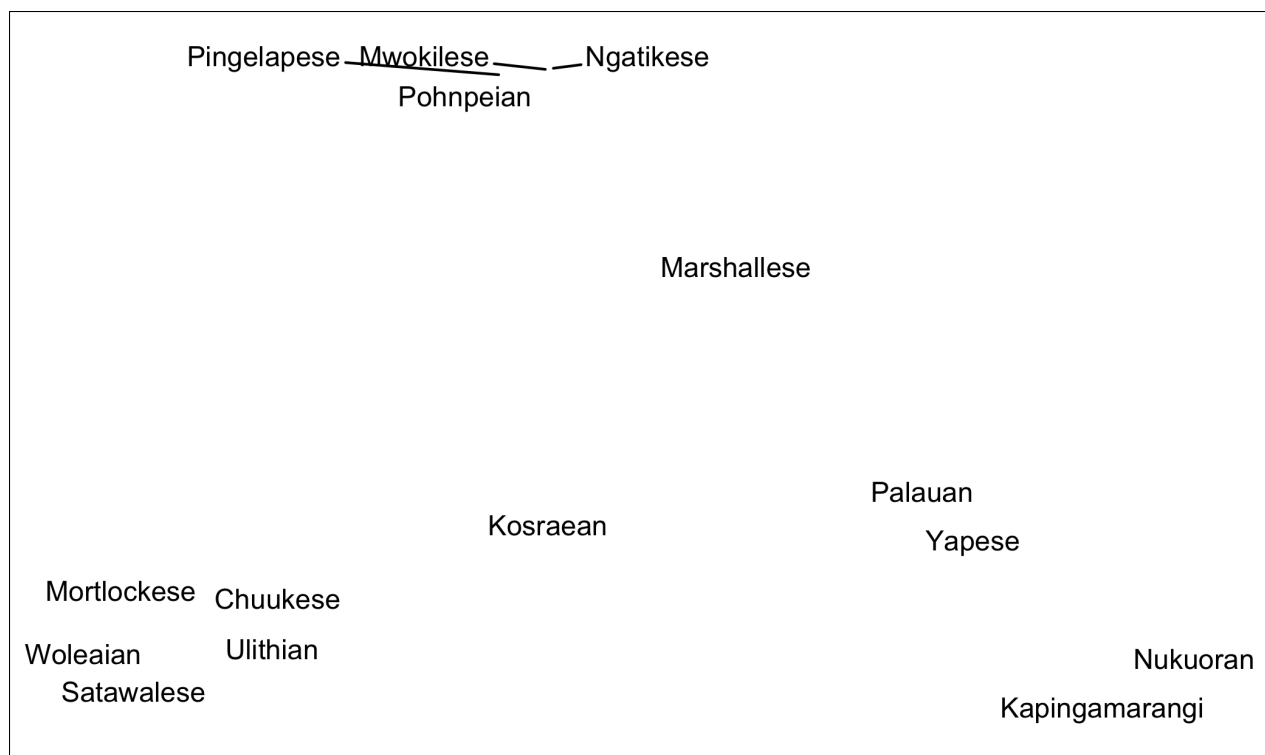


Figure 3.10. Estimated relative relationships between ‘Micronesian’ languages

in Table 3.2. Pohnpeian does not have lexical stress, but rather seems to mark prominence via international boundary tones (Rentz & Anderson under review).

Table 3.2. Pohnpeian orthography

Grapheme	IPA
a	/ɐ/
e	/ɛ/
i	/i/
o	/o/
oa	/ɔ/
u	/u/ or /w/
h	:
k	/k/
l	/l/
m	/m/
mw	/m ^w /
n	/n/
ng	/ŋ/
p	/p/
pw	/p ^w /
r	/r/

s	/s ^h /
d	/t̪/
t	/t̪̥/
w	/w/

Some place names such as Kitti and Nett use an older orthography where <tt> indicates /t̪/. In the [Rehg & Sohl \(1981\)](#) orthography, the place names would be spelled Kiti and Net. This dissertation, however, uses Kitti and Nett, as they are more commonly used.

3.7.2 Pohnpeian language grammatical overview

This section provides a very brief typological overview of the Pohnpeian language from [Rehg & Sohl \(1981\)](#). Pohnpeian is an SVO language with head initial phrases. The Pohnpeian verbal system has four aspects: unmarked, imperfective, perfective, and habitual. The imperfective is marked by a complex system of verbal reduplication. Verbs can also take a large number of affixes that can indicate among other things directionality (such as up/down or inland/seaward), deixis (toward speaker, toward listener, or away from both), type of motion (such as scattered or collective), as well as direct and indirect pronominal objects (for more details see [Rehg & Sohl \(1981: 215–258\)](#)).

Pohnpeian has a complex numeral system with dozens of different classes of numerals used with different types of objects (such as animate objects, round objects, heaps/piles, long objects, strips of objects, stalks, etc.). It also has a complex system of alienable and inalienable possession. Inalienable possession is achieved by head marking, where suffixes that agree with the person and number of the possessor are added to the possessed noun. Alienable possession is done through dependent marking, where a large system of possessive classifiers that describe the relationship of the possession (such as drinkable object, edible object, cherished possession, etc.) are used. The possessive classifiers take the same suffixes used with inalienable possession to mark the person and number of the possessor. Unlike some languages where nouns belong to a fixed possessive classifier class, nouns in Pohnpeian can be used with multiple classes depending on the type of relationship the speaker wishes to describe. For example, one could say *ahi pwihk* ‘clf.1SG.POS pig’ to indicate that you just happen to have a pig. Likewise, one could change the possessive classifier by saying *kenei pwihk* ‘food.CLF-1SG.POSS pig’ to indicate that the pig is intended to be food.

In addition to complex verbal morphology for directionals, Pohnpeian also encodes spatial information with prepositions and prepositional nouns. Prepositional nouns are nouns that encode spatial information, such as *powe* ‘aboveness’, that are inalienably possessed. See [Rentz \(2017\)](#) for more infor-

mation on how Pohnpeian speakers use prepositions and prepositional nouns to encode topological relations.

3.7.3 Honorific registers

Many of the languages communities on Pohnpei have honorific registers to express both respect and humility. Pohnpeian in particular has a complex system of honorifics, called *Meing*, that translates roughly into three levels: common, respectful, and royal (Rehg & Sohl 1981). The common level is used primarily with friends and family members of similar age. The respectful level is used with people older than you, when meeting a stranger for the first time, or in setting where one wants to show respect to that person, such as in professional meetings. The royal level is used primarily with a *Nahnmwarki*, *Nahnken*, or those with other royal titles.

The use of *Meing* is a complex process that involves both using respectful words and markers for the person being honored and humiliative terms for yourself and possibly others. This process is complicated by who is being addressed and their title, who is being referred to and their title, who is speaking and their title, and who is overhearing the conversation and their titles (Keating & Duranti 2006). The appropriate use of honorifics and humiliatives depends on that complex web of relationships that is constantly shifting throughout the conversation. Keating (1998) demonstrates many ways in which *Meing* is used which collectively demonstrate how both men and women use *Meing* to index status difference and reinforce the chiefly title system. Though, unlike many system of power and status, the Pohnpeian chiefly system is (re)created from the bottom up. It is expected that individuals, including the *Nahnmwarki*, are to humble themselves. Others, particularly those of lower status, raise the status of higher titled individuals by using exaltive honorifics, effectively recreating and maintaining the status distinction. Keating (1998) also demonstrates that while men have previously been shown to be the primary focus of honorific use on Pohnpei, women also play a necessary role in it at every level.

In my personal experience of living on Pohnpei, most adult Pohnpeians know and use at least some *Meing*. Many, however, admit to not knowing the full complexities of it, especially with the royal level.

Other languages communities on Pohnpei have similar honorific systems, such as Pingelapese Wahu, but informal reports suggest that they may not be used as much as *Meing* anymore. Poyer (1993) describes how the Ngatikese occasionally use *Meing*, but often feel uncomfortable with it and see it as a foreign, Pohnpeian practice more so than a Ngatikese one.

3.7.4 Pohnpeian dialects

The Pohnpeian language has several dialects. The literature on the dialects is quite scarce and the main discussion is on the Kitti varieties versus the northern varieties. A common distinction between the two is that the northern varieties' phoneme /ɛ/, such as in *sehse* /sɛ:sɛ/ 'do not know', is realized in Kitti varieties in some instances as /ɔ/ (e.g., *soahsoa* /sɔ:sɔ/). This difference in pronunciation has led to some disagreement about how to 'properly' write Pohnpeian. The official orthography of [Rehg & Sohl \(1981\)](#) uses the northern way of spelling words. [Rehg \(1998\)](#) and [Rehg \(2004\)](#) both note that the orthography has unintentionally created a new tension between the northern varieties and the Kitti varieties that did not exist before. In reaction to this, the Kitti municipal government has mandated that all government texts created in Kitti must use the Kitti pronunciation instead of the northern one. Other dialect differences on the island have not been thoroughly documented.

3.7.5 Literature in and on languages of Pohnpei State

Pohnpeian and other languages spoken on the island have a fair number of texts written about them. However, there are few texts written in them. This section provides a brief list of both texts about a specific language and texts written in them for further reading. The languages focused on in this section are Pohnpeian, Pingelapese, Mwokilese, Mortlockese, Kapingamarangi, and Nukuoran. Many of the documents listed below are not readily accessible and may only be accessed in the Pacific collection of Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.¹³ This collection, though, aims to be as exhaustive as possible and amounts to the best collection of Pacific documents in the world. The materials housed there (and perhaps only there) about languages spoken on Pohnpei may be good source material for future works or reprints. Some of the documents are also found in Pohnpei Historic Preservation Office in Kolonia or the Division of Archives and Historic Preservation Office of the FSM National Government in Palikir.

Most of the other sources for writing in these languages are more informal. For example, there are many store and educational signs and public statements written in Pohnpeian across the island (Figure 3.11). Individuals may also have personal documents written in their own languages.

3.7.5.1 Pohnpeian

Of all the languages of the FSM, Pohnpeian is one of the most written about. In terms of language structure there is a reference grammar ([Rehg & Sohl 1981](#)) and dictionary ([Sohl et al. 2017](#)). There are also several texts about various aspects of Pohnpeian grammar: topological relations ([Rentz 2017](#)),

¹³<https://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/hawaiianpacific>



Figure 3.11. Sign in Pohnpeian for a law firm in Kolonia in 2011

syntax (Good 1977), phonetics (Kozasa 2005), phonology (Blevins & Garrett 1993), and Meing and sociolinguistics (Keating 1998, 2001, 2005, Keating & Duranti 2006). Other texts about the language include the history and politics of the creation of the Pohnpeian orthography (Rehg 2004), historical reconstructions of earlier forms of Pohnpeian (Bender et al. 2003), language planning issues (Yunick, Jr. 2000), Pohnpeian language education (Daniel 2014, Trust Territory Department of Education 1980), vitality of the language (Rehg 1998), and issue about language maintenance (Odango 2015b,c). There are also books about the ethnobotany of Pohnpei (Balick 2009) and Pohnpeian as a foreign language textbook (Rehg & Sohl 1969).

There are only a handful of the documents that exist in Pohnpeian, namely the Bible, Pohnpei State Constitution and laws, Book of Luelen (rare handwritten copies only), children learner's books (Krejenj 1940, Phillips 2004, Nežić & Sohl 2010, Mutchler & Sohl 2010a,b), history texts about Pohnpei by Masao Hadley (rare copies), stories about Pohnpei (Fitch & Edwin 1967, Ehsa 1978a,b), texts about the planting of breadfruit (Hadley 1994), oral histories about different parts of Pohnpei (Santos

2006, Hebel 2009), place name stories from across the island (Kiriemo 2003, Salvador 2003, 2005), and descriptions of Pohnpeian canoes (Ehram 2009).

There are also some academic works and books of poetry that have large amounts of translanguage with Pohnpeian, such as Kihleng (2008, 2015).

3.7.5.2 Pingelapese

Pingelapese has very few documents written about it, namely a morphology, sketch grammar, and word list (Hattori 2012). Likewise, there are few texts available in Pingelapese: children learner's picture books (Hattori & Manuel 2005, Hattori et al. 2007) and the Bible (currently under translation).

3.7.5.3 Mwokilese

Mwokilese has slightly more texts written about it than Pingelapese, including a reference grammar (Harrison & Albert 1976), a morpho-syntax text (Harrison 1977), an article about borrowings from Marshallese (Rehg & Bender 1990), a place names and oral history report (Poll 2008), and an article about reduplication (Blevins 1996).

However, there was only one text found in Mwokilese: Trust Territory era education materials (Trust Territory Department of Education 1955b).

3.7.5.4 Mortlockese

There are also only a few available resources on Mortlockese: morpho-phonology (Odango 2015a), morpho-syntax (Odango 2014), narrative style (Odango 2015d), and historical reconstructions (Odango 2013).

Only one extant full published text in Mortlockese was found: Bible (partial) American Bible Society (1882).

3.7.5.5 Nukuoran

Similarly, Nukuoran has only a few older documents written about it—a lexicon (Carroll & Soulik 1973) and a grammar sketch (Carroll 1965)—as well as a more recent report about place names and oral histories on the atoll (Rudolph 2007).

All the available texts in Nukuoran are also quite old as well: Bible (unknown year), collections of stories (Carroll 1980), and education materials (Trust Territory Department of Education 1955c, Saulik 1956).

3.7.5.6 Kapingamarangi

Kapingamarangi has very similar texts about it as Nukuoran: a grammar ([Elbert 1948](#)), lexicon ([Lieber & Dikepa 1974](#)), and place names with oral histories ([Mateak 2006](#)).

It also only has a few Trust Territory era documents written in it: educational materials ([Trust Territory Department of Education 1955a](#), [Grey & Taitos 1957](#), [George 1961](#)) and a book of legends ([Hikarip 1956](#)).

Chapter 4

Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology used to conduct the research for this dissertation. The chapter starts with my positionality statement about the research in §4.1. The quantitative analysis methodology is then discussed in §4.2, followed by the qualitative one in §4.3.

4.1 Positionality

This dissertation is designed for the people of Pohnpei. As such, it is meant to have as much of a practical outcome as any dissertation can. Since despite my desire to make an accessible dissertation, the fact that it is written in English limits who on Pohnpei can access its information. As such, an explicit goal of this dissertation is to lead to the creation of useful and accessible materials translated into Pohnpeian and other languages spoken on Pohnpei that summarize the key findings, implications, and policy recommendations that stem from this research as outlined in item 2 below. This dissertation also frames Pohnpei as the discursive norm. All Pohnpeian words will be translated the first time they occur in the dissertation, but will not be italicized.

As a mehn wai (American, outsider), it is not always possible for me to understand Pohnpeian epistemologies, to remove my privilege completely as part of the colonizer class, and to divest all of my colonial frames of knowing. My research is framed by these biases and although it is impossible for me to completely eliminate them, I make every effort to be mindful of my positionality as a mehn wai. But I do come to this research after having lived for two years on Pohnpei. Though during that time, I lived in Kolonia, taught at a private school, and lived and worked in a mostly English-speaking environment, but with mostly Pohnpeian co-workers. Because of this experience, my ability to speak Pohnpeian is unfortunately limited. I do, however, have an intimate, lived experience of the struggles many teacher, schools, and students have on Pohnpei, as well as their corresponding cultural and linguistic tensions. As an untrained, volunteer, mehn wai teacher, I undoubtedly added to those struggles and tensions. In addition to my time as a teacher, I have also made several return visits,

and have many friends and colleagues on the island. It is only through those relationships that I understand anything about Pohnpei. Even though I strive for ethical and meaningful research, I recognize the inherent problems in this research process.

Because of my outsider biases and privileges, I have been extra diligent to carry out this research in a meaningful and ethical way. As a metric for ethical research, I present my responses to [Bishop's \(2005\)](#) five guidelines for ethical research with indigenous communities (see §2.2.1):

1. Initiation: The research carried out in this dissertation came about after talking with several friends from the Federated States of Micronesia about what meaningful linguistics research would be there. The research was then shaped and developed by myself and the dissertation committee. The committee members were chosen for their strong academic excellence as well as their commitment to ethical, meaningful research. In addition to her other excellent qualifications, one member from Pohnpei was chosen so that a Pohnpeian has official decision-making power over the research. The analyses have also been shaped by many conversations on Pohnpei during the research process.
2. Benefits: The goal of this dissertation is to produce research that will have a direct positive benefit for Pohnpei. Since language attitudes touch every aspect of life, their implications can lead to significant effects on people's lives. Thus, one of the outputs of this dissertation will be language policy recommendations for the Pohnpei State and FSM National Governments. In addition to the benefits to Pohnpei, this dissertation also benefits me, by allowing me to receive a prestigious degree from the university upon successful completion.
3. Representation: The dissertation strives to present as many different Pohnpeian voices as possible by not glossing over the inherent variation that exists. It recognizes that Pohnpei sohte ehu (Pohnpei is not one). Pohnpeian voices and ideas are also privileged over outsider voices and ideas whenever possible.
4. Legitimacy: Pohnpeian knowledge is privileged over outside knowledge whenever possible. I have attempted to frame it as the norm. I am not fully aware of all the hegemonic and colonial views that I hold, but to the best of my ability I strive to deconstruct those relevant to the research.
5. Accountability: I am ultimately accountable and responsible for the research, though overseen by the dissertation committee.

4.2 Quantitative analysis

Quantitative analyses are helpful for this research, because they are tools that help model what the data are doing and reveal unseen patterns. They provide both broad trends and individual nuance. Both help tell the story of language attitudes on Pohnpei. The quantitative methods of this dissertation follow a poststructuralist framework (see §2.3.4.2).

In this section, I start with a discussion on categories and their problems (§4.2.1), followed by how the questionnaires used in this study were created (§4.2.2), how the surveys were administered and the data processed (§4.2.3), and how the data were statistically analyzed (§4.2.4).

The data and *R* code are available via <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/55962> and <https://github.com/rentzb/language-attitudes-pohnpei>.

4.2.1 The problems with categories

Quantitative analyses require the use of variables that somewhat arbitrarily categorize the data into groups. This process of categorization necessarily involves a subjective interpretation of the dataset, which is not necessarily negative, because all research is subjective. Categorization begs the following questions: (1) are these categories meaningful or helpful to the analysis, (2) what world views or ideologies are embedded in those categories and whose interest do they serve, and (3) are there other categorizations that may ‘better’ represent the constructed realities where the data were collected?

To demonstrate these concerns, let us examine a variable used in the analyses: age. Age on the surface level seems to have a strong objective reality. How old some one is should be a simple process of recording how long it has been since they were born (or perhaps since they have been alive). But what does that tell us? Does it take into account different amounts of time spent in the womb? Does it take into account developmental and socio-cultural differences? If two people report the same age of 30 years old, does that mean the same thing? What if one person is 30 years and 300 days old vs. one who is 30 years and 0 days old? Does that matter? Describing someone’s age by rounding it to the nearest year is already a subjective analysis that assumes that everyone who shares that age has some feature(s) in common. The questionnaire in this study goes one step further by grouping ages into seven categories: 18–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, 65–74, 75+. Are those categories meaningful? Do people in each category share meaningful characteristics? Do people on Pohnpei identify with one of those seven age groups? Do they embed any hegemonic or outsider views about age? Is there a more meaningful or helpful way to categorize the data? Are there any mitigating reasons to use this categorization over others? These and other questions will be addressed for this and the variables used in §4.2.2.

Overtly addressing the subjective nature of the research process is an important reflexive aspect of poststructuralist research that helps show the hegemonic forces at play in the research project and also helps to mitigate their effects (Walter & Andersen 2013).

4.2.2 Materials

Questionnaires were chosen as the main data collection tool, since they are a ‘direct method’ of eliciting language attitudes (Garrett et al. 2003), since the study is interested in what the respondents are actually willing to share about their opinions. Since language attitudes are constructed discursively (see §2.3), the responses to the questionnaires are taken to be the respondents’ dialogic positionings toward the questionnaire, the questionnaire administrators, me as the author of the survey, and other previous relevant conversations and experiences. The responses are not taken to be decontextualized, isolated, or underlying attitudes. Also given Pohnpei’s culture of silence and reserve in sharing knowledge (Petersen 1993), the truthfulness of the responses cannot always be guaranteed, which complicates the analysis. However, since the questionnaires do not ask for typically concealed knowledge, such as family oral traditions or medicinal practices, the effects of concealment are potentially diminished, but nonetheless acknowledged.

This study employs two survey instruments. The first one was employed during July–August 2016 and the second one July–August 2017. The two questionnaires are substantially similar to each other.

4.2.2.1 Design of survey instrument one

Survey instrument one consisted of 141 questions written only in English (Appendix B). The general design of the survey was adapted from Ross (2017). The instrument had three sections: demographics, language background, and language attitudes. In order to be transparent about the rational and limitations of the survey instrument, I discuss how each question was developed.

4.2.2.1.1 Demographics

In line with the guiding theme of this dissertation, Pohnpei sohte ehu, the demographics section was designed to collect information about each respondent in order to find patterns in the ways different groups respond to the language attitudes questions. It also a way to make sure a wide variety of people are sampled. By collecting meaningful demographic information, the instrument is able to show the heteroglossia (many voices, see also §2.1.4) inherent in the language attitudes (Bakhtin 1981).

Choosing the right questions to describe an individual or groups of people adequately is an impossible task. Every person has myriads of identities that are constantly being renegotiated ([Bucholtz & Hall 2005](#)). But, there are often some common identities or factors that emerge that can apply to large parts of the population. As an outsider, I may be unaware of some potentially meaningful local categories and am potentially prone to misunderstanding or misrepresenting the ones that I see. The twenty-two questions in this section, discussed below, are my attempt at this task.

4.2.2.1.1.1 Age (1.1)

Question1.1: What is your age? Responses: 18–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, 65–74, 75 years or older.

This questions starts at age 18, because the IRB limits the study to legal adults 18 years old or older. The age groups, except for the first and last one, are all intervals of 10 years. Since those 75 years old or older make up a small percentage of the population, there would be too few people in age groups 75–84, 85–94, and 95–105, for them to be statistically meaningful. Instead they are grouped together.

These age categories are mostly arbitrary and most likely do not correspond to many meaningful categories. A person who is 34 and grouped in category 25-34 may have more in common with someone who is 35 and in category 35-43, than someone who is 25. However, there may be some shared experiences based on these age groups. Individuals in the same category may have similar experiences in schooling, societal discourses, technology changes, or even political systems.

Despite its apparent arbitrary appearance, these categories are still helpful. The main reason they are helpful is because the 2010 FSM census ([Division of Statistics FSM Office of Statistics, Budget, Overseas Development Assistance and Compact Management 2010](#)) provides population data with these age categories. This information is used to poststratify (see §4.2.3.4) the data, which is helpful to make sure that the right number from each age group were sampled to get a more representative view of language attitudes on Pohnpei.

4.2.2.1.1.2 Gender (1.2)

Question1.2: Sex. Responses: Female, Male

This question originally used the word ‘sex’ instead of gender since it is more commonly used on forms in the FSM. The term gender is used instead in the discussion, Only the two most common genders were listed on the questionnaires because they are the most salient genders on Pohnpei and many people strongly identify with them. Because of this strong identification, it is possible that there are language attitudes unique to these identities.

Using binary gender, though, limits and ignores the responses of those who do not identify with binary gender. However, adding more than two genders, while inclusive, may have indexed an overly western or ‘political’ view of the survey and unfortunately may have turned off people from responding to it.

4.2.2.1.1.3 Birth location (1.3)

Question 1.3: Where were you born? Responses: Pohnpei State, Chuuk State, Kosrae State, Yap State, RMI, Palau, Guam, CNMI, Hawai‘i, U.S. Mainland, Other

This question was designed to get a sense of where the respondent is from. Where a person is from is a complex question, because one could answer based on family history (their clan is from a certain island, but they may never have been there themselves), where they are born, what their citizenship is, where they grew up, where they have lived most, or based on many other possible criteria.

This question captures a small piece of where the respondent is from. Although, an individual may be born in a place, such as Hawai‘i or Guåhån (Guam),¹ because of their hospitals, and that person may spend most of their life in an other place, like Pohnpei, and identify as Pohnpeian and not as Guamanian or American.

The responses all correspond to contemporary sub-national political units in the region. Pohnpei State, Chuuk State, Kosrae State, and Yap State were selected, since they are the four states of the FSM. There are significant populations from all four states on Pohnpei. RMI and Palau were added, since they are neighboring countries that were also members of the TTPI and as such have significant populations on Pohnpei. Guåhån, CNMI, Hawai‘i, and the U.S. Mainland were added since FSM citizens have free access to the U.S. under the COFA and many Pohnpeians live in those places as a result. They are four separate categories, since they are very different places with different experiences. The last category Other was added to allow for places not listed. The categories (except Other) account for the vast majority of birth places for residents of Pohnpei.

Each area has their own general shared experiences that make them more meaningful as a category. For example, someone who grows up in Pohnpei State will have a very different educational and linguistic experience than someone who grows up in Hawai‘i. These experiences can lead to differences in language attitudes.

¹The questionnaire used Guam, but further discussion of the island will use the Chamorro spelling, Guåhån.

4.2.2.1.1.4 Island of origin (1.4)

Question1.4: Which island are you from? Response: free response

The vast majority of residents on Pohnpei identify with being from an island or islands. This island may be different from where they are born or where they grew up. Often it may correspond to where their family is from and often correlates with their home language.

The response for this question was a free response since there are many islands in the region near Pohnpei that it would not be feasible to list them all. It also allows the respondents to list multiple islands if needed.

4.2.2.1.1.5 Village of origin (1.5)

Question1.5: Which village are you from? Response: free response

This question was designed to elicit which village (the smallest political unit on each island) the respondent is from. This information provides very fine grain geographic information about the respondent that may correlate with similar language attitudes for those who are from nearby places.

The term village, though, is inaccurate for Pohnpei, since they typically have homesteads instead of villages, which are called kousapw or sections in English (see [Hanlon \(1988\)](#)), though colloquially some refer to them as villages. Other places in the region do have villages and the Kapingamarangi have a village structure in Kolonia on Pohnpei.

The response for this question was a free response since there are many kousapw on Pohnpei that it would not be feasible to list them all. There are also multiple names for the same kousapw or competing boundaries. The free response allows the respondent to identify with the kousapw of their choosing.

4.2.2.1.1.6 Citizenship (1.6)

Question1.6: What is your citizenship? Responses: FSM, RMI, Palau, USA, Other

By asking about citizenship, this question looks for differences in language attitudes based on country. However, citizenship is not necessarily a meaningful predictor. Like birth location, some people from Pohnpei may be born in the U.S. and thus are U.S. citizens, but have spent the vast majority of their lives on Pohnpei and identify as Pohnpeian. This categorization though, does allow the analysis to see if there are similarities between people from the four states of the FSM vs. RMI, Palau, or the US, which the birth location does not. These categories, however, are quite large, so they may not have much meaning in terms of language attitudes. Citizenship information is collected for thoroughness.

Similar to question 1.3, only the FSM and neighboring countries, plus other are included, since they make up the vast majority of residents on the island.

4.2.2.1.1.7 Current municipality on Pohnpei (1.7)

Question1.7: Which municipality in Pohnpei do you live in now? Responses: Nett, Uh, Sokehs, Madolenihmw, Kitty

The island of Pohnpei is divided into five municipalities called wehi. In the official political system, Kolonia is independent from Nett. However, for the Pohnpeian chiefly system, it is still considered a kousapw of Nett. Many Pohnpeians identify with their wehi. Some, such as Kitty, have strongly associated linguistic features.

Given the importance of the wehi politically and culturally, it is quite probable that there will be language attitude differences between them.

4.2.2.1.1.8 Current village (1.8)

Question1.8: Which village do you live in now? Response: free response

This question is almost identical to question 1.5, but asks about where they are currently living. These two questions capture both where the respondent identifies being from as well as where they currently live, in case they are different. Both these geographic places can influence their language attitudes.

4.2.2.1.1.9 Length of time in FSM (1.9)

Question1.9: How long have you lived in the FSM? Responses: 0–4 years, 5–9 years, 10–19 years, 20–29 years, 30–39 years, 40 or more years

Because many people on Pohnpei have lived abroad, this question ascertains how long they have lived in the FSM. This question assumes that someone who has lived a certain amount of time in the FSM may have access to different language attitudes discourses than someone who has spent more time abroad. Whether, this is a meaningful category is yet to be seen.

The responses represent 10 years spent in the FSM each, except for the first two and last responses. The first two responses assume that there is a meaningful difference between 0–4 years and 5–9 years. This difference is assumed because in year 0, one typically starts with few connections and experiences of the country and rapidly encounters many new people and things. Over time, the rate of change slows and becomes more constant. It is assumed that after 40 years in the country, one is mostly

stable in attitudes, though, this cutoff is a fairly arbitrary. It is yet to be seen if these categories are meaningfully different.

4.2.2.1.1.10 Length of time in Pohnpei State (1.10)

Question1.10: How long have you lived in Pohnpei State? Responses: 0–4 years, 5–9 years, 10–19 years, 20–29 years, 30–39 years, 40 or more years

Similar to question 1.9, this question accounts for individuals who have lived abroad or elsewhere in the FSM and then later moved to Pohnpei. This question assumes that there are some language attitudes discourses that are only (or more) accessible on Pohnpei. The more time one spends on Pohnpei, the more they are influenced by them.

The responses to this question share the same assumptions as question 1.9.

4.2.2.1.1.11 Length of time in current place (1.11)

Question1.11: How long have you lived in your current place? Responses: 0–4 years, 5–9 years, 10–19 years, 20–29 years, 30–39 years, 40 or more years

This question, similar to questions 1.9 and 1.10, ascertains how long the respondent has lived in their current place on Pohnpei. Many people move on the island for various reasons. It assumes that the language attitude discourses on Pohnpei have unequal geographic distributions. That means that a certain place may have common language attitudes that another place might not. The longer one spends in a particular place, the more they are influenced by them.

The responses to this question share the same assumptions as question 1.9 and 1.10.

4.2.2.1.1.12 Travel abroad (1.12)

Question1.12: Have you ever travelled abroad? Responses: Yes, No

This question asks if someone has ever travelled abroad, because one has access to different language attitude discourse abroad. The different discourses may influence the respondents discourses in meaningful ways. This question assumes that those who have travelled abroad may have similar patterns, which are different from those who have not.

The meaningfulness of these two groups is potentially tenuous. There are many places that one can travel abroad that can lead to very different language attitudes. Also the amount of time abroad is highly variable and can also have different effects. On the other hand, someone who travels abroad may use English more and has to have access to significant funds to afford the travel. Those funds can be acquired in a variety of ways, though, making it hard to generalize.

4.2.2.1.1.13 Description of travel abroad (1.13)

Question1.13: If you have travelled abroad, where did you go and for how long? Response: free response

This question supplements question 1.13, seeking the respondent's travel history. This information allows for potentially more nuanced analyses of patterns based on amount of time abroad and location of travel.

4.2.2.1.1.14 Highest level of education completed (1.14)

Question1.14: What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? If currently enrolled, highest degree received. Responses: No schooling completed; Kindergarten–8th grade; Some high school, no diploma; High school, diploma or GED; Some college, no degree; Trade/Technical/vocational training; Associate degree; Bachelor's degree; Master's degree; Professional degree (JD, MD, etc.); Doctorate degree

Previous language attitudes studies (see [Kircher \(2016\)](#), [Atkinson & Kelly-Holmes \(2016\)](#), [Jenckes \(1997\)](#), *inter alia*) have shown education to have a meaningful effect on one's language attitudes. To address this issue, the question uses the main levels of the formal education system on Pohnpei as responses, as well as common U.S. levels for higher education (such as master's degree or doctorate degree), which many residents of Pohnpei have completed.

The vast majority of residents of Pohnpei have attended at least some formal schooling, since attendance is compulsory from ages six to fourteen ([Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia 2001: §104\(1\)](#)).

4.2.2.1.1.15 Type of elementary school (1.15)

Question1.15: Which type of Elementary School did you attend? Responses: Public school, Private school

There are two main types of schools on Pohnpei: public and private schools. Public schools are run by Pohnpei State Department of Education and are free to attend. Their classes are in Pohnpeian (or the community's primary language such as Pingelapese or Mwokilese) through third grade, then switch to primarily English. The private schools are typically religious schools that charge tuition and are strictly English-only at all levels. Private schools are also only weakly regulated by the government and have flexibility in their curricula and often mirror curricula of private schools in the U.S. In addition to different educational experiences, attending a private school most likely also indexes a

higher social class, since the tuition excludes those families who cannot afford it, as well as indexing English ability, because of their monolingual education policies.

These two categories of schools assume some commonality in experiences for those within them. The categories do overlook school-based differences as well as temporal and individual experience differences within those categories.

4.2.2.1.1.16 Type of high school (1.16)

Question1.16: Which type of High School did you attend? Responses: Public school, Private school

This question is similar to question 1.15, except that it asks about type of high school. This question was added since an individual may go to a public elementary school and a private high school or vice versa.

4.2.2.1.1.17 Number of children (1.17)

Question1.17: How many children do you have? Responses: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 or more

This question was adapted from [Ross \(2017\)](#), but after consideration was not included in the analysis. It was removed from questionnaire two.

4.2.2.1.1.18 Current occupation (1.18)

Question1.18: What is your occupation/job? Response: free response

An individual's occupation can strongly influence their language attitudes, because of the experiences tied to them. One's occupation regulates who they interact with on a regular basis and the means of those interactions. A waiter at a hotel will have very different interactions from a rural farmer or a high-level government official. One's occupation often correlates with social class, education, and geography, all of which affect language attitudes.

The response to this question was left as a free response because of the large number of possible responses.

4.2.2.1.1.19 Mother's occupation (1.19)

Question1.19: What is/was your mother's occupation/job? Response: free response

Similar to 1.18, this question asks about one's mother's occupation. The occupation of one's parents affects one's upbringing, which has a direct effect on one's language attitudes. For example, if one's parents have the means, the child could attend private school, learn English from a young age,

or even travel abroad. If one's parents are farmers, then as a child they may be more knowledgeable of local farming practices and the discourses around them. Both of those hypothetical upbringings can lead to very different worldviews and language attitudes.

4.2.2.1.1.20 Father's occupation (1.20)

Question1.20: What is/was your father's occupation/job? Response: free response

This question is similar to 1.19 but asks for one's father's occupation.

4.2.2.1.1.21 Mother's home island and village (1.21)

Question1.21: Which island and village is your mother from? Response: free response

Similar to questions 1.4 and 1.5, the home island and village/section of one's mother is potentially very important part of one's identity. This is especially true on Pohnpei, where one's clan, in addition to chiefly titles, is determined matrilineally (Hanlon 1988, Kihleng 2015). One's language is also heavily influenced by one's mother's languages. If a respondent's mother is Pingelapese, for example, but the respondent grew up on Pohnpei, it is likely the respondent will speak Pingelapese as a child with their mother, as well as Pohnpeian.

The response was a free response to allow for all possible responses.

4.2.2.1.1.22 Father's home island and village (1.22)

Question1.22: Which island and village is your father from? Response: free response

This response is similar to question 1.21 but asks about the respondent's father to gather information on both parents.

4.2.2.1.2 Language background

The language background section of the questionnaire is designed to collect information about two things: the respondent's basic linguistic history and their current general translanguaging (see §2.2.5) practices and desires. All but one of the questions in this section are free response questions, which allows the respondents to answer the questions in whatever way they feel fit. This open ended nature allows more of the complexity of their linguistic practices to be seen.

This background information begins to paint a picture about how the respondents use their linguistic resources in complex and varied ways. The linguistic history information adds to this picture by showing how formative linguistic experiences, such as education or home language, can influence later linguistic practices or desires.

Questions 2.1–2.4 provide information about general linguistic abilities. Questions 2.5, 2.6, and 2.9–2.11 provide information about linguistic history. Questions 2.7 and 2.8 gather information about future linguistic desires. Questions 2.12–2.17 collect information about current linguistic practices.

4.2.2.1.2.1 First language (2.1)

Question2.1: What is your first language (mother tongue)? Response: free response

This question asks for the respondent's first language(s). The languages one can speak have been shown in past language attitudes studies (see [Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain \(2009\)](#), [Kircher \(2016\)](#), [Atkinson & Kelly-Holmes \(2016\)](#), *inter alia*) to have a strong effect on the way one expresses language attitudes. One's first language(s) affect the responses and typically occupy a strong component of one's linguistic and other identities.

4.2.2.1.2.2 Other languages spoken well (2.2)

Question2.2: What other languages do you speak well? Response: free response

The other languages that a respondent speaks well may also affect their expressed language attitudes. The acquisition of these languages, presumably later than early childhood, stem from formative experiences (such as education, moving to a new place, or friendships) that likewise influence their expressed language attitudes and linguistic identities. These are collected in a question separate from 2.1 to see if there is a difference in first language vs. later acquired languages.

4.2.2.1.2.3 Ability to speak meing (2.3)

Question2.3: How well can you speak meing? Responses: Not at all, Somewhat well, Well, Very well

Meing is the honorific form of Pohnpeian that is spoken primarily in formal settings, such as kamadipw (feasts), to people with royal titles ([Rehg & Sohl 1981](#)). But Meing is reported to be used less frequently, with fewer people knowing how use it ([Rehg 1998](#)). Its use, though, is a skill that is highly valued by many on Pohnpei. Those who can use it effectively are regarded in high esteem.

This question's responses include four possible likert scale² values that require the respondents to self-evaluate their own meing ability. However, it is often considered rude on Pohnpei to boast about one's abilities. Since meing ability is seen as skill, some respondents may judge their ability lower than what it actually is, as a sign of respect or politeness. Also, since meing is closely associated with

²Likert scales are typically responses that ask about level of agreement/disagreement. A four item likert scale contains four possible choices: really disagree, disagree somewhat, agree somewhat, and really agree.

the royal title system on the island, some who do not have an appropriately high title may not think it appropriate to claim such knowledge, even if they have it.

Because of these cultural conventions, this question is really asking both who has the ability to use meing and, more importantly, who has the ability to claim that knowledge.

4.2.2.1.2.4 Other languages spoken a little (2.4)

Question2.4 What other languages do you speak a little? Response: free response

Similar to questions 2.1 and 2.2, this question gathers information about languages the respondent can only speak a little. Like with the languages the respondent can speak well, the ability to speak these languages a little bit most likely stemmed from particular experiences that could influence the way the respondent expresses language attitudes. But, these experiences may have a different effect from those in questions 2.1 and 2.2, since the respondent has a lower ability.

4.2.2.1.2.5 Mother's languages (2.5)

Question2.5: What languages does/did your mother speak? Response: free response

The language of one's mother often has strong effect on one's language abilities, since the languages spoken to them by one's mother when they are children become their languages, unless there are other mitigating factors.

However, the term 'mother' on Pohnpei is somewhat ambiguous. It can mean biological mother or anyone either of your biological parents would call sister ([Sohl et al. 2017](#)). Regardless of the ambiguity of which mother's language was reported, that person would most likely still be very meaningful to the respondent.

4.2.2.1.2.6 Father's languages (2.6)

Question2.6: What languages does/did you father speak? Response: free response

Similar to question 2.5, the language of one's father can also be very important to one's linguistic identity and the way they express language attitudes. Also, like the term 'mother', 'father' can mean biological father or anyone either of your biological parents would call brother ([Sohl et al. 2017](#)).

4.2.2.1.2.7 Languages want to know better (2.7)

Question2.7: Do you want to know any languages better? Response: free response

This question gathers information about what respondents want to change for their own linguistic needs. This question gets at what respondents feel they are lacking linguistically or ways that they

want to be able to connect with others. These languages could represent popular or economically beneficial languages to learn. They could be languages of a person's family that they no longer speak but want to reconnect with. They could also be just a curious interest for something new or many other possible reasons.

4.2.2.1.2.8 Languages that want your children to know (2.8)

Question2.8: What languages do you want your children to know? Response: free response

This question asks respondents which languages they want their children (real or hypothetical) to know. The answers to this question are loaded with ideological and identity-related meaning. This question really asks who they want their children to be, what kind of life they want them to have, who they want them to be able to speak to, and where they want them to live (or be able to live). It is a bet on an imaginary future.

The answers to this question and the following questions may be affected by each other, since they may index normative language ideologies (such as language and education ideologies), that may influence answers to these questions. Since the ordering was not controlled for, it is hard to test for its effect.

4.2.2.1.2.9 Languages teachers used in K–8th grade (2.9)

Question2.9: In kindergarten–8 grade, what languages did your teachers use in class? Response: free response

This question asks about respondents' linguistic past. It asks about what languages their teachers used in class during kindergarten through 8th grade. This question paints a basic of picture of what their primary educational experience was like. Education is a very formative part of one's identity and the languages used during that time can have a very strong effect. This question purposely asks what languages the teachers used in class, because the teachers' language choices represent institutional choices and policies about what a good or proper education is and what are the proper languages for achieving those educational goals.

This question of course cannot explain the nuanced use of language in nine years of schooling, but it can answer what the perceived normative (or even regulated) languages were. It also accounts for different experiences in school that question 1.15 does not capture.

4.2.2.1.2.10 Languages teachers used in high school (2.10)

Question2.10: In high school what languages did your teachers use in class? Response: free response

This question is similar to question 2.9, but captures language use by teachers in high school, if the respondent attended high school. Like question 2.9, this question gathers information about schooling that is not captured by question 1.16.

4.2.2.1.2.11 Languages teachers used in college (2.11)

Question2.11: In college, what languages did your teachers use in class? Response: free response

This question continues asking about respondents' education background, by asking about the languages used by educators in college, if they attended it. College is a broad category and it is left up to the respondent to determine what that means to them.

4.2.2.1.2.12 Languages used with family (2.12)

Question2.12: When you talk to your family what languages do you use? Response: free response

This question begins the series of questions (2.12–2.17) that ask about respondents' current linguistic practices. These questions pick very generally constructed places or situations with general types of people. These contexts are purposely broad enough to be applicable to most if not all respondents, but different enough to capture a bit of the complexity of their daily lives.

The first scenario is family. Many residents on Pohnpei have large and often multilingual families. A hypothetical family in Sokehs for example could have some family members from Pingelap, some from the Mortlocks, others from Mwoakilloa, and the rest from Pohnpei. It would not be uncommon such a family to speak Pingelapese, Mortlockese, Mwokilese, Pohnpeian, and also English.

Since every family is unique and complicated, it is expected that there will be much variation in the languages spoken with family.

4.2.2.1.2.13 Languages used with friends (2.13)

Question2.13: When you talk to your friends what languages do you use? Response: free response

Like family, one can have a complex network of friends, potentially from different backgrounds. The languages one speaks with them give information about those friendships and the contexts in which they were formed. For example, a person may speak Pohnpeian with friends who they grew

up with in a rural part of Kitti, but speak English with friends from high school in Kolonia who are originally from Yap.

The responses to this question are expected to be diverse and reflections of the complexity of the respondent's life experiences.

4.2.2.1.2.14 Languages used with foreigners (2.14)

Question2.14: When you talk to foreigners what languages do you use? Response: free response

This question asks about interaction with foreigners. The definition of who is a foreigner is up for individual interpretation, but the point of the question to describe what language one would use with someone who is clearly not from Pohnpei. This question draws on ideologies of global languages and what is appropriate in 'global' situations. These ideologies are also influenced by the linguistic impacts of Pohnpei's colonizers.

4.2.2.1.2.15 Languages used at work (2.15)

Question2.15: At work, what languages do you use? Response: free response

Each workplace has its own set of rules, practices, and ideologies. This question asks how those sets of rules and practices influence language choices.

4.2.2.1.2.16 Languages used at school (2.16)

Question2.16: At school, what languages do you use? Response: free response

This question asks which languages the respondent uses or used in school. It differs from questions 2.9–2.11 in that it asks what languages they actually used and not what the official school policy was. This question allows for differences between the students and the institution to be seen.

The category of school is also quite large and ambiguous, which allows the respondent to respond as they want, regardless of their educational background.

4.2.2.1.2.17 Languages used at home (2.17)

Question2.17: At home, what languages do you use? Response: free response

This question asks about languages spoken at home. It differs from question 2.12 in that family can be a very large term that may encompass many or a few people. Home was chosen to elicit information from a more specific, concrete place, than family. Some of the respondents may respond to both question 2.12 and 2.17 the same, but some may respond to 2.17 about the more daily interactions.

Of course, there is a fair amount of ambiguity in both home and family that allows the respondents to interpret them in whatever way they find meaningful.

4.2.2.1.3 Language attitudes

The third section of the questionnaire gathers information about the respondent's language attitudes. This dissertation views language attitudes as a discursive construct, rather than stable mental constructs (Potter & Wetherell 1987). As such, responses to this section are viewed dialogically. The respondents are engaging in a dialogue with the survey instrument. Their responses comprise only a brief snapshot of language attitude discourses on Pohnpei.

In order to achieve a broad picture of the language attitude discourses, there are four types of language attitudes questions in this section of the survey instrument: (1) domain related language importance, (2) agreement with statements about some of the languages on Pohnpei, (3) level of agreement with descriptions of Pohnpeian speakers, and (4) free responses about the Pohnpeian and English languages. These questions were adapted from Ross (2017) (which was heavily influenced by Baker (1992), Garrett et al. (2003), Garrett (2010), Jeon (2005), and Kircher (2016)) but modified to fit Pohnpei's context.

Part 1 (questions 3.1.1–3.3.7) of this section focuses on the perceived importance of a specific language for several domains. These questions were selected because language attitudes and language selection in multilingual communities are highly contextualized by place and situation. The domains selected (discussed in §4.2.2.1.3.1) represent common experiences or scenarios on Pohnpei that most people can relate to.

Part 2 (questions 3.4.1–3.4.38) asks for the respondents' agreement or disagreement with thirty-eight statements about Pohnpeian, English, and other local languages. These statements include topics such as bilingualism, who should speak what languages, who actually speaks what languages and how well, and who likes what languages. These statements aim to elicit attitudes on a range of topics and are discussed further in §4.2.2.1.3.2.

Part 3 (questions 3.5.1–3.5.27) gathers information about the respondents' level of agreement with twenty-seven adjectives describing Pohnpeian speakers. These questions seek attitudes tied to language ability. The choice of adjectives is discussed in §4.2.2.1.3.3.

Part 4 (questions 3.6 and 3.7) allows for open ended descriptions of both Pohnpeian and English. They are discussed in §4.2.2.1.3.4.

4.2.2.1.3.1 Language importance by domain (3.1.1–3.3.7)

Questions 3.1.1–3.3.7: In your opinion which language (pick only one (1)) is most important for...
Responses: Pohnpeian, Pingelapese, Mokilese, Chuukese, English, Kosraean, Mortlockese, Other

The questionnaire asks each respondent in this part about languages that are more important in specific scenarios. The respondents are given twenty-five scenarios and eight languages to choose from: Pohnpeian, Pingelapese, Mokilese, Chuukese, English, Kosraean, Mortlockese, and Other. The languages represent the most widely spoken languages on Pohnpei. The program used to make the survey unfortunately could only fit seven languages on the page so other somewhat common languages like Kapingamarangi, Nukuoran, Ngatikese, Yapese, Woleaian, Marshallese, Palauan, and Sa-tawalese could not be included.

The respondents were asked to only choose one language for each scenario in order to find the language that is most salient for it. This method paints a simplified view of reality, since more than one language is used in each scenario. However, these questions seek to find hegemonic attitudes that may be associated with these scenarios, and hegemonic attitudes often support monolingual language use.

To select meaningful scenarios, [Baker \(1992\)](#) was used as a guide, because of its importance in many later language attitudes studies and its focus on questionnaires. [Baker \(1992\)](#) focused on three types of language attitudes: integrative attitudes (those about fitting in), instrumental attitudes (those about using language to gain something), and general (those about a language in general, such as its characteristics). While, this dissertation does not agree that language attitudes are limited to these categories or that the categories are essentially separate, they are useful as an elicitation tool for asking a variety of language attitudes questions. On top of these types of attitudes, there are a variety of larger domains that these two types of language attitudes are related to. The questionnaires use six such domains: (1) social solidarity, (2) occupation, (3) education, (4) media, (5) general, and (6) Pohnpei-specific.

The first domain, social solidarity, deals with scenarios for fitting into society, since language attitudes discourses often overlap with societal expectations and ideals. All of social solidarity scenarios fall under the integrative type. Example scenarios for this domain are making friends and feeling happy in your relationships.

Domain two, occupation, contains scenarios related to jobs and financial gains. This domain contains only instrumental attitudes, because the focus on occupations is about acquiring things like money or a job. Example scenarios for this domain are being successful and getting money.

Domain three contains scenarios about education, since education can have a strong effect on one's language attitudes. The education domain includes both instrumental and integrative scenarios, because education involves both acquiring things, such as a good education, and also fitting into society. Example instrumental scenarios are getting a good education and writing. An example integrative scenario is talking with teachers.

Domain four deals with different media that are accessible on Pohnpei. Media domains, because of their wide accessibility can have a strong effect on language attitudes. This domain includes both instrumental scenarios and a scenario that can be both instrumental and integrative. Example instrumental media are listening to the radio and watching TV. Using Facebook is listed as both instrumental and integrative since attitudes toward it can focus on language required to use it or the use of Facebook as a tool for integrating into society.

Domain five contains one 'general' domain, going to the store. This domain has aspects of social solidarity and occupation, but does not completely fit into either one. Going to the store can be considered instrumental because one may need a certain language in order to go to the store. It can also be integrative, because being able to go to the store is a necessary part of being integrated into society.

The last domain are scenarios that are especially important on Pohnpei. These include scenarios that only occur on Pohnpei, namely place-based scenarios, like talking with people in Kolonia, the most urban place on Pohnpei. They also include other important aspects of life on Pohnpei, such as drinking sakau en Pohnpei (Pohnpeian kava), talking with a Soumas en kousapw³ (section chief), or attending a kamadipw (feast). All of the Pohnpei-specific scenarios are integrative.

These twenty-five domains, while listed separately, are not isolated from each other. Each are interconnected in some way. For example, one's occupation and idea of being successful depend on one's education and the people one interacts with.

Each of the scenarios in this part are given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Domain-based language choices

No.	Question	Attitude type	Domain
3.1.1	Making friends	integrative	social solidarity
3.1.2	Being successful	instrumental	occupation
3.1.3	Getting a good education	instrumental	education
3.1.4	Feeling happy in your relationships	integrative	social solidarity
3.1.5	Getting money	instrumental	occupation
3.1.6	Reading	instrumental	media

Continued on next page

³'Kaunen kousapw' was used the questionnaires.

Table 4.1 – *Continued from previous page*

No.	Question	Attitude type	Domain
3.1.7	Writing	instrumental	education
3.1.8	Listening to the radio	instrumental	media
3.1.9	Watching TV	instrumental	media
3.1.10	Being accepted in Pohnpei	integrative	social solidarity
3.1.11	Talking with teachers	integrative	education
3.2.1	Talking with people in the villages of Pohnpei	integrative	social solidarity
3.2.2	Attending funerals	integrative	Pohnpei-specific
3.2.3	Attending a kamadipw	integrative	Pohnpei-specific
3.2.4	Drinking sakau en Pohnpei	integrative	Pohnpei-specific
3.2.5	Using Facebook	integrative/instrumental	media
3.2.6	Talking with people in Kolonia	integrative	social solidarity
3.2.7	Talking with a Kaunen Kousapw	integrative	Pohnpei-specific
3.3.1	Talking with government officials	integrative	Pohnpei-specific
3.3.2	Getting a good job	instrumental	occupation
3.3.3	Talking with friends from school	integrative	education, social solidarity
3.3.4	Going to church	integrative	Pohnpei-specific
3.3.5	Going to the store	integrative/instrumental	general
3.3.6	Talking with your neighbors	integrative	social solidarity
3.3.7	Speaking with relatives who live in the U.S.	integrative	social solidarity

4.2.2.1.3.2 Agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei (3.4.1–3.4.38)

Questions 3.4.1–3.4.38: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Responses: Agree, Disagree

The questions in this part of the language attitudes section seek information about the respondents' attitudes to thirty-eight statements about Pohnpeian, English, and local languages in general. These statements cover topics of (1) education, (2) identity, (3) multilingualism, and (4) utility. They also include Baker's (1992) three types of language attitudes: instrumental, integrative, and general (see §2.3). Following Ross (2017), the responses are 'agree' or 'disagree' in order to get a baseline response for the attitudes.

Statements about education were included to gauge respondents' views about the role of language and education in a more particular way. For example, the statement 'People have to learn Pohnpeian before learning English' asks about the order of language education. The statement 'Foreigners in Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian' asks about the importance of outsiders learning Pohnpeian if they live on the island.

The statements about identity aim to gather information about the importance of certain languages for a variety of identities on the island. These identities include age groups (young and old), national/ethnic groups (Micronesian, Pohnpeian, and local/foreign), place-based groups (Pohnpeians living abroad, people living on Pohnpei), and characteristic-based groups (education/uneducated and fashionable/unfashionable). The identity questions include both instrumental and integrative attitude types. Example instrumental identity statements are 'All Micronesians need to know English' and 'Everyone who lives in Kolonia needs to know English.' Example integrative identity statements are 'Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei' and 'In order to be Pohnpeian, they have to speak Pohnpeian.'

The statements about multilingualism were added to the questionnaire, because Pohnpei is a highly multilingual place. These questions seek to find respondents' views about different aspects of the multilingualism that is present there. The multilingualism statements include general and instrumental attitudes. The general multilingualism statements address the issue of multilingualism itself, such as 'English, Pohnpeian, and other Micronesian languages can live together in Pohnpei.' The instrumental multilingualism statements address the importance of one language over the other, such as 'It is more important to know Pohnpeian than English.'

The utility statements address the general usefulness of a particular language. All of these statements involve instrumental attitudes. Example utility statements are 'English is more valuable than Pohnpeian' and 'Knowing Pohnpeian can help people get jobs in Pohnpei.'

Several of the statements were presented in two different ways to see how the phrasing of the statement affected the outcome. Examples statements of this are 'It is more important to know English than Pohnpeian' and 'It is more important to know Pohnpeian than English.' The differences in results for these types of statements are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

It is important to note that the order of the statements in this section can impact the respondents' results. Because these results are dialogic, the respondents' answer to the question at hand is influenced by the preceding and following questions (because the respondent can go back and alter answers), their own experiences, the questionnaire administrator, me the researcher, etc. In version 2 of the questionnaire, the order of the questions is more directly addressed by having different orders. In an ideal environment, the question order would be randomized or done in a more systematic varied way, but the research was limited by the software used for creating the paper questionnaires.

It is of course impossible to ask all of the potentially important or relevant questions about language attitudes. The statement used in this section of the questionnaire were selected to cover a wide variety of language attitude topics while also being general enough to be applicable to most people on Pohnpeian. Version 2 of the questionnaire, discussed in a later section, adds more questions to this section.

The statements used in this version are given in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Statements about languages on Pohnpei

No.	Question	Attitude type	Topic
3.4.1	It is important to know a local language	general	multilingualism
3.4.2	It is more important to know English than local languages	instrumental	multilingualism
3.4.3	People who know English are smarter	integrative	identity
3.4.4	English and Pohnpeian languages are very different	general	education
3.4.5	People have to learn Pohnpeian before learning English	integrative	education
3.4.6	It is more important to know Pohnpeian than English	instrumental	multilingualism
3.4.7	Knowing Pohnpeian can help people get jobs in Pohnpei	instrumental	utility
3.4.8	Knowing Pohnpeian can help people get jobs abroad	instrumental	utility
3.4.9	Knowing English can help people get jobs in Pohnpei	instrumental	utility
3.4.10	Knowing English can help people get jobs abroad	instrumental	utility
3.4.11	Knowing many languages is easy	general	multilingualism
3.4.12	Knowing many languages is important	general	multilingualism
3.4.13	Knowing only one language makes life difficult	general	multilingualism
3.4.14	It is more important to know English than Pohnpeian	instrumental	multilingualism
3.4.15	I feel sad for people in Pohnpei who don't know Pohnpeian	integrative	identity
3.4.16	I feel sad for people in Pohnpei who don't know English	integrative	identity
3.4.17	I feel sad for Pohnpeians who live abroad who don't know Pohnpeian	integrative	identity
3.4.18	I feel sad for Pohnpeians who live abroad who don't know English	integrative	identity
3.4.19	Youths don't know how to speak Pohnpeian properly	integrative	identity
3.4.20	Youths don't know how to speak English properly	integrative	identity
3.4.21	All Micronesians need to know English	instrumental	identity
3.4.22	All Pohnpeians need to know English	instrumental	identity
3.4.23	Everyone who lives in Kolonia needs to know English	instrumental	identity
3.4.24	English, Pohnpeian, and other Micronesian languages can live together in Pohnpei	general	multilingualism
3.4.25	Pohnpeian is really unfashionable	integrative	identity
3.4.26	English is more valuable than Pohnpeian	instrumental	utility
3.4.27	Micronesians young people like to speak English	integrative	identity
3.4.28	Older Micronesians like to speak English	integrative	identity
3.4.29	Foreigners in Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian	integrative	identity/education
3.4.30	Pohnpeian young people like to speak Pohnpeian	integrative	identity
3.4.31	Older Pohnpeians like to speak Pohnpeian	integrative	identity
3.4.32	Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei	integrative	identity
3.4.33	The Pohnpeian language is simpler than English	general	education

Continued on next page

Table 4.2 – *Continued from previous page*

No.	Question	Attitude type	Topic
3.4.34	If I had to choose only one language to speak, I would choose Pohnpeian	general	multilingualism
3.4.35	If I had to choose only one language to speak, I would choose English	general	multilingualism
3.4.36	I have positive feelings about Pohnpeian	integrative	identity
3.4.37	In order to be Pohnpeian, they have to speak Pohnpeian	integrative	identity
3.4.38	Pohnpeians who can't speak Pohnpeian are not really Pohnpeian	integrative	identity

4.2.2.1.3.3 Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian (3.5.1–3.5.27)

Questions 3.5.1–3.5.27: Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: People who can speak Pohnpeian are... Responses: Really disagree, Disagree somewhat, Agree somewhat, Really agree

The questions in this part of the questionnaire ask the respondents to rate their level of agreement with descriptions of Pohnpeian speakers. These descriptions are either positive, neutral,⁴ or negative to gather a range of judgement values. Some of the descriptions, such as proud can fall under more than one category, such as either negative or positive, depending on the context. The descriptions selected for this part include values that are important on Pohnpei such as humble and respectful in addition to more general positive terms such as kind-hearted or peaceful. It also includes Pohnpei-specific negative terms such as pretentious and show-off.

The order of these questions is important because the respondents are influenced by the other questions. The order was not controlled for in this version, but the responses that are opposites (e.g., quiet and loud) were mostly spread out so as not to be immediately after each other (except for peaceful and violent). Version 2 modifies the order of these questions.

The responses are a four item likert scale, which allows for more nuanced responses than the previous set of questions. This scale purposely does not include a neutral response to force the respondents to take a stance on one of the sides. If neutral were included, many of the respondents may have overly selected it out of politeness.

⁴Neutral in this sense does not mean that it does not have a negative or positive connotation. Rather, it means that it has potentially widely variable value readings that could differ from person to person, much more so than those marked as positive and negative.

The responses to these questions help paint a picture of what language attitude discourses are tied to being a Pohnpeian speaker. That is to say, they describe who comes to mind as an idealized speaker.

The characteristics are given in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers

No.	Characteristic	Type
3.5.1	quiet	positive/neutral
3.5.2	stupid	negative
3.5.3	loud	negative
3.5.4	kind-hearted	positive
3.5.5	feminine	neutral
3.5.6	bad-tempered	negative
3.5.7	masculine	neutral
3.5.8	honest	positive
3.5.9	modern	positive/negative
3.5.10	attractive	positive
3.5.11	successful	positive
3.5.12	peaceful	positive
3.5.13	violent	negative
3.5.14	young	neutral
3.5.15	poor	negative
3.5.16	old	neutral
3.5.17	rich	positive
3.5.18	pretentious	negative
3.5.19	proud	positive/negative
3.5.20	respectful	positive
3.5.21	wise	positive
3.5.22	patriotic	neutral
3.5.23	cultured	positive
3.5.24	show-offs	negative
3.5.25	humble	positive
3.5.26	generous	positive
3.5.27	uneducated	negative

4.2.2.1.3.4 Choosing words to describe Pohnpeian and English languages (3.6 and 3.7)

Questions 3.6 and 3.7: Choose 5 words to describe the Pohnpeian/English language. Response: free response

These two questions are based off of Kircher (2016) and Ross (2017). They allow the respondents to describe both the Pohnpeian and English languages with any five words they choose. Since the other questions in the survey seek specific answers, these two questions allow the respondents to answer in a less structured way.

4.2.2.2 Design of survey instrument two

Survey instrument two is heavily based off instrument one, but it has several additional questions. It also has two different versions: version A (Appendix C) and version B (Appendix D). The only difference between the versions is the ordering of questions. Both versions of instrument two are translated into Pohnpeian and only the Pohnpeian version was used. Survey instrument two was used for data collection from July–August 2017 on Pohnpei. Carisma Jano and her family on Pohnpei graciously translated the survey into Pohnpeian.

In this section only the differences between survey instrument one and two are discussed given their similarity.

4.2.2.2.1 Demographics

In the demographics section, question 1.17 number of children from version one was removed. Questions 1.15 and 1.16 about which type of elementary and high school the respondent attended have a new possible response of ‘both’ to indicate both public and private schools. This new choice allows respondents who transferred schools to directly indicate so instead of having to check both boxes of public and private.

4.2.2.2.2 Language background

No changes were made to the language background section for version two.

4.2.2.2.3 Language attitudes

4.2.2.2.3.1 Agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei

Several new questions were added to this part of version two. These new questions help add more of a Pohnpeian context to the questionnaire. Questions 3.4.44–3.4.46 add more place based context by asking more about Kolonia, a particularly ‘western’ place and Kitti, a particularly rural ‘Pohnpeian’ place. These new questions also directly ask the opposite of some questions from version one. For example, question 3.4.41 asks the opposite of 3.4.3. The new questions also ask more about

parents' desires for what languages their children should learn and what languages should be used in education. It also asks about Meing, the honorific form of the Pohnpeian language.

Table 4.4. New statements about languages on Pohnpei

No.	Question	Attitude type	Topic
3.4.39	In order to be Micronesian you have to speak a Micronesian language	integrative	identity
3.4.40	In order to be Micronesian you have to speak English	integrative	identity
3.4.41	People who know Pohnpeian are smarter	integrative	identity
3.4.42	The English language is simpler than Pohnpeian	general	education
3.4.43	The Pohnpeian language is more polite than the English language	general	education
3.4.44	Everyone who lives in Kitti needs to know English	instrumental	identity
3.4.45	Everyone who lives in Kolonia needs to know Pohnpeian	instrumental	identity
3.4.46	Everyone who lives in Kitti needs to know Pohnpeian	instrumental	identity
3.4.47	I want my children to speak Pohnpeian	integrative	identity
3.4.48	I want my children to speak English	integrative	identity
3.4.49	Meing is important for me to know	integrative	identity
3.4.50	I want my children to learn Meing	integrative	identity
3.4.51	All Micronesians living on Pohnpei should speak Pohnpeian	instrumental	identity
3.4.52	Schools on Pohnpei should teach classes in Pohnpeian	instrumental	education
3.4.53	English is important for Pohnpei	integrative	identity

In addition to the new questions, question 3.4.25 was mistranslated as “The Pohnpeian language can show respect” instead of “Pohnpeian is really unfashionable.” The translation error was not caught until after the surveys were used. Despite the difference, the new version of question 3.4.25 is also interesting. To distinguish between the two questions, the original version will be 3.4.25_1 and the new version will be 3.4.25_2.

In version B of questionnaire two, the order of the questions in this section are reversed to help account for the effect that the order of the questions has on the responses (see e.g., [Krosnick & Alwin \(1987\)](#) for a discussion of survey order effects).

4.2.2.2.3.2 Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian

The new version of this section includes three new characteristics, questions 3.5.28–3.5.30 and one meaningful translation difference, question 3.5.10.

The new characteristics—smart, ugly, and educated—were added since they are opposites of previously existing characteristics. Smart (3.5.28) is the opposite of stupid (3.5.2). Ugly (3.5.29) is the

opposite of attractive (3.5.10). Educated (3.5.30) is the opposite of uneducated (3.5.27). These opposites were added because disagreeing with a characteristic, such as ugly, does not necessarily mean that the respondent would agree with the characteristic attractive. Having the opposites present removes that ambiguity.

Question 3.5.10, attractive in English, was translated as koanohrok in Pohnpeian, which can mean attractive in a very limited sense of greedily wanting to attract things. Because this translation is very different from the main English connotations, this item will be treated differently from the English version. The new version will be indicated as 3.5.10_2.

Version B of survey instrument two provides the same characteristics of Version A, except in reverse order to account for ordering effects on the responses (see e.g., [Krosnick & Alwin \(1987\)](#) for a discussion of survey order effects).

The characteristics and the Pohnpeian translations are given in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Translated characteristics (new ones in bold, changes in italics)

No.	Characteristic	Pohnpeian	Type	Comments
3.5.1	quiet	meleilei	positive/neutral	also means peacefully quiet
3.5.2	stupid	sahliel	negative	
3.5.3	loud	katairong	negative	
3.5.4	kind-hearted	loalamwahu	positive	
3.5.5	feminine	mwomwen lih	neutral	
3.5.6	bad-tempered	mwomwsuwed	negative	
3.5.7	masculine	mwomwen ohl	neutral	also means faithful, loyal
3.5.8	honest	loaloapoat	positive	
3.5.9	modern	mwomw kapw	positive/negative	
3.5.10_2	<i>attractive</i>	<i>koanohrok</i>	<i>negative</i>	Pohnpeian does not match English. Instead means greedy, never satisfied
3.5.11	successful	pweida	positive	
3.5.12	peaceful	onepek	positive	
3.5.13	violent	kouwiawi	negative	
3.5.14	young	pwulopwul	neutral	also means acting out
3.5.15	poor	semwemwe	negative	
3.5.16	old	mah	neutral	
3.5.17	rich	kopwepwe	positive	also means show-off
3.5.18	pretentious	kala	negative	
3.5.19	proud	kalaki	positive/negative	
3.5.20	respectful	wahu	positive	
3.5.21	wise	eripit	positive	
3.5.22	patriotic	oaktuwahu ki omw wehi	neutral	
3.5.23	cultured	mehlel eng tiahk	positive	literally truthful to customs

Continued on next page

Table 4.5 – *Continued from previous page*

No.	Characteristic	Pohnpeian	Type	Comments
3.5.24	show-offs	pohn mwahso	positive/negative	
3.5.25	humble	aktikitik	positive	
3.5.26	generous	kadek	positive	
3.5.27	uneducated	sohte sukuhl kaneknekla	negative	literally no school completed
3.5.28	smart	loalekeng	positive	
3.5.29	ugly	kersuwed	negative	
3.5.30	educated	kaiahnda	positive	also means trained

4.2.2.3 Translation

The translation of the survey version two into Pohnpeian had some discrepancies to note, which were discovered after it was put into use. Juanita Lawrence, who is a Pohnpeian language expert, graciously pointed them out.

Several of the questions mixed registers by combining both Meing (formal) and informal speech in inconsistent ways. To show respect, it is common for the speaker to humble themselves and things they possess by using humiliative forms of speaking. The speaker simultaneously uses honorific forms to raise up the person they are talking to, especially if the person being talked about is a high titled person. Because of the somewhat decontextualized context of the questionnaire, the translator used a somewhat idiosyncratic approach using both humiliative and honorific forms. Examples of this are found in questions 2.1 and 2.2.

(1) Question 2.1

Ia tehpin omwi lokaia?
 what first 2.SG.POSS.HONORIFIC language.COMMON
 ‘What is your first language’

(2) Question 2.2

Iahnge kan mahsen kan me komw
 what.PL DET.SG.DIST language.HONORIFIC DET.SG.DIST that 2.SG.SUBJ.HONORIFIC
 patowan?
 speak.HUMILIATIVE
 ‘What other languages do you speak?’

Both questions use different words for language: mahsen (honorific) and lokaia (common). Question 2 also uses the humiliative verb to speak, patowan.

The more typical way of asking these two questions would be:

(3) Question 2.1 Revised

Ia tehpín omwi mahsen?
what first 2.SG.POSS.HONORIFIC language.HONORIFIC
'What is your first language?'

(4) Question 2.2 Revised

Iahnge kan mahsen me komw mwahngih?
what.PL DET.SG.DIST language.HONORIFIC that 2.SG.SUBJ.HONORIFIC speak.HONORIFIC
'What other languages do you speak?'

Such irregularities are found throughout the questionnaire, which could affect the interpretation of the questions by the respondents, though the intent of the questions is still clear.

4.2.2.4 Survey 'reliability'

Traditional survey analyses typically include a section about the 'reliability' of the survey instruments. Statistical reliability is a measure of how consistent responses are to a given question or series of questions (Eisinga et al. 2012). This is typically indicated with a reliability statistic like Cronbach's alpha. However, this dissertation is uninterested in this view of reliability, since its goal is not building a cohesive model for the language attitudes on Pohnpei. Rather, it is interested in describing a subset of the language attitudes diversity that exists on the island. These survey instruments are tools for eliciting that variation and it expected that the results may not have a high level of consistency.

Reliability can also be framed as whether the survey instruments produce an accurate or appropriate glimpse of the language attitudes on Pohnpei. But, this view of reliability is also not very relevant to this dissertation. It is impossible to get a complete view of the language attitudes on Pohnpei, so any research will necessarily get a limited, skewed view. The respondents' responses to the questionnaires are all valid language attitude expression given the immediate context that they are made in.

Instead reliability is reframed as, whether the survey instruments allow for diverse voices, whether they ask a variety of questions to examine multiple possible angles of language attitudes, and whether they incorporate locally meaningful ideas and categories. For this dissertation, the simple answer to

these questions is yes. All of the questions allow for multiple different Responses: there are many different types of questions, and there are questions that ask about Pohnpei specific phenomena. But, it is an impossible task to know if these were the best or most appropriate ways to talk about language attitudes on Pohnpei.

4.2.3 Procedure

The section describes the procedure for both the survey administration (§4.2.3.1) and subsequent data processing (§4.2.3.2–4.2.3.4).

4.2.3.1 Survey administration

Several survey administrators and I administered the questionnaires on paper on Pohnpei. Each administrator was trained by the author on how to properly fill out the questionnaire. The vast majority of the surveys were administered by the administrators.

Administrators hailed from different parts of the island and from different backgrounds, which allowed them to collect a diverse sample of responses. In conducting survey research, the main problem was finding enough respondents to complete the surveys. As someone not from Pohnpei, it is difficult for me to get people I do not know to respond to the questionnaire. The administrators, however, had vast networks of family, friends, and colleagues that they could ask to take it. They also know the proper protocol for respectfully asking people to respond, especially people with high titles, which I am less well versed in. The administrators also speak several of the languages spoken on the island, which helps them both connect to people who also speak those languages and explain to them in their languages how to take the survey.

Since language attitudes are the product of discourse, the person who administers the survey has a potential effect on the outcome. The administrators and their basic background are described in Table 4.6. Two of the survey administrators from 2017 are shown in Figure 4.1.

Table 4.6. Survey administrators

Name	Age	Gender	Municipality	Languages	Year
Carisma	18	F	Kolonia	Pohnpeian, English	2016
Celine	20	F	Kolonia	Pohnpeian, English	2016
Cartina	50s	F	Sokehs	Pingelapese, Mwokilese, Pohnpeian, English	2016
Rofino	27	M	Kitti	Pohnpeian, English	2016
Banae	50s	F	Uh	Marshallese, Pohnpeian, English	2016
Maynard	50s	M	Kolonia	Pohnpeian, English	2016

Continued on next page

Table 4.6 – Continued from previous page

Name	Age	Gender	Municipality	Languages	Year
Diana	18	F	Kitti	Pohnpeian, English	2017
Jade	30s	M	Nett	Pohnpeian, English	2017
Carvy	40s	M	Nett	Pohnpeian, English	2017

During the second summer, July–August 2017, two versions of survey instrument two were used. The administrators were given both copies and were asked to distribute both equally.

4.2.3.2 Data processing

The surveys used in this dissertation were created with a program called *SDAPS* (Berg & Schwenk 2015). This program allows for the creation of paper surveys that have uniquely identifiable barcodes and allows for semi-automatic processing of the completed surveys. After the surveys were administered, they were scanned and imported into the *SDAPS* program for initial processing. The program automatically recognized the bar codes on each survey. It also recognizes both the handwritten responses⁵ and multiple choice selections for each question. Each response was verified manually for correct recognition. After the responses were verified, *SDAPS* generated (1) a PDF report that included a compilation of each handwritten response and summary statistics for each multiple choice question and (2) a CSV file with the raw multiple choice responses. The *SDAPS* workflow is depicted in Figure 4.2. Each of the three questionnaire versions were processed separately. Handwritten fields were entered manually and were standardized in terms of spelling.

The data in the CSV files were imported into the statistics programming language *R* (R Core Team 2017) and formatted into an analyzable dataframe with the *R* package *reshape2* (version 1.4.2) (Wickham 2007).

After converting the data into a meaningful dataframe, some of the variables were recoded, namely: education level, elementary school type, and high school type.

Education level (question 1.14) was recoded as “not high school graduate,” “high school graduate,” “some college, no degree,” “bachelor’s degree,” and “advanced degree.” These categories allow for more respondents in each category, which leads to better statistical modeling. The categories also more closely represent categories used by other survey groups, such as the U.S. Census Bureau.

Both elementary school type (question 1.15) and high school type (question 1.16) were recoded to include a new level “none” to account for those who never attended high school or elementary school.

⁵The program only recognizes the area where the text was written. It unfortunately cannot convert the handwriting to text.



Figure 4.1. Carvy and Jade with the completed surveys they helped administer in 2017

4.2.3.3 Data missingness and data imputation

Some of the respondents to the surveys did not complete all of the questions. As a result, there were some missing values in the dataset. Having missing values in the dataset can limit the power of a statistical analysis or even prevent it from running properly. The missing values were grouped into two types: missing at random and meaningful non-response.

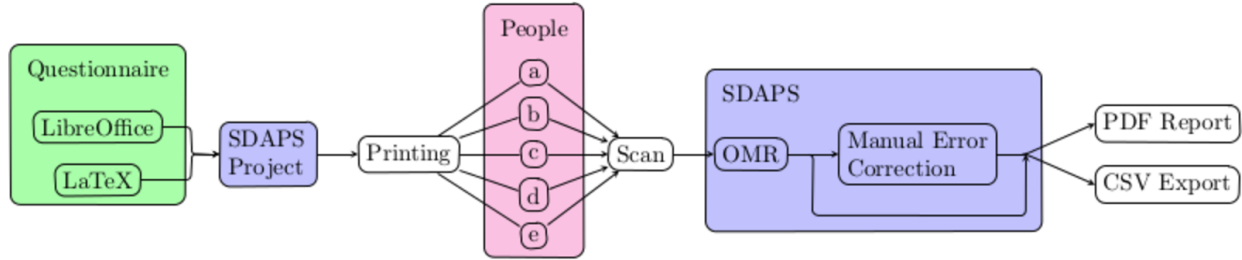


Figure 4.2. SDAPS workflow (Berg & Schwenk 2015)

The meaningful non-response values typically were those questions that were not applicable to the respondent. The most common of these were the education questions. If a respondent's highest level of education attained is K-8, then it would make sense for them to leave questions about high school and college blank. Since there was not a 'none' or 'n/a' response to any of the questions, these types of non-responses were recoded as 'none' to indicate that the non-response is actually a meaningful value.

The missing at random non-responses were those that had no immediately justifiable answer. These missing values seem to be at random and may be due to accidentally skipping a question or not having enough time to complete some questions. Since there is no meaningful explanation for why these questions were skipped, their values are guessed or rather imputed, instead of discarding those responses.

The missing values are imputed using a method called the k -Nearest Neighbor algorithm (k -NN) via the *R* package *VIM* (Kowarik & Templ 2016) (version 4.7.0). The k -NN algorithm works for both continuous and categorical variables by first creating a distance matrix for every observation in the data. The algorithm then identifies the k nearest data points (k is a constant defined prior to imputation) for each missing value and then assigns the mean (if the data are continuous) or mode (if categorical) of the k nearest neighbors to the missing value (Batista & Monard 2002, Jönsson & Wohlin 2004). This process is visualized in Figure 4.3, where the green circle is the missing value. The assigned value would be a red triangle if k were 3 or a blue square if k were 5. k for the survey data set varied based on analysis, but was determined based off Batista & Monard (2002) and Jönsson & Wohlin (2004) who determined that defining k as the \sqrt{n} rounded to the nearest odd whole number, where n is the average number of complete observations in general performs well in terms of precision and mean square error.

Overall, k -NN imputation typically performs better than other imputation methods such as replacements (replacing missing values with the overall mean or mode of that variable), multiple imputation, regression imputation, decision trees, and self-organising maps (Batista & Monard 2002,

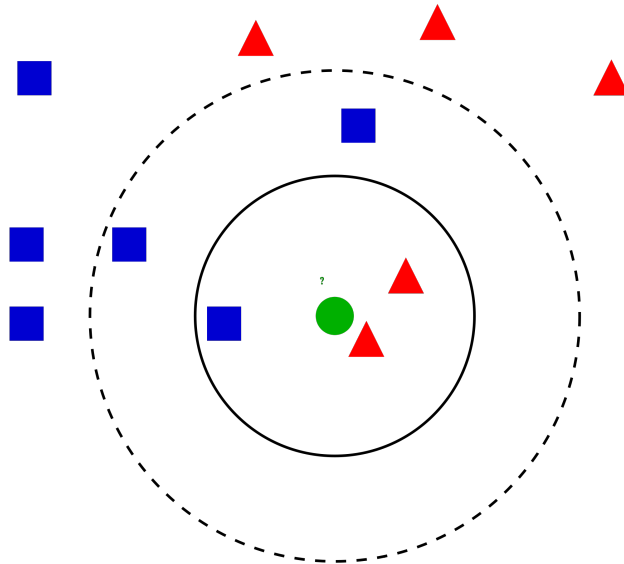


Figure 4.3. Example of k-NN (Anjanki 2007)

García-Laencina et al. 2009, Jerez et al. 2010). Because of its high predictive rate, it has also been used by Statistics Canada, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the U.S. Census Bureau for imputing non-responses in surveys (Chen & Shao 2000).

4.2.3.4 Poststratification

The last step of the data preparation before the analyses is *poststratification*. The goal of large-scale survey studies is to have a representative study—that is to say, a study where all major subgroups of the population are proportionally represented in the sample. If one subgroup is over-sampled, then their response might unduly shift the results since they may have different views than other subgroups. As an example, if a survey about internet use had 90% of its sample being people 70+ years old and only 1% being 18–30, then the survey’s results most likely has extremely biased results. The consequences of this problem are compounded if the results of the survey were used by a government agency to develop their official internet policy for the country. Walter & Andersen (2013), likewise, stress the need for appropriate representation for quantitative studies with indigenous people.

Despite the goal of gathering a representative sample, it is often impossible to do so in real life applications due to limited access, time, and resources. Poststratification is one way to help mitigate the problem of non-representative samples, though it does not completely do so. It has been shown in other studies to improve generalizability and reduce effects of selection bias, especially in regression analysis (see Buttice & Highton (2013), Kastlelec et al. (2014), and Lax & Phillips (2009) for examples).

Poststratification involves creating survey weights for each respondent that balance the responses to make them more closely resemble the general population demographics. A survey weight, in essence, slightly reduces the statistical importance of some of the respondents (i.e., those of the over-sampled groups) and increases the importance of others (i.e., those of the under-sampled groups).

To poststratify the responses, I used a process called *raking* or *iterative proportional fitting*, where known population proportions for multiple demographic variables are used to iteratively create survey weights by assigning weights one variable at a time and adjusting them until a stable solution is generated (Bethlehem 2009, Lumley 2010). For this survey, I used the *R* (R Core Team 2017) package *survey* (Lumley 2017) to rake over the demographic variables age, gender, municipality, citizenship, and education level based on known proportions for Pohnpei Island-Proper⁶ from the 2010 FSM Census (FSM Office of Statistics, Budget and Economic Management, Overseas Development Assistance, and Compact Management 2010).⁷

The poststratification process does, however, increase the risk of a single person having too strong of a voice (i.e., given a very large survey weight) and them not being representative of their subgroup. To address this issue, after the survey weights were created, they were trimmed at cut-off points of 0.2 and 5 to reduce excess variability caused by large weights. The weights were then redistributed so that the before- and after-trimming sum of the weights remained the same (Henry & Valliant 2012, Kalton & Flores-Cervantes 2003).

4.2.4 Analyses

This dissertation uses several statistical tools that are explained in this section. Each tool answers different questions and has different assumptions. Combining these tools help tell a story about the language attitudes on Pohnpei.

The first two statistical analysis tools, multidimensional scaling (MDS) and hierarchical regression modeling, help answer the question of who expresses certain language attitudes differently from others. These two tools approach the question in different ways. Hierarchical regression modeling uses a top down approach, where the respondents are grouped into known categories, such as age, gender, and education. The model assumes that these categories are meaningful and tries to find trends within the categories. But, as discussed in §4.2.1, demographic categories are somewhat artificial groupings that can miss important aspects of reality. To account for this, MDS and a cluster analysis are also used. Cluster analysis is a bottom up approach that finds groups that emerge from the data without using previously known categories. It helps find patterns that may be missed by using the structured

⁶Pohnpei Island-Proper excludes the neighboring islands.

⁷Custom tables from the 2010 FSM Census were generously provided by Brihmer Johnson at SBOC.

approach of hierarchical regression modeling. Hierarchical regression modeling and cluster analysis are discussed further in §4.2.4.1 and §4.2.4.2 respectively.

The third statistical analysis, correspondence analysis (CA), helps answer the question of what patterns exist within the responses. In particular, CA shows how responses across a series of questions relate to each other as well how the questions themselves relate to each other, based on all of the responses. The results of the CA allow patterns in the responses to be seen and grouped together. CA differs from the cluster analysis in that it looks at patterns between questions and answers overall, whereas the cluster analysis looks for difference between individual respondents. CA is discussed further in §4.2.4.3.

A summary of the statistical analyses used in the dissertation and the questions they answer are given in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7. Statistical analyses and the questions they answer

Statistical model	Questions answered
hierarchical regression modeling	(1) how do named groups vary in language attitudes (2) how much variation is there both in each group and between groups?
multidimensional scaling	what groups of respondents based on their responses naturally emerge from the data?
correspondence analysis	how are the questions and responses related to each other?

4.2.4.1 Hierarchical regression modeling

Hierarchical regression modeling is a family of powerful statistical tools. In general, they model how a set of variables, called predictors, with set categories in essence ‘predict’ a response variable (Gelman & Hill 2007, Gill 2001).⁸ The output of a hierarchical regression model shows to what extent each of the predictor variables are correlated with the response variable as well as the correlation between each of the predictor variables. It can calculate these correlations because it assumes the categories of the predictor variables are meaningful groupings.

The output also indicates how the response variable would change if a predictor variable were to change in some way. In addition to how the predictors correlate with the response variable, the model also gives an estimate of the amount of variation within each predictor variable.

The hierarchical part of the name indicates that the data are grouped into discrete clusters. These clusters can also be nested inside other clusters. The variable that indicates the clustering is called the

⁸The use of the word ‘predict’ is somewhat of a misnomer, since the model actually just shows the correlation of the predictors and the response variables and does not tell us anything about causation (i.e., correlation does not equal causation).

grouping variable.⁹ The hierarchical regression model looks for patterns both within each group and across groups. The model assumes that there will be some in-group similarities as well as differences between groups.

To see how hierarchical regression modeling works in general, let us look at a sample scenario. A hypothetical study asks members of several universities (administrators, teachers, and students) to answer a research question. The gender and age of the respondents are also recorded. In this example, the response variable is the answer given by each respondent to the research question. The predictor variables are position in the school (admin, teacher, or student), gender (female, male, or genderqueer), and age (any value 18+). The grouping variable is the university the respondents are members of, since the members of a single university may have similar responses. The hierarchical regression model groups the respondents into universities, then looks at the average values and variation in the research question responses in each of the combinations of predictor groups (e.g., male admin 18 y/o, female admin 18 y/o, male student 18 y/o, female student 18 y/o, etc.). It then predicts an expected research question response for each of the predictor groups and a measure of how different each of the groups are or are not from each other. The results then tell (1) what the normal result for each group should be, (2) how much variation is found within each group (i.e., how similar are group members to themselves), (3) and how different are each of the groups from each other. The model also tells (4) on average how much variation is there within each university and (5) how different the universities are from each other. Hierarchical regression modeling thus shows if there are meaningful correlations of the previously known groups with the response variable.

To apply hierarchical regression modeling to actual data, one must pick one of the members of the hierarchical regression modeling family that each have their own unique properties and assumptions. From this family of statistical tools, this dissertation will use three: hierarchical poisson modeling (HPM), hierarchical negative binomial modeling (HNBM), and hierarchical cumulative link modeling (HCLM). They are discussed in §4.2.4.1.1, §4.2.4.1.2, and §4.2.4.1.3 respectively.

However, before these three types of hierarchical regression modeling are discussed, the two types of statistical inference—frequentist and Bayesian—that undergird all hierarchical regression modeling need to be explained.

Frequentist inference is a way of modeling data that takes into account only the actual data and an idealized model of how statistical phenomena typically occur (Kruschke 2015). Models that use frequentist inference compare the observed data to an idealized model,¹⁰ such as a normal or binomial

⁹Other sources call them random effects, random variables, or clustering variables.

¹⁰For such a model to work, the response variable has to fit the assumptions of whatever idealized model (aka statistical distribution) that regression model is using. If the data do not meet the assumptions, then the results may not be valid.

distribution, and they measure how different the data are from that model. If the data are different enough from the model, then the model gives small probability value (p-value), which indicates the probability of getting the same results or more extreme results given the hypothesis that there is no difference between the data and the idealized model is true. This can be restated as the probability of observing the data given that the null hypothesis is true. If this probability is 5% (0.05) or less, then there is a significantly small probability of observing the data given the null hypothesis is true, so the null hypothesis can be rejected. A significant p-value in hierarchical regression modeling is often used to indicate that that group has significantly different response variable results than the groups it is being compared to. However, p-values are often misinterpreted and result in binary interpretations of regression results (either a group is different or not), instead of potentially more meaningful fine-grained analyses (e.g., a group is 70% different). See [Wasserstein & Lazar \(2016\)](#) for a discussion of the problems associated with p-values.

Bayesian inference is a way of modeling data that takes into account the data, prior knowledge of the data, and idealized statistical models ([Kruschke 2015](#)). Models that use Bayesian inference compare the data to idealized statistical models (i.e., statistical distributions), but also use prior information to make bets on how strongly to believe the data. If the prior information is very strong, in cases where there is much previous data that is strongly trusted, then the prior information will strongly influence the outcome. If there is only weak prior information, then the data is less affected by it. The results of a model that use Bayesian inference indicate the probability of the null hypothesis (that there is no observed difference) being true given the data.

Bayesian models are able to directly indicate the probability of the null hypothesis being true, whereas frequentist models are only able to give the probability of the data and cannot comment on the null hypothesis itself. This makes the Bayesian approach more intuitive. Bayesian models also do not use p-values and instead give a highest density interval (HDI). The HDI indicates the 95% most probable response variable results for a specific group. If the HDIs of two groups overlap, then those areas of overlap indicate probable similarities for those groups. Areas of non-overlap indicate probable differences for those groups. Groups then can be completely similar (100% overlap of HDIs), partially similar (overlap greater than 0% but less than 100%), or completely different (0% overlap). The HDI allows for much more nuanced claims than p-values.

This dissertation uses Bayesian inference in lieu of more common frequentist approaches. Based on the work of [Kruschke \(2015\)](#), [Parker-Stephen \(2013\)](#), [Kruschke et al. \(2012\)](#), and [Gelman & Hill \(2007\)](#), Bayesian approaches to hierarchical regression modeling are also more robust and less prone to overfitting, than frequentist approaches, and of course avoid the problems associated with p-values.

4.2.4.1.1 Hierarchical poisson modeling

To determine which subset of the hierarchical regression modeling family to use, one typically has to know at least two properties of the response variable: its measurement scale and its statistical distribution.

There are four measurement scales used in statistics: nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio (Howell 2013). Each scale starting with nominal has its own unique properties in addition to the properties of those scales that come before it. For example, a variable that follows a nominal scale only has named values, but no meaningful order, nor a meaningful distance between values. An example would be states of the FSM (Kosrae, Pohnpei, Chuuk, and Yap), that have no inherent meaningful order. A variable that follows an ordinal scale, such as likert values like really disagree through really agree, have named traits and a meaningful order, but the distance between each value is not known, since the distance between strongly disagree and disagree can be different for each person. Interval variables have named values, a meaningful order, and an equal distance between values. An example of an interval variable would be a test score, since the distances between 1 and 2 points is the same as 2 and 3 points. A ratio variable has all the same characteristics as an interval variable, in addition to an absolute zero. The test score is potentially not a ratio variable because getting zero points on the test does not represent an absence of knowledge per se. A true ratio example would be temperature measured on the Kelvin scale.¹¹ When the temperature is at 0K, also known as absolute zero, there is a complete absence of movement and thus the absence of heat. The scales and their characteristics are given in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8. Measurement scale properties (Howell 2013)

Scale	Named traits	Ordered traits	Meaningful distance	Absolute zero
Nominal	+	-	-	-
Ordinal	+	+	-	-
Interval	+	+	+	-
Ratio	+	+	+	+

A statistical distribution describes which values of a response variable are possible and how likely a certain value is. A common statistical distribution is the normal distribution. It assumes first that the variable follows an interval or ratio scale. It also assumes that the most common value is simultaneously the mean, median, and mode. Values above or below the most common value are increasingly less probable. For example, 63% of the data should fall within plus or minus one standard deviation from the most probable value, 95% within plus or minus two standard deviations, and 99.7% within

¹¹The temperature in Kelvins (K) is equal to the temperature in degrees Celsius (°C) plus 273.15.

three standard deviations. A value outside of three standard deviations while possible is very unlikely to occur. The shape and properties of the normal distribution are depicted in Figure 4.4. Other distributions have different assumptions.

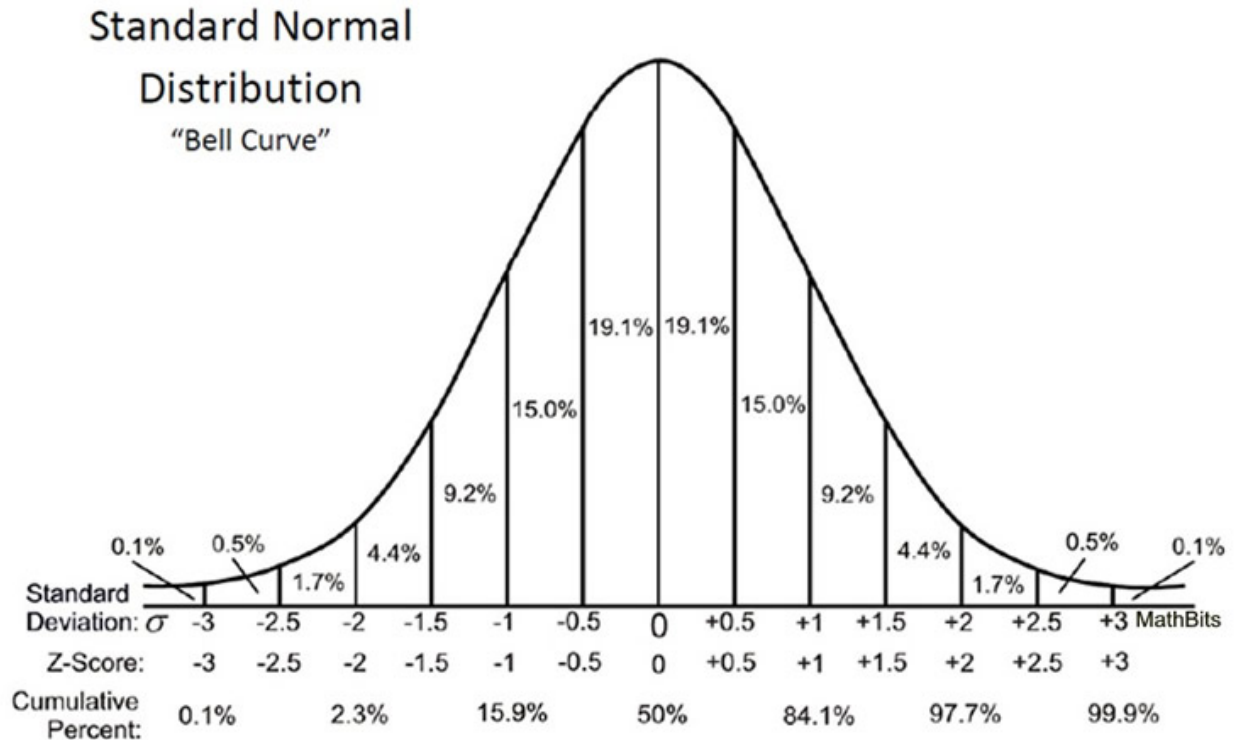


Figure 4.4. Normal distribution probability density function (Roberts & Roberts 2017)

One of the other common distributions is the poisson distribution. The poisson distribution is used model events that involve counted occurrences. This distribution has one value that describes its shape: λ . λ is the expected number of occurrences, that is to say the number of occurrences that is most probable for that event. The distribution is visualized in Figure 4.5 for three different values of λ . The value k , the x-axis, indicates that number of occurrences for the thing being counted, and the y-axis indicates the probability of that number of occurrences, k , will occur.

Hierarchical poisson modeling (HPM) is a member of the hierarchical regression modeling family that has the unique characteristic that the response variable must follow an interval or ratio scale and also approximate a poisson distribution. It also assumes that the variables vary from each other in a linear (one-to-one) way.

To see how HPM works in practice, a hypothetical study is demonstrated. This hypothetical study examines publishing differences for faculty members at four universities. The response variable is the number of articles published per year by each professor. This variable follows an interval scale and

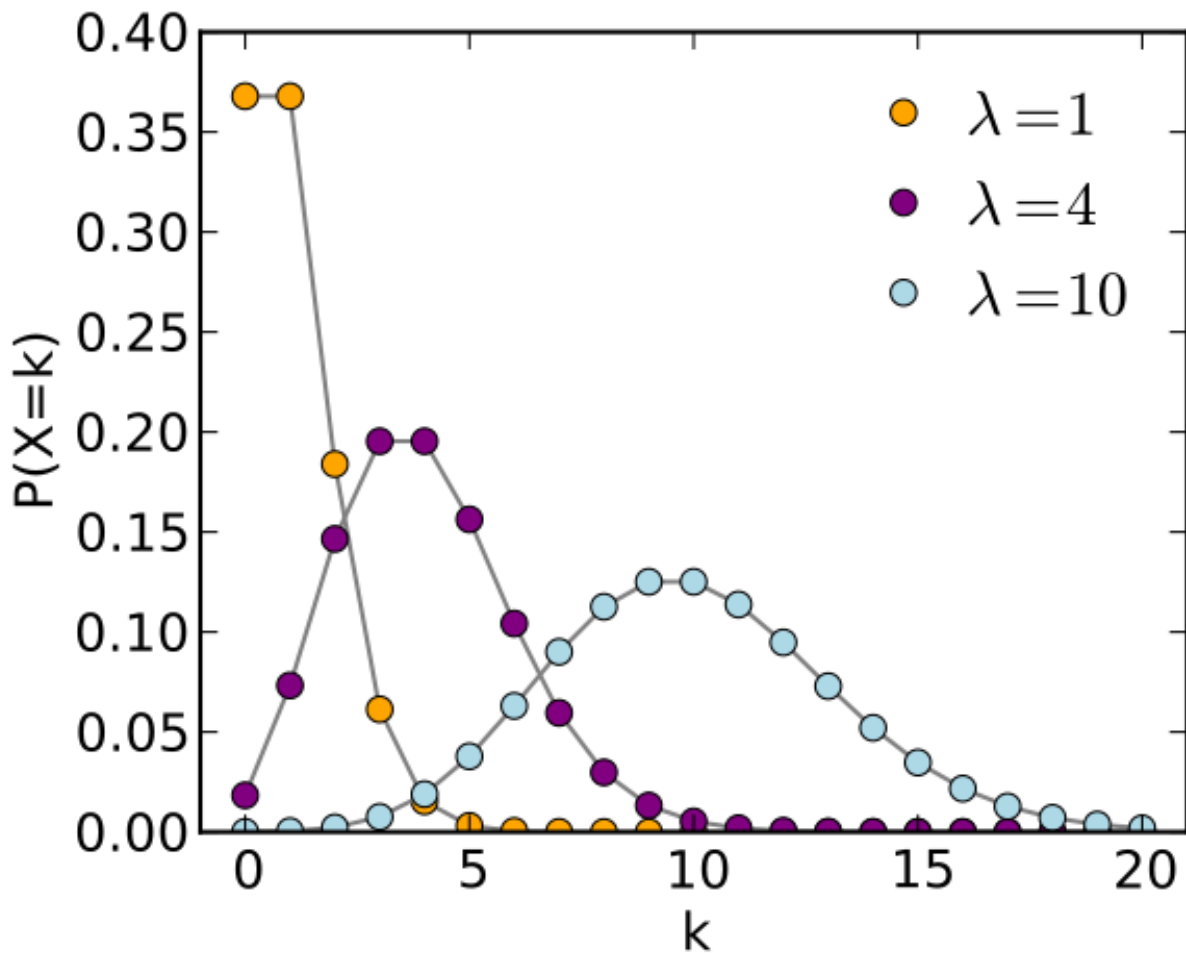


Figure 4.5. Poisson probability mass function (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poisson_distribution)

approximates a poisson distribution for qualifies for HPM. The predictors are gender (coded female and male) and title at the university (coded assistant professor, associate professor, and professor). The grouping variable is name of the university (coded A, B, C, or D), since each university has different pay policies.

To run the model, the prior information (called priors for short) must be specified. To do this, typically weakly informative priors are selected. These weakly informative priors are designed to give enough information to the model to sample the data effectively, but not enough to overpower the data. Weakly informative priors are typically specified as a statistical distribution, often normal, with a specified shape (mean and standard deviation for normal distributions). The *R* package *rstanarm* (Gabry & Goodrich 2016) that runs the models automatically scales the variables, so the priors for

this data can be set as a normal distribution with mean = 1 and a standard deviation = 1. The model then produces the output in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9. Sample HPM output

Parameter	mean	sd	2.5%	97.5%	Predictor meaning
(Intercept)	0.9	0.1	0.6	1.1	grand mean
gender1	0.1	0.1	-0.0	0.2	women
title1	0.6	0.1	0.5	0.7	assistant professors
title2	-0.0	0.1	-0.2	0.1	associate professors

In Table 4.9, the Parameter column gives a list of groups that the model compared. The mean column gives the predicted average log count of annual articles for each of the groups. The sd column gives the standard deviation for each group, which is a measure of the amount of variation in the group. The last two columns, 2.5% and 97.5% indicate the end points of the HDI range. The HDI indicates the 95% most probable log counts for each group.

To understand what the values mean in the table, one also needs to understand what the groups are that the model used. This process is not at first what it seems. Since we are interested in differences in annual article count due to each of the predictor variables, they are coded using what is called ‘deviation coding’ ([UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group 2011](#)), which is done in *R* with a simple function.

The first step of understanding the results is to understand what the ‘Intercept’ is. With deviation coding the intercept represents the average value of all the individual averages for each of the predictor subgroups. This average of averages is called the ‘grand mean.’ In this example the Intercept, aka the grand mean, is 0.9, with an HDI of [0.6, 1.1]. That means that there is a 95% probability that the Intercept falls between 0.6 log counts and 1.1 log counts.

All of the other parameters in the table are listed relative to the Intercept. That means that all parameters are compared only to the Intercept. For example, gender1 represents the difference between the first alphabetical level of gender, female, versus the grand mean (the Intercept). Women are predicted to have on average 0.1 log counts more than the grand mean, with a 95% probability that women have between 0.0 and 0.2 log counts greater than the grand mean. Since the HDI of this output does overlap with zero, there is less than 95% certainty that women are meaningfully different from the grand mean.

Title1 compares the first level in alphabetical order of the title variable, assistant professor, to the grand mean. In this example, assistant professors have on average 0.6 more log counts than the grand mean. Since Title1’s HDI [0.5, 0.7] does not overlap with 0, then there is a probability greater than 95%

that Title1 is meaningfully different from the grand mean. Title2 compares the second alphabetical level of the title variable, associate professor, to the grand mean.

Table 4.10 explains what groups each of the parameters represent relative to the Intercept.

Table 4.10. Explanation of sample HPM parameters

Parameter	Group
Intercept	mean of individual predictor means (grand mean)
gender1	Difference of females from grand mean
title1	Difference of assistant professors from grand mean
title2	Difference of associate professors from grand mean

The information from the HPM output can also be visualized as in Figure 4.6. The plot gives each of the parameters' predicted distributions, with the HDI shaded light blue. The distribution's median is indicated with a blue vertical line. As in the table output, the Intercept has to be interpreted separately from the other parameters. The intercept is the grand mean. The other values are all relative to the intercept. While, this relative coding may seem complicated, it makes it easy to see how different each of the parameters are from the Intercept. If a parameter's HDI (the light blue shaded area) overlaps with 0, then it is probable that that parameter is not different from the Intercept. If there is no overlap with 0, then that parameter has a 95% or greater probability of complete difference from the Intercept. In Figure 4.6, gender1 and title2 overlap with 0, while title1 does not. Title1 and gender1 occur mostly to the right of 0 indicating that they have predicted higher values than the Intercept. If parameters occur to the left of 0, then they have lower values than the Intercept. If they occur on both sides then there is little probable difference between it and the intercept.

The width of a parameter's shaded blue area in the plot also gives an indication of how much variation there is in that group. If the plot is very narrow, then it indicates that there is little variation. If it is a wide plot, then there is much group internal variation.

The results overall indicate that assistant professors publish more articles than the grand mean. Associate professors publish the same number as the grand mean. There is some probability that women publish more than grand mean, though there is a large amount of overlap with 0.

The results for the individual universities that were used as the grouping variable can also be displayed graphically as in Figure 4.7. The plot shows how much each university differs from the global mean. Plots centered at 0 indicate that that university does not differ overall from the global mean values. Plots to the right of 0 indicate a higher average and plots to the left a lower value. In this plot, the order of most articles to lowest is university B, A, C, and D though there is significant overlap in the HDI's of all four universities.

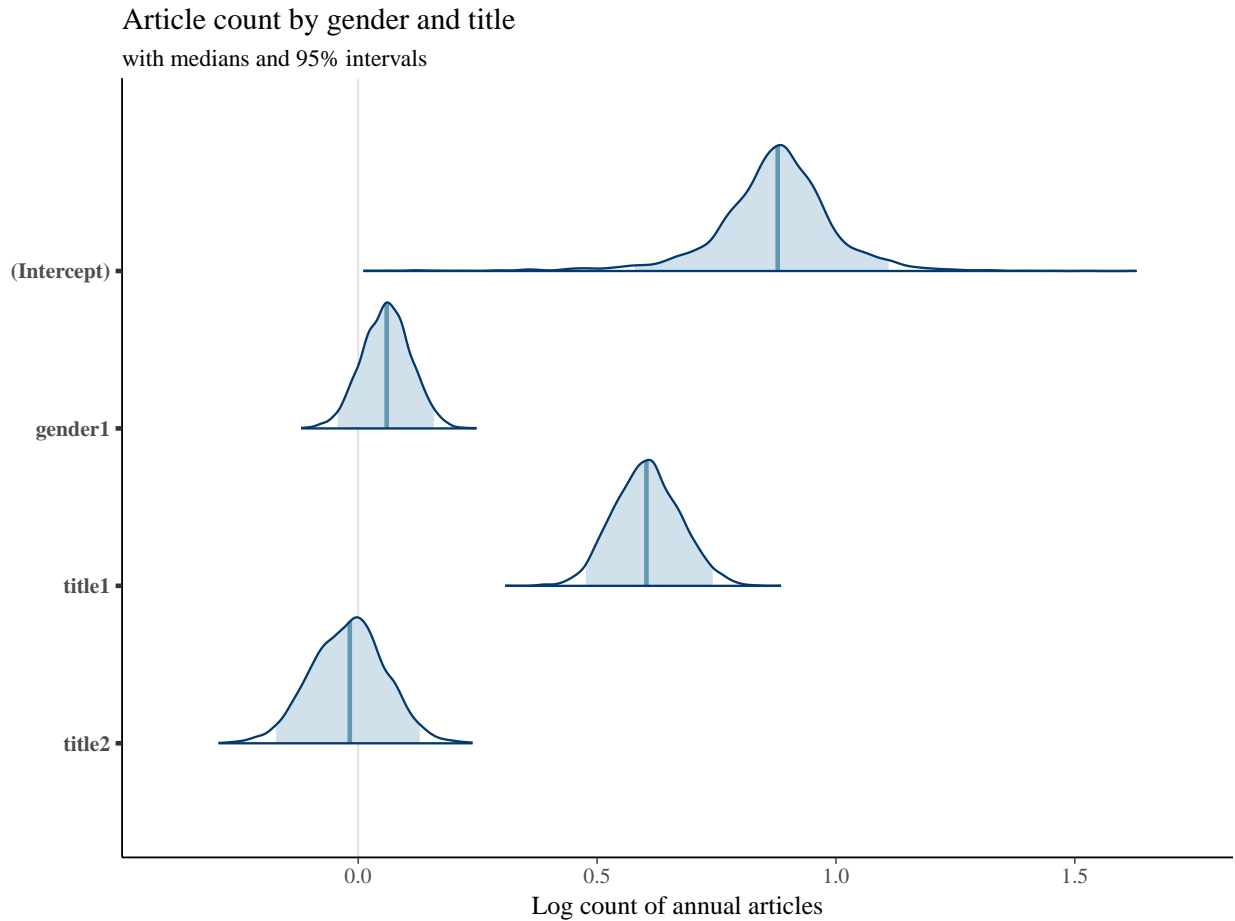


Figure 4.6. Posterior distributions of the sample HPM

The results presented so far for the HPM are in logarithmic-space or log-space for short. Because they are in log-space, the results have the units log counts of the thing being counted. However, the results can also be converted to non-log-space by exponentiating them. The means taking the constant e , which is approximately 2.71828 and raising it to the power of the output log coefficient. For example if the output of the model is 2.6 log counts, in non-log-space it is $e^{2.6}$ or approximately 13.464 or 1346.4%. This non-log-space value corresponds to the expected incidence rate for that parameter. That means that parameter has an expected incidence rate probability for the thing being measured of 1346.4%.

When looking at the above example about the number of annual articles published, assistant professors have an expected article publishing rate of $e^{0.6}$ or 1.8 times more than the grand mean (an increase of 80%).

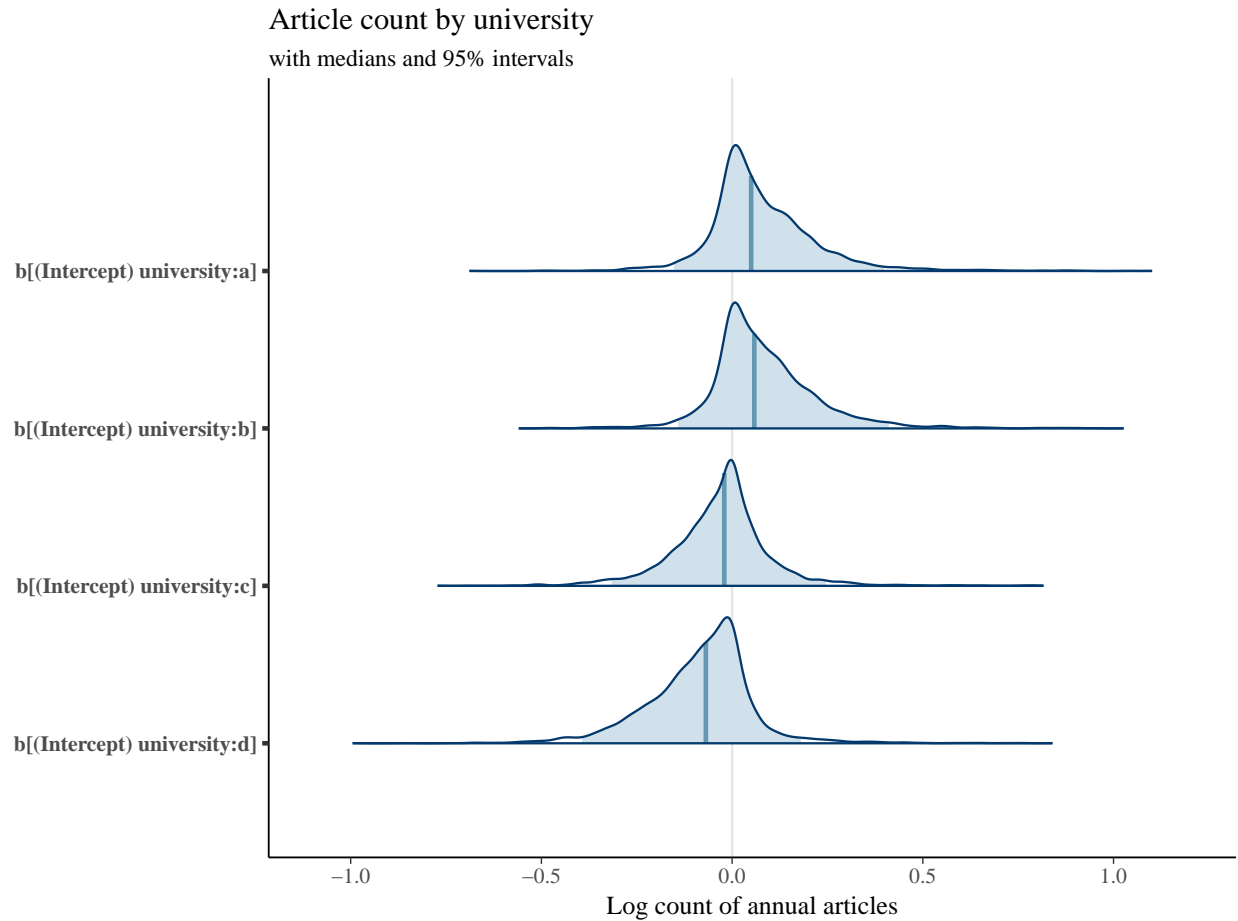


Figure 4.7. Posterior distributions for universities

4.2.4.1.2 Hierarchical negative binomial modeling

Hierarchical negative binomial modeling (HNBM) is very closely related to HPM. This type of regression modeling is also for count data. It differs from HPM in that it works better for data that are overdispersed. Overdispersion is when the data have greater variability than is expected for a given statistical model. For count data, this means that one value, such as 0 occurs more frequently than is expected based on the predicted poisson distribution probability. This can be quantified by comparing the data's mean to its standard deviation. If the deviation is much larger than the mean, then it is overdispersed ([UCLA Institute for Digital Research and Education 2017](#)).

The interpretation of an HNBM is the same as the HPM, so a separate illustration is not needed.

4.2.4.1.3 Hierarchical cumulative link modeling

Hierarchical cumulative link modeling (HCLM) is another member of the hierarchical regression modeling family. It assumes that the response variable is an ordinal variable (named traits that have an order) and what is called the ‘proportional odds assumption.’ The proportional odds assumption means that if there are four ordinal choices (A, B, C, and D), probability of going from any one choice to any other choice has to be similar (Brant 1990). That means that the probability from going from A to B has to be similar to A to C or D to A. All of the probabilities of moving from any one point to another then have to be parallel (Figure 4.8). The output of HCLM looks like that of HPM, though has a slightly different interpretation, because of the proportional odds assumption.

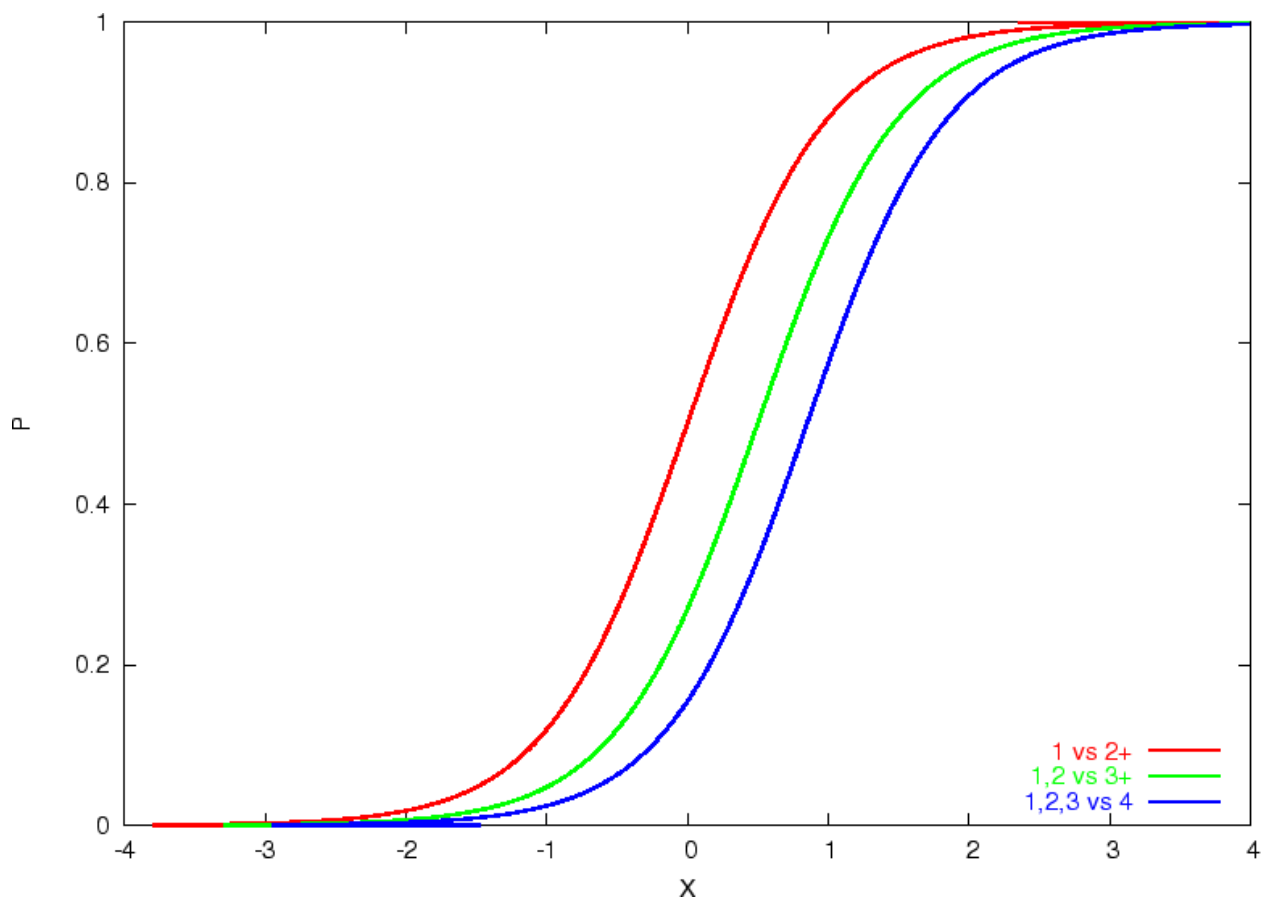


Figure 4.8. An example of proportional odds (Halpin 2012)

To understand how to interpret HCLM, a hypothetical example study is provided. This hypothetical example is from the same study as in the previous section. While the researchers were looking for differences in annual salary for gender, they also asked several faculty members at the four universities for their level of agreement with the statement: “I feel my pay is adequate.” The possible

responses were: Strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree. The model like in the previous section has gender and title as predictor variables and university as the grouping variable. The response variable is the response to the question. The model output is given in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11. Sample HPM output

Parameter	mean	sd	2.5%	97.5%
gender1	-0.7694	0.1769	-1.116155	-0.4226391
title1	-1.9316	0.2876	-2.495267	-1.3679102
title2	-0.9805	0.2471	-1.464867	-0.4960879

The first difference in the HCLM output from the HPM output is the lack of an Intercept. Though, not explicitly given, the parameters are still assumed to be relative to an invisible intercept (grand mean). The given mean for each of the listed parameters is actually the mean log-odds of that parameter changing from one of the responses to any of the other responses. In concrete terms that means that gender1 (women) have a mean log-odds of -0.7694 of having any higher response than the grand mean. However, this still is not very clear, so the log-odd odd can be converted to ‘normal’ odds by exponentiating it ($e^{-0.7694}$), which equals approximately 0.46.¹² Now it can be said that women are 46% less likely to have a higher response to the question ‘I feel my pay is adequate’ than the grand mean. HCLM can also be depicted graphically in the same way as HPM as in Figure 4.9.

HCLM for this dissertation were run with the *R* package *brms* (version 1.10.0) (Bürkner 2017).

4.2.4.2 Multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis

Multidimensional scaling (MDS) is a statistical tool that helps find patterns in how respondents answered a series of questions. This tool does not require previously known groups like hierarchical regression modeling, but rather allows groups to emerge from the data themselves. An MDS analysis actually involves three consecutive analyses that combine together: (1) creating a dissimilarity matrix, (2) applying a cluster analysis to the dissimilarity matrix, and (3) applying MDS to the dissimilarity matrix to display the cluster analysis. Each part will be explained separately.

The first step is to create a dissimilarity matrix based off the responses to the series of questions. A dissimilarity matrix takes all of the responses to the questions and then creates a measure of how dissimilar each of the respondents are from each other. The dissimilarity matrix indicates which respondents are most similar in their responses and which are most different. The dissimilarity matrix is created via the Gower dissimilarity coefficient (Gower 1971) that works for all measurement scales

¹²If the exponentiated value is less than 1, such as 0.46, then that means that parameter is 46% **less** likely to have a higher response than the reference level. If it is greater than or equal to 1, then the parameter is **more** likely to have a higher response.

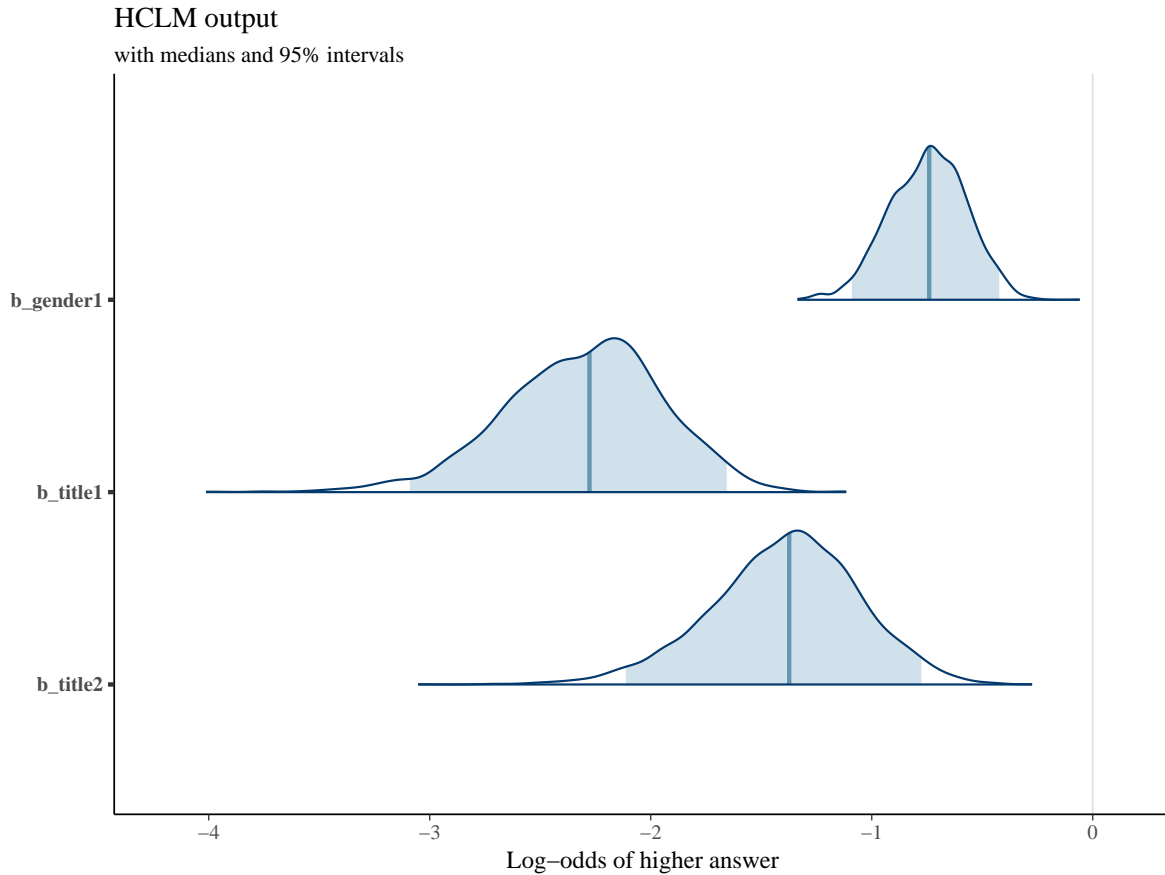


Figure 4.9. HCLM output

including ordinal and nominal data. The resulting Gower dissimilarity matrix provides a numerical measure of how dissimilar each of the respondents are from each of the other on a scale from 0 to 1. The higher the value the more dissimilar the two points are. Table 4.12 gives an example dissimilarity matrix.

Table 4.12. Sample Gower dissimilarity matrix

	Respondent 2	Respondent 3	Respondent 4
Respondent 1	0.70	0.50	0.20
Respondent 2	0.00	0.60	0.40
Respondent 3	0.50	0.00	0.30

The Gower dissimilarity coefficient is calculated via the *R* package *cluster* (Maechler et al. 2017).

After the dissimilarity matrix is calculated, the second step is that results are then grouped into clusters via a process called partitioning around mediods (PAM). PAM works by specifying a pre-determined number of clusters, k . According to the Kaufman & Rousseeuw (2005) algorithm, the

clusters are made by first randomly selecting k initial medians in the data, then associating every observation with the nearest median and partitioning the data accordingly. Next the algorithm reassigns the k median to the centroid of each partition. It then repeats the association and reassignment until the model converges, which results in k clusters.

The value of k was determined before running the analysis by using the ‘Silhouette Method’, which tests a range of k values and measures the distance of the data points in a cluster to their distance to other clusters. It then selects the value of k where the in-cluster distance is minimized and the out-of-cluster distance is maximized (Rousseeuw 1987).

The PAM clusters used in the dissertation as well as the the Silhouette Method were calculated using the *R* package *cluster* (Maechler et al. 2017). Unlike other clustering algorithms, such as k -means clustering, PAM is less susceptible to outliers and noise in the data since it uses medians, which are more stable than means, making the algorithm more robust.

The third step is to calculate the MDS from the dissimilarity matrix and to plot the output of the MDS with the PAM clusters. MDS is a statistical tool that takes the dissimilarity information about all the individuals in the study and maps in on to an N -dimensional space (Cox & Cox 2001, Borg & Groenen 1997).¹³ For this dissertation, the MDS will be mapping the dissimilarity matrix onto a 2-dimensional space, that is a space with two variables. MDS allows a complex dataset with many variables (such as a series of survey questions) to be reduced to a dataset with just two variables. This low dimensional representation makes it easier to see how all of the individual respondents relate to one another.

Figure 4.10 is an example MDS mapping respondents on to a two-dimensional space (variables V1 and V2) based on their responses to 38 survey questions. Each point on the plot represents a single respondent. The colors indicate the three different clusters from the PAM. Each of the three clusters can then be analyzed to see how they responded to each of the 38 questions to determine what the groups actually correspond too. Figure 4.11 gives a subset of the 38 questions grouped by the three clusters.

Since MDS takes many variables and reduces them to a small number, it is sometimes difficult to interpret what the resulting variables mean. In this example, it is unclear what the axes V1 and V2 actually correspond with in terms of real world meaning. Sometimes the meaning is clear based on how the respondents pattern, though other times, such as this example, it is difficult to interpret their meaning. However, the based on the responses to the questions in Figure 4.11, the PAM clusters are much easier to interpret.

¹³N-dimensional space means a coordinate system that has N number of dimensions, where N can be any positive whole number. 3-dimensional (3D) space for example has three dimensions that are represented with 3-axes— x , y , and z —when plotted.

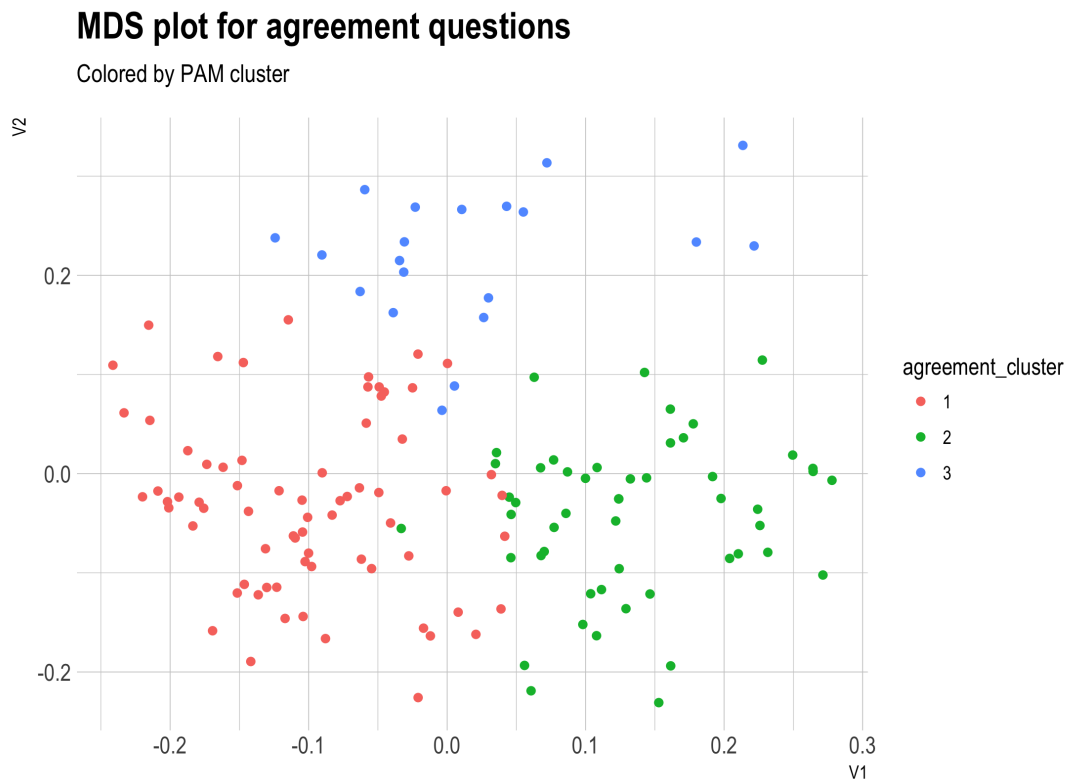


Figure 4.10. An example of MDS with 3 PAM clusters

PAM cluster 1 represents respondents who think English is more valuable and important to know than Pohnpeian or other local languages. Cluster 2 think it is more important to know Pohnpeian than English and disagree that English is more valuable or important than Pohnpeian or local languages. Cluster 3 do not think that English is more valuable or important than Pohnpeian. But cluster 3 are almost equally divided about the importance of English over local languages and overwhelmingly disagree that Pohnpeian is more important than English. The PAM clustering shows that there is a group who value Pohnpeian over English (cluster 1), a group who value English over Pohnpeian (cluster 2), and a group who does not value either English or Pohnpeian over the other (cluster 3).

The MDS was calculated with the *R* core package *stats*. Plots were made with the package *ggplot2* (Wickham 2017) with supplemental themes by package *hrbrthemes* (Rudis 2017).

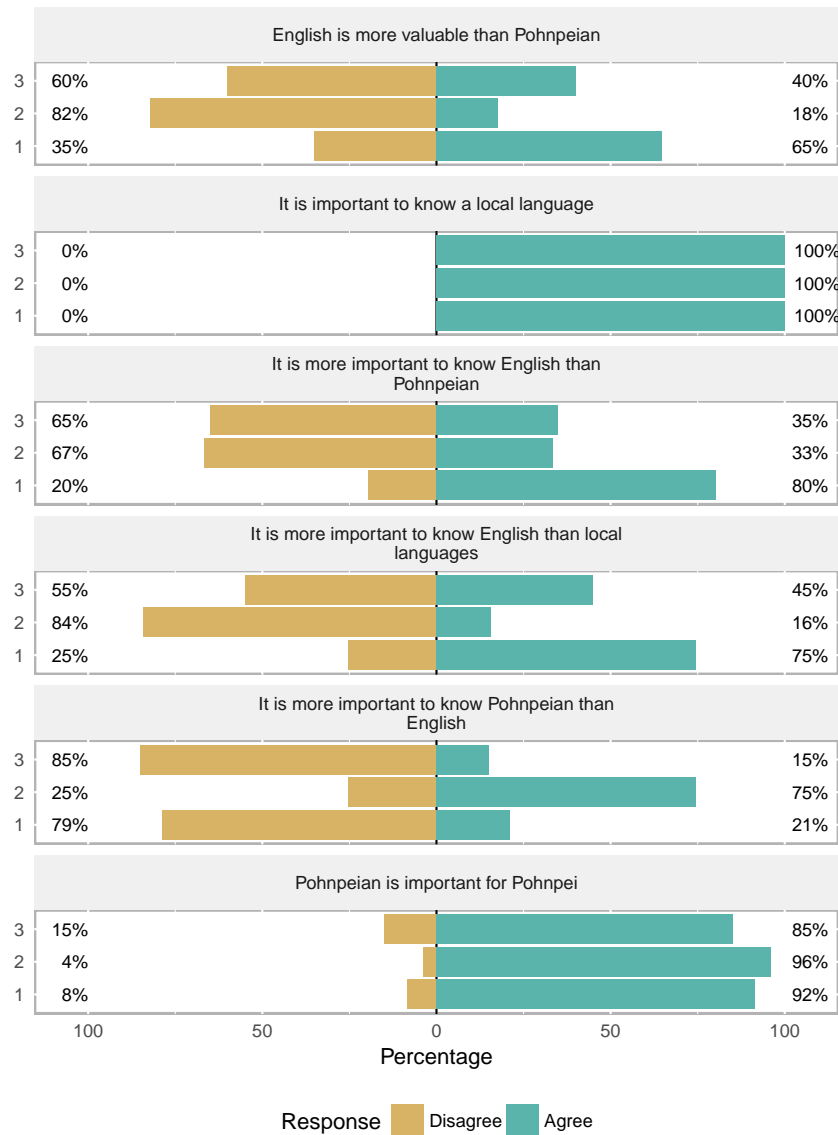


Figure 4.11. Sample question responses grouped by PAM clusters

4.2.4.3 Correspondence analysis

Correspondence analysis (CA) is a statistical tool that helps display how questions and their responses are related together. Like MDS, CA takes a large number of variables and reduces them to a smaller number. This analysis also involves the use of a clustering algorithm, which in this case is hierarchical clustering.

CA is a dimension reducing analysis that is designed explicitly for nominal data (Benzécri 1973, Murtagh 2005, Greenacre 2007). It can be applied to any series of nominal variables as long as they

are measured on the same scale (i.e., have the same units of measure). CA works by first converting a series of nominal variables to a contingency table, as in Table 4.13, which gives the count of each level of each variable. The example table gives sample language counts for two sample domains.

Table 4.13. Sample contingency table

	Pohnpeian	English	Chuukese
Home	23	5	3
School	10	30	5

The CA algorithm then takes the chi-squared statistic¹⁴ of the contingency table and converts it into a series of new factors. These factors are designed to have minimal correlation between themselves and to represent as much of the variation in the data as possible. All of the questions and the possible levels are then mapped onto the space created by these factors.

Figure 4.12 is an example output of the CA analysis for domain-based language importance. The blue points indicate the domains and the red points indicate language selections. The CA analysis displays which languages and domains tend to co-occur with each other and which do not. Like MDS, the variables created by the CA (dimension 1 and 2) are not known at first. Based on how where the languages are placed, it appears dimension 1 refers to the English (negative values) and Pohnpeian (positive values) choices. Dimension 2 appears to account for the other languages. The output also indicates that dimension 1 (English-Pohnpeian) accounts for 81.5% of the variation in the data, while dimension 2 accounts for 13.3%.

The next step is to apply an agglomerative hierarchical clustering analysis to the CA output via the package *FactoMineR*. The agglomerative method starts with each data point as its own cluster and then starts grouping nearby points by adding the next closest point to it (Gan et al. 2007). As it does this it builds a tree structure based on how distant each point is from each other. The algorithm ends when all points are grouped together into a single cluster. *FactoMineR* then cuts the created tree at the point where the overall change in within-cluster variation¹⁵ between levels is the greatest. The final clusters are the groups that exist at the point where the cut was made. For the sample CA data, the algorithm created three clusters visualized in Figure 4.13. These clusters also describe how each of the domains pattern together based on the language use responses of the respondents.

CA for this dissertation were run with *R* package *FactoMineR* (version 1.36) (Lê et al. 2008) and graphed with package *factoextra* (version 1.0.5) (Kassambara & Mundt 2017).

¹⁴The chi-squared distribution is a statistical distribution that can be applied to a variety of data types and has few assumptions making it widely useable.

¹⁵The package uses the term inertia to describe the intra-group sum of squared deviations divided by the total sum of squared deviations. It specifically looks for the point of greatest change in inertia to cut the tree.

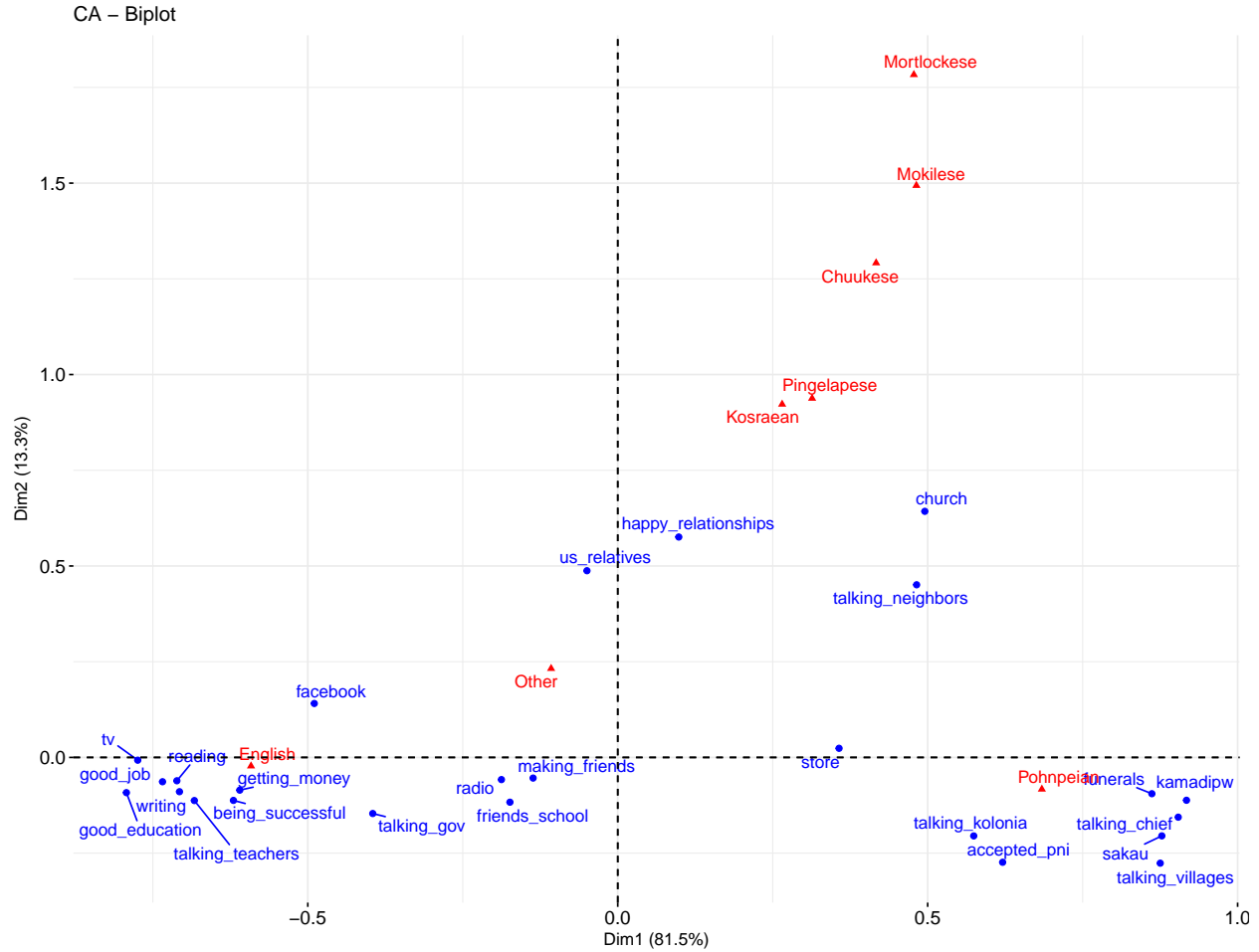


Figure 4.12. Sample CA for domain-based language importance

4.3 Qualitative analysis

The qualitative analyses, outlined in this section, help provide more in-depth explanations for how the language attitudes are constructed on Pohnpei. In particular, it has the potential to directly answer at least part of the question about why the respondents express the language attitudes they do, since they can be directly asked that question. The qualitative analysis also provides a fine-grain analysis that shows how the attitudes are constructed as they are uttered. This analysis complements the more broad quantitative analyses in the previous section.

The qualitative data in this dissertation were collected via interviews with people on Pohnpei. These interviews were lead by me and were all conducted primarily in English. Some of the questions used during the interviews are given in §4.3.1. The procedure for the interviews is discussed in §4.3.2.

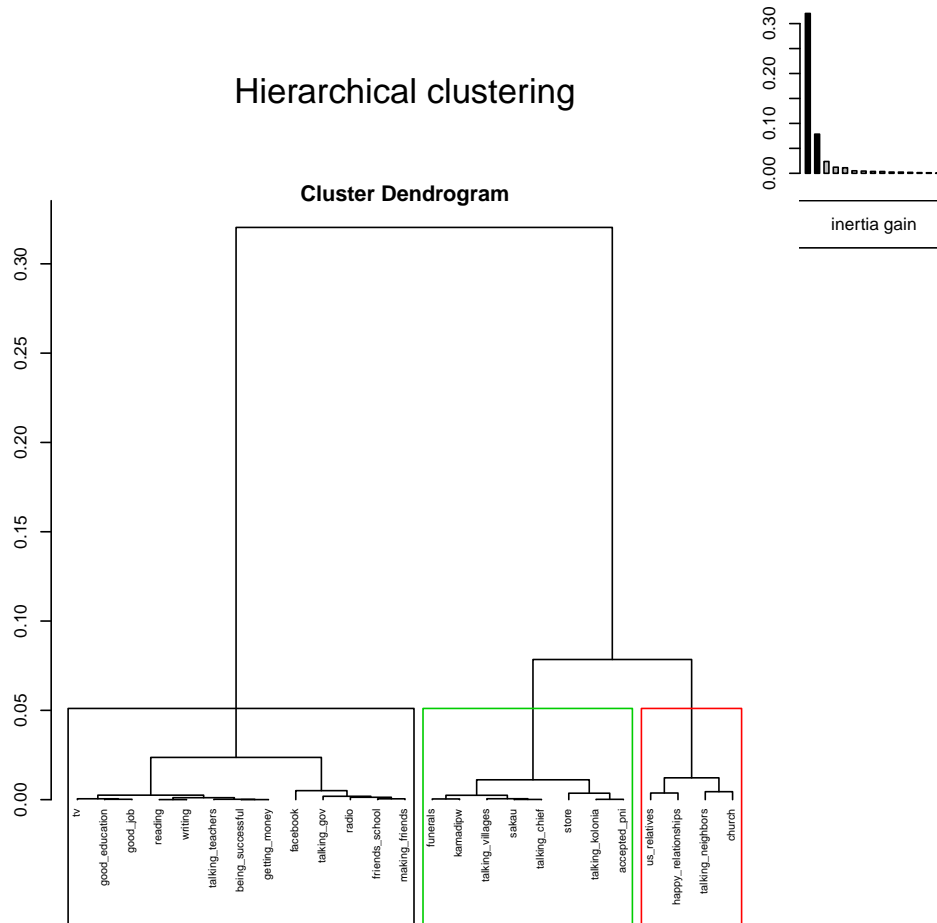


Figure 4.13. Sample hierarchical clustering of CA

4.3.1 Interview questions

The interview questions for this dissertation were adapted from [Ross \(2017\)](#) but adjusted to fit the context of Pohnpei. These questions were only a starting point for the interviews and are thus only a subset of the questions asked. The questions asked also varied for each interview.

1. What languages did your parents speak?
2. What languages did you use at home as a kid?
3. What languages do you speak?
4. What languages do you use at home now?
5. If you have children, what languages do they speak?

6. What languages did you use at school?
7. What languages do you use at work?
8. What do you think about English being used on Pohnpei?
9. What role should Pohnpeian play on Pohnpei? and why?
10. What role should English play on Pohnpei? and why?
11. Who should learn English?
12. Who should speak Pohnpeian?
13. How well can you speak Meing?
14. How often do you use Meing?
15. Who do you know who can speak Meing well?
16. What differences do you notice between young people's Pohnpeian and older people's? What do you think of those differences?
17. If you could speak any language better what would it be? Why?

These questions were selected to start a conversation about the interviewee's linguistic experiences. The first set of the questions (1–3) were designed to generate conversation about the interviewee's linguistic experiences as a child in the home and in school. The next set of questions (4–7) get information about current linguistic practices, such as at home, work, and school (if still applicable) and why. The last set of questions (8–17) ask the interviewee to describe their beliefs and opinions about the languages they encounter. Questions 8–12 ask about the importance of Pohnpeian and English on Pohnpei. Questions 13–15 ask about how well they speak Meing and people they know who can speak it well. Question 16 asks about age-based language use differences for Pohnpeian that the interviewee is aware of and how they evaluate those differences. Question 17 asks which languages if any the respondent wants to know better and why, which allows the interviewee to explain which languages they think are important and how they feel they may be lacking linguistically.

Each of these questions, were designed to start a discussion on the interviewee's own linguistic experiences. In talking about these experiences, the interviewee will necessarily talk about language attitudes. Other questions were then asked based on how the respondent answered a question.

4.3.2 Procedure

During each interview, the interviewee was told that we were having an informal conversation about language. They were also told that there were no right or wrong answers and they could answer however they would like and could skip any questions if they wanted.

The interviews were all conducted by me primarily in English. The interviews started with me asking them an initial question from the list in §4.3.1. I then asked follow-up or new questions based on how the interview went. Not all the questions from the list were used in all interviews and every interview had a unique set of questions based on the semi-natural flow of the conversation.

Some of the respondents were quite open during the interview and gave long extended answers, while others were more reserved.

Each interview was recorded with the consent of the interviewee. Recordings and transcripts of the interviews are available at <https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/33308>.

4.3.3 Analysis

The interviews were analyzed by examining their content and themes in order to see how the language attitudes were constructed in the conversation. This analysis does not assume that the spoken language attitudes are just an impartial glimpse of an underlying language attitude structure. Rather, it views the discursive construction of language attitudes to be the real language attitudes since their expression is tailored to that specific context.

To identify the interviewee's language attitudes, the discourse analysis tool, stance is utilized. This tool shows what entity the interviewee is taking a stance about and how they position themselves and other relative to that stance. The interviewee's stances and the positionings are then interpreted primarily via the theoretical tool of sociolinguistic scale. Using sociolinguistic scales shows how the interviewee's language attitudes are influenced by larger societal ideologies that correlate with geographic scale. Heteroglossia (§2.1.4) and translanguaging (§2.2.5) are also used as guiding tools to help identify and explain how the scaled language attitudes are constructed on Pohnpei given the high rate of multilingualism.

Chapter 5

Questionnaire results

This chapter presents the quantitative results from the questionnaires. Summary information about the respondents (§5.1) and their language backgrounds (§5.1.1) is given first. Descriptive results are then given for each of the other questionnaire sections: language importance by domain (§5.2.1), agreement with statements about language on Pohnpei (§5.2.2), and level of agreement with characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers (§5.2.3).

The quantitative analyses are then presented in their own sections: hierarchical regression modeling (§5.3), MDS (§5.4), and CA (§5.5).

5.1 Respondents

There were 301 respondents to the questionnaires. This sample represents 0.87% of the entire population of Pohnpei and 1.3% adult (18+ years old) population according to the 2010 census population (Division of Statistics FSM Office of Statistics, Budget, Overseas Development Assistance and Compact Management 2010). The breakdown of the respondents in terms of eight demographic variables are given in Table 5.1.¹ The respondents represent many sectors of life on Pohnpei, including groups from other islands currently living on Pohnpei. The sample, however, is slightly biased toward people living on the northern half of the island and women. There were fewer respondents from Madolenihmw and southern Kitti given their distance from Kolonia, where the research was based out of. The reported current section of each respondent is mapped in Figure 5.1. Larger and darker points on the map represent more respondents.

Four of the key demographic variables—gender, age, birth location, and education level—are shown grouped by current municipality of the respondents in Table 5.2. This grouping shows the geographic distribution of the different demographic groups sampled. Based on this grouping, all education level were sampled well across the five municipalities. Gender was also sampled fairly well, though skewed

¹*n* represents the number of respondents in a particular category.

Survey Respondents on Pohnpei

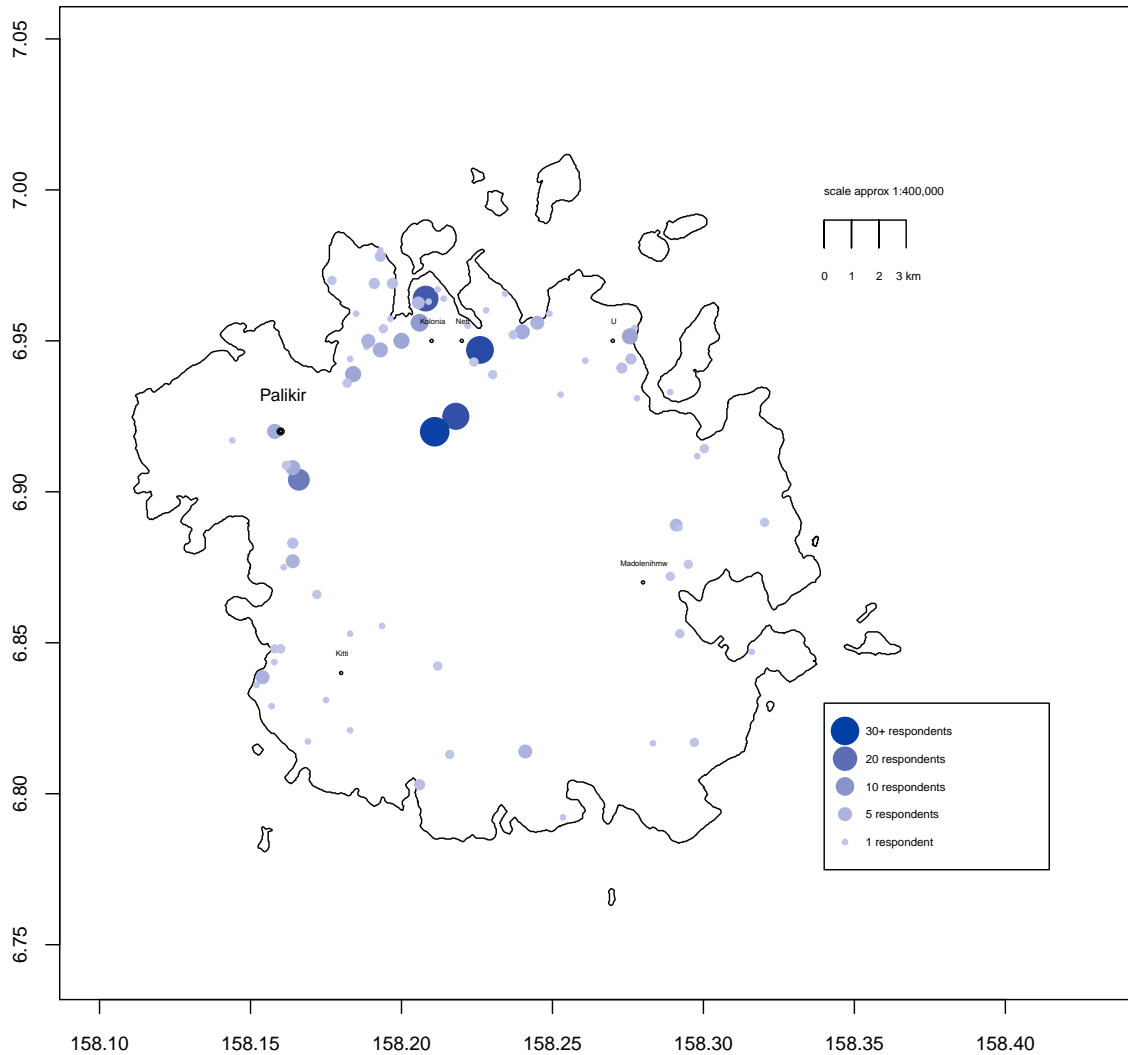


Figure 5.1. Map of respondents' current section of residence on Pohnpei

toward women. Age was sampled well for all but the highest two levels (65–74 and 75+). These two levels were not sampled in two the municipalities at all. At least one of those two age levels were not sampled in four out of five municipalities. Birth location was sampled well for those born in Pohnpei or the USA. The other birth locations were less well sampled outside of Nett, given their low frequency in the general population.

Table 5.1. Non-weighted respondent demographics

Variable	Levels	n	%	sum %
Gender	Female	173	57.5	57.5
	Male	128	42.5	100.0
Age	18 – 24	83	27.6	27.6
	25 – 34	84	27.9	55.5
	35 – 44	59	19.6	75.1
	45 – 54	43	14.3	89.4
	55 – 64	23	7.6	97.0
	65 – 74	7	2.3	99.3
	75+	2	0.7	100.0
Birth location	Chuuk State	8	2.7	2.7
	USA	24	8.0	10.6
	Kosrae State	9	3.0	13.6
	Other	9	3.0	16.6
	Pohnpei State	240	79.7	96.3
	RMI	4	1.3	97.7
	Yap State	7	2.3	100.0
Current Municipality	Kitti	56	18.6	18.6
	Madolenihmw	22	7.3	25.9
	Nett	149	49.5	75.4
	Sokehs	44	14.6	90.0
	Uh	30	10.0	100.0
Education	Not high school graduate	116	38.5	38.5
	High school, diploma, or GED	28	9.3	47.8
	Some college, no degree	72	23.9	71.8
	Associate degree	39	13.0	84.7
	Bachelor’s degree	27	9.0	93.7
	Advanced degree	19	6.3	100.0
Elementary type	Both	5	1.7	1.7
	Private school	46	15.3	16.9
	Public school	250	83.1	100.0
High school type	None	65	21.6	21.6
	Private school	68	22.6	44.2
	Public school	168	55.8	100.0
Travelled abroad	No	131	43.5	43.5
	Yes	170	56.5	100.0
	all	301	100.0	

In order to help correct for sampling biases, survey weights were created (see §4.2.3.4 for details on the process). Table 5.3 gives the original number of respondents for each of the levels of the five

Table 5.2. Non-weighted respondent demographics by current municipality

Variable	Levels	Kit.	% Kit.	Mad.	% Mad.	Nett	% Nett	Sok.	% Sok.	Uh	% Uh	All	% All
Gender	Female	30	53.6	15	68.2	81	54.4	30	68.2	17	56.7	173	57.5
	Male	26	46.4	7	31.8	68	45.6	14	31.8	13	43.3	128	42.5
Age	18 – 24	20	35.7	4	18.2	41	27.5	16	36.4	2	6.7	83	27.6
	25 – 34	11	19.6	4	18.2	47	31.5	13	29.6	9	30.0	84	27.9
	35 – 44	12	21.4	4	18.2	30	20.1	9	20.4	4	13.3	59	19.6
	45 – 54	8	14.3	7	31.8	17	11.4	5	11.4	6	20.0	43	14.3
	55 – 64	2	3.6	3	13.6	12	8.1	1	2.3	5	16.7	23	7.6
	65 – 74	3	5.4	0	0.0	2	1.3	0	0.0	2	6.7	7	2.3
	75+	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	6.7	2	0.7
Birth location	Chuuk State	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	2.7	4	9.1	0	0.0	8	2.7
	USA	4	7.1	1	4.5	11	7.4	4	9.1	4	13.3	24	8.0
	Kosrae State	3	5.4	0	0.0	1	0.7	5	11.4	0	0.0	9	3.0
	Other	2	3.6	0	0.0	7	4.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	3.0
	Pohnpei State	43	76.8	21	95.5	120	80.5	31	70.5	25	83.3	240	79.7
	RMI	2	3.6	0	0.0	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	3.3	4	1.3
	Yap State	2	3.6	0	0.0	5	3.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	2.3
Education	Not H.S. grad	14	25.0	11	50.0	74	49.7	4	9.1	13	43.3	116	38.5
	H.S.or diploma	8	14.3	3	13.6	10	6.7	7	15.9	0	0.0	28	9.3
	Some college	19	33.9	4	18.2	29	19.5	13	29.6	7	23.3	72	23.9
	Associate degree	9	16.1	1	4.5	11	7.4	14	31.8	4	13.3	39	13.0
	Bachelor's degree	2	3.6	1	4.5	16	10.7	4	9.1	4	13.3	27	9.0
	Advanced degree	4	7.1	2	9.1	9	6.0	2	4.5	2	6.7	19	6.3
	all	56	100.0	22	100.0	149	100.0	44	100.0	30	100.0	301	100.0

demographic variables used to create the survey weights and the approximate number of respondents that the weights simulate. Based on the changes from the original to weighted numbers, women, those 34 and younger, people born outside of Pohnpei, those living in Nett, and those with education levels of high school graduate or higher were over-sampled, since those numbers were largely reduced.

Table 5.3. Weighted respondent demographics

Variable	Levels	Original	Weighted
Gender	Female	173	148.8
	Male	128	151.9
Age	18 – 24	83	71.6
	25 – 34	84	72.5
	35 – 44	59	61.5
	45 – 54	43	50.7
	55 – 64	23	28.26
	65 – 74	7	11.0
	75+	2	5.3
Birth location	Chuuk State	8	6.1
	USA	24	6.3
	Kosrae State	9	8.8
	Other	9	8.7
	Pohnpei State	240	264.8
	RMI	4	1.5
	Yap State	7	3.9
Current Municipality	Kitti	56	55.6
	Madolenihmw	22	50.0
	Nett	149	111.3
	Sokehs	44	55.7
	Uh	30	28.1
Education	Not high school graduate	116	191.2
	High school, diploma, or GED	28	26.2
	Some college, no degree	72	37.7
	Associate degree	39	25.2
	Bachelor's degree	27	13.7
	Advanced degree	19	6.9
	all	301	301

5.1.1 Language Background

This section provides the descriptive results of the language background section of the questionnaires.

The respondents overall reported 20 different first languages for question 2.1. The most common by far was Pohnpeian, followed by English, Chuukese, Mortlockese, Kosraean, Mwokilese, and Pin-

gelapese. The counts for first language responses by language are given in Figure 5.2.² The average number of first languages was one and the max was two.

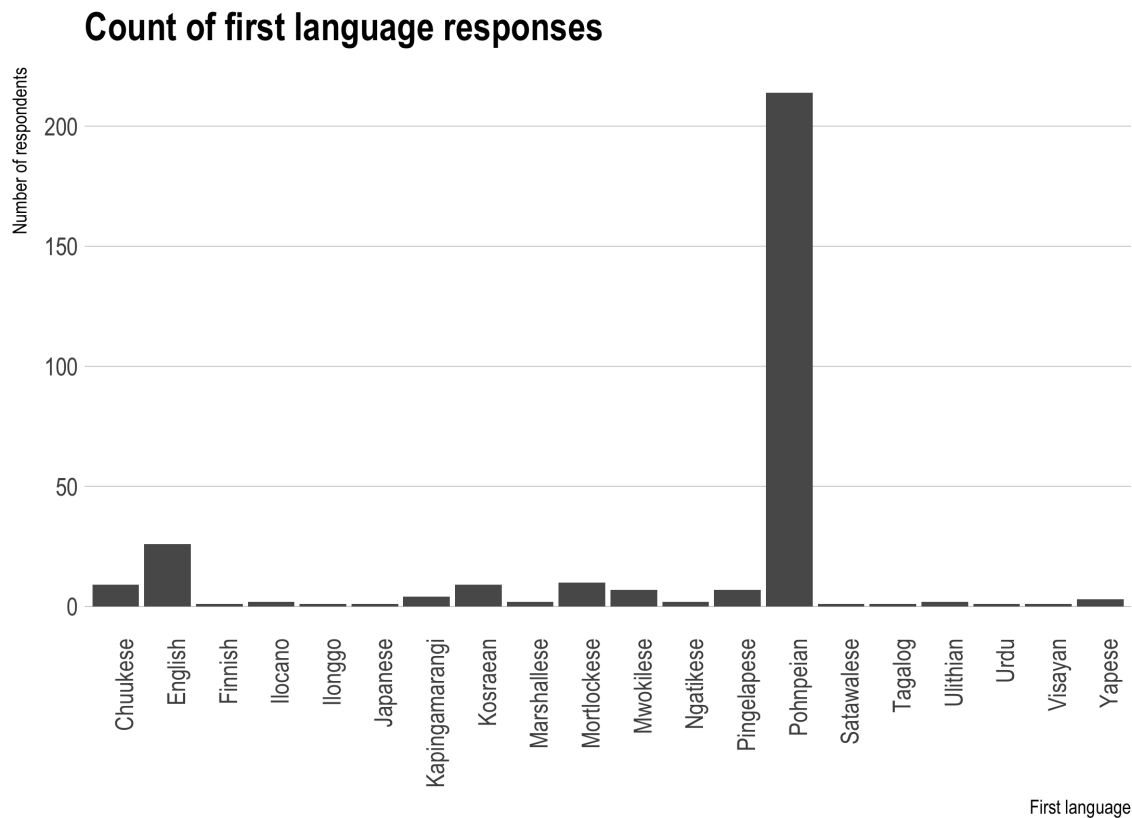


Figure 5.2. Reported first languages of respondents

There were 20 reported second languages that are spoken well for question 2.2. The most common by far was English, followed by Pohnpeian, Chuukese, Pingelapese, Mwokilese, Kosraean, and Mortlockese. The counts for second languages spoken well by language are given in Figure 5.3. The average number of second languages spoken well was one and the max was six.

There were 33 reported second language that are spoken a little for question 2.4. The most common by far was English, followed by Pohnpeian, Chuukese, Japanese, Kosraean, Mwokilese, Spanish, Pingelapese, Mortlockese, and Ngatikese. The counts for second languages spoken well by language

²The data are presented in this chapter in ways to make them the most digestible, either graphically or in tables. When the data are used in later statistical regression models as predictors, tables are used for numerical specificity, supplemented occasionally by graphs for clarity.

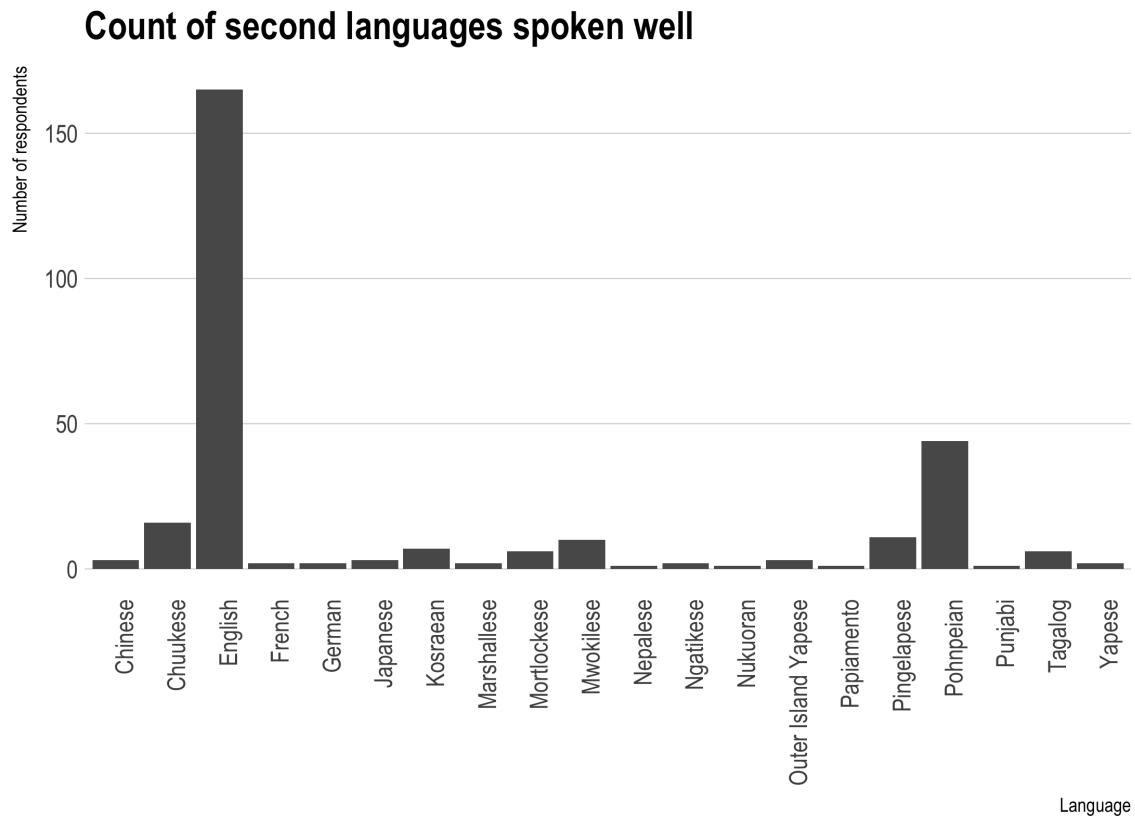


Figure 5.3. Reported other languages spoken well by respondents

are given in Figure 5.4. The average number of second languages spoken well was 0.8 and the max was five.

The languages recorded in questions 2.1, 2.2, and 2.4 show a high level of bilingualism and linguistic diversity on Pohnpei. The languages include most of the languages spoken in the FSM and former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. They also include other languages spoken in the Pacific such as Pijin and Fijian, and several Philippine languages such as Tagalog and Visayan. There are also several languages from other parts of the world such as American Sign Language (ASL), Spanish, French, and Swahili. These results contradict the notion that Pohnpei is an isolated place in the Pacific Ocean with only one language.

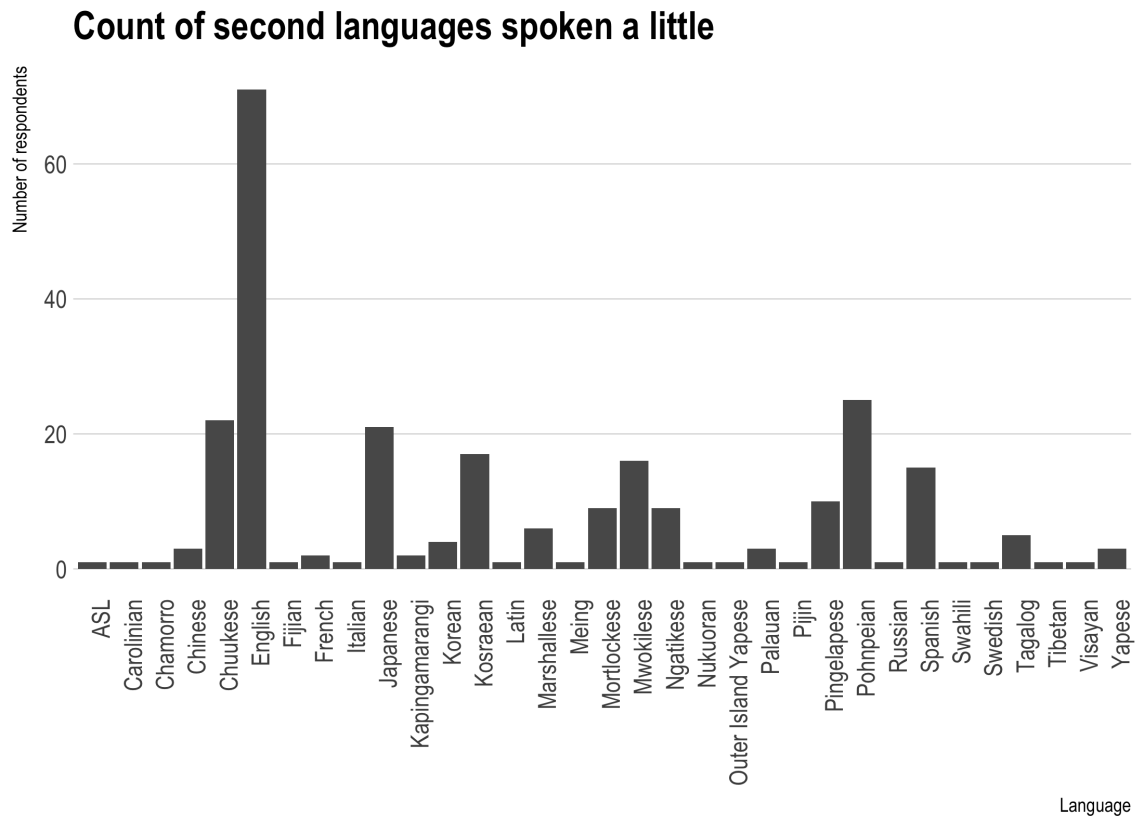


Figure 5.4. Reported other languages spoken a little by respondents

Overall the median number of languages spoken by each respondent is 3. The summary statistics for questions 2.1, 2.2, and 2.4 are given in Table 5.4. The L1s and L2s spoken by the respondents are presented together in Figure 5.5³ for comparison.

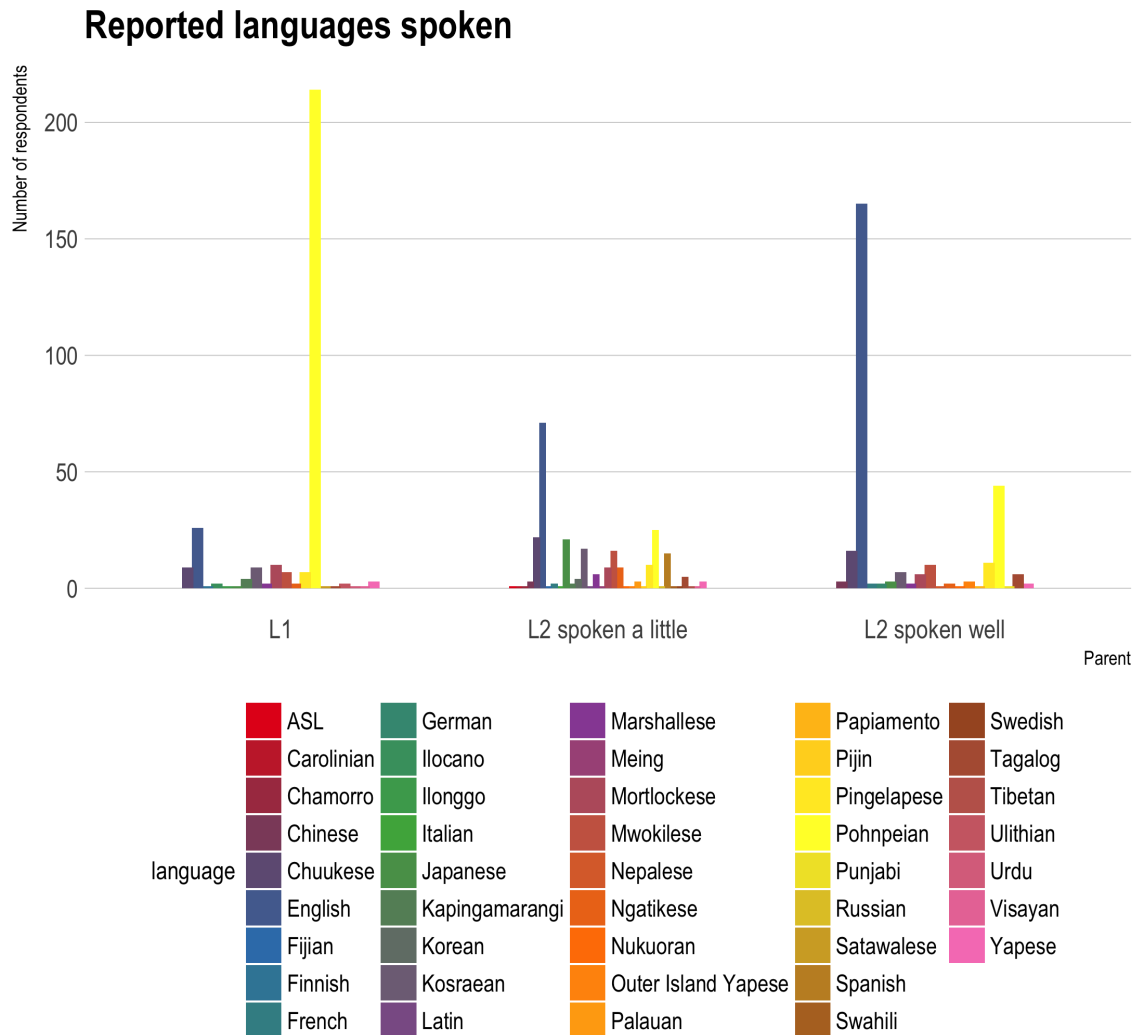
For question 2.3, “How well can you speak meing?”, a plurality of speakers responded ‘somewhat well’ (45.2%), followed by ‘not at all’ (32.6%), ‘well’ (16.6%), then ‘very well’ (5.7%). The results are displayed in Figure 5.6 and Table 5.5.

For question 2.5, “what languages does/did your mother speak?”, there were 31 different language responses. The most common response was Pohnpeian, followed distantly by English. The responses are displayed in Figure 5.7.

³In bar graphs like this one that are used throughout the dissertation, bars that are wider than others only indicate that that item has fewer levels (in this case languages), since the plotting package divides the space up evenly for each bar based on the number of bars. For example if the total space is 1in, then if there were only two bars, each bar would be 0.5in wide. If there were ten bars, then each bar would be 0.1in wide.

Table 5.4. Number of languages spoken by respondents

Variable	n	Min	median	mean	Max	sd
Number L1	301	1	1	1.0	2	0.1
Number L2 well	300	0	1	1.0	6	0.8
Number L2 little	301	0	1	0.8	5	0.9
Languages total	300	1	3	2.8	10	1.3

**Figure 5.5.** L1s and L2s of respondents compared

For question 2.6, “what languages does/did your father speak?”, there were 26 different language responses. The responses were similar to those in question 2.5 in that the most common response was Pohnpeian, followed distantly by English. The responses are displayed in Figure 5.8.

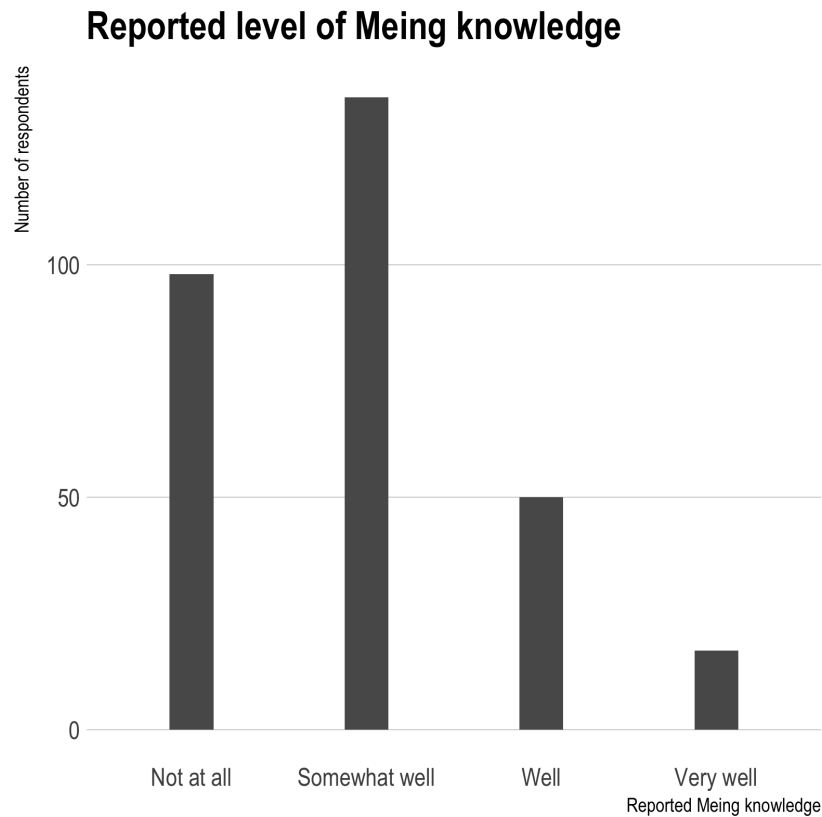


Figure 5.6. Reported level of Meing knowledge

Table 5.5. Reported level of Meing knowledge

Variable	Levels	n	%	sum
meing	Not at all	98	32.6	32.6
	Somewhat well	136	45.2	77.7
	Very well	17	5.7	83.4
	Well	50	16.6	100.0
all		301	100.0	

The parents' languages are presented together in Figure 5.9 for comparison. The distributions are mostly similar with comparable levels of English and Pohnpeian.

For question 2.7, "which languages do you want to know better?", there were 32 different answers, including 'none' and 'all languages'. The most common response was English, followed by Pohnpeian. Other dominant global languages were somewhat common, such as Spanish, Japanese, and Chinese. Meing, Yapese, and Chuukese were the most common FSM languages outside of Pohnpeian. The

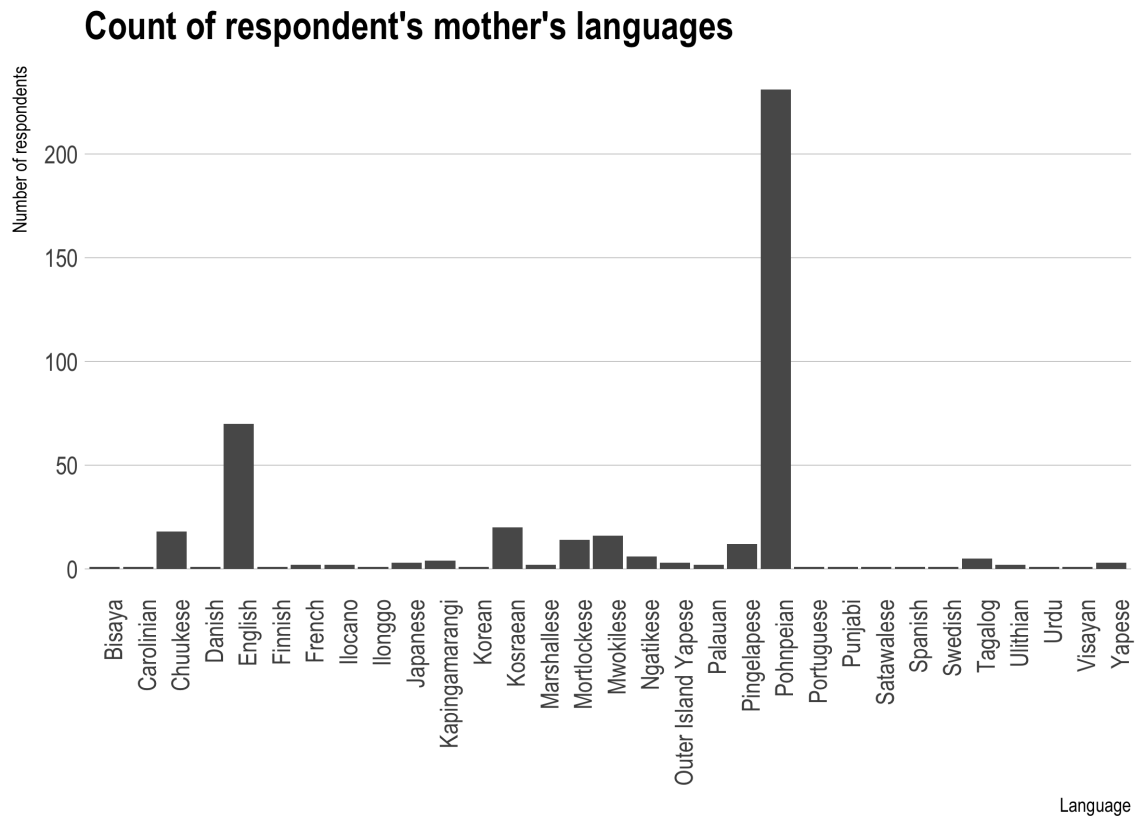


Figure 5.7. Reported languages of respondents' mothers

results are displayed in Figure 5.10. The large number of languages represented indicate a strong desire for greater multilingualism.

The responses to questions 2.1–2.7 demonstrate the high level of linguistic and cultural diversity found on Pohnpei that is exemplified by questionnaire respondents.

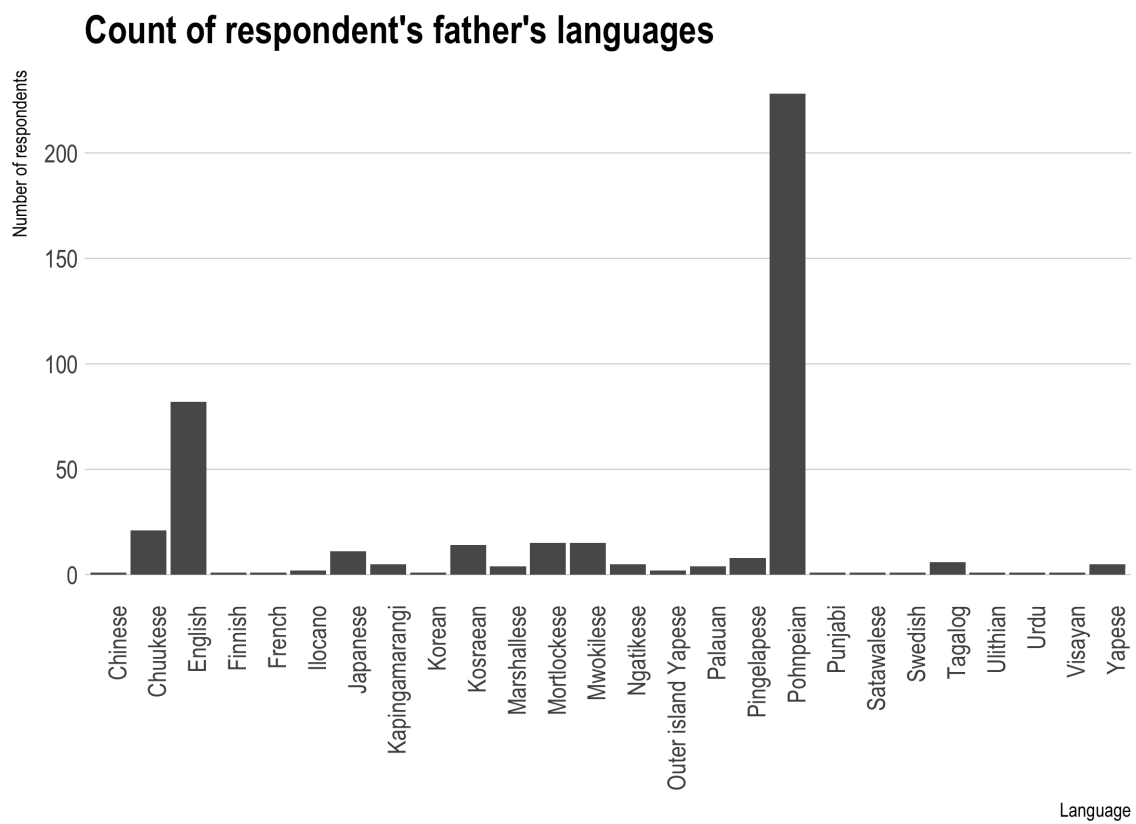


Figure 5.8. Reported languages of respondents' fathers

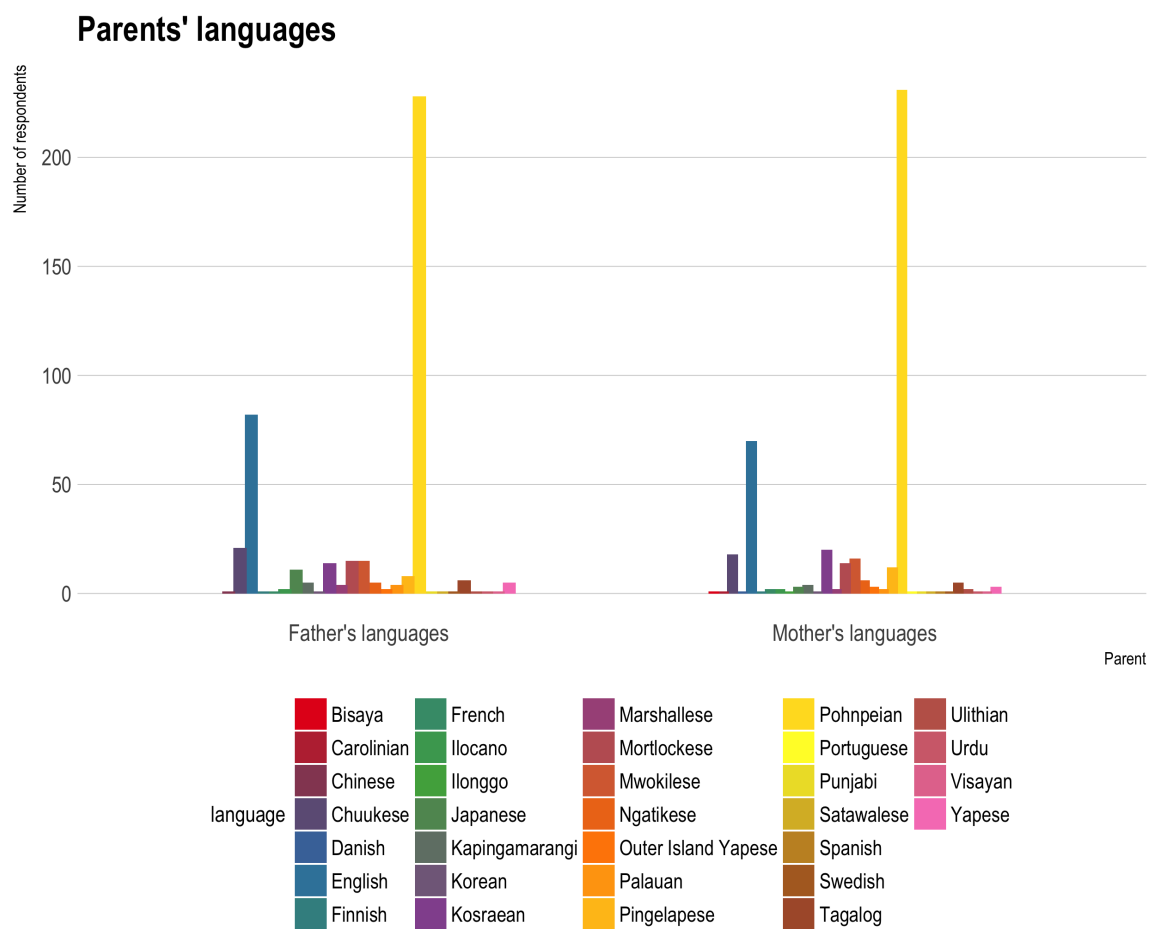


Figure 5.9. Comparison of parents' languages

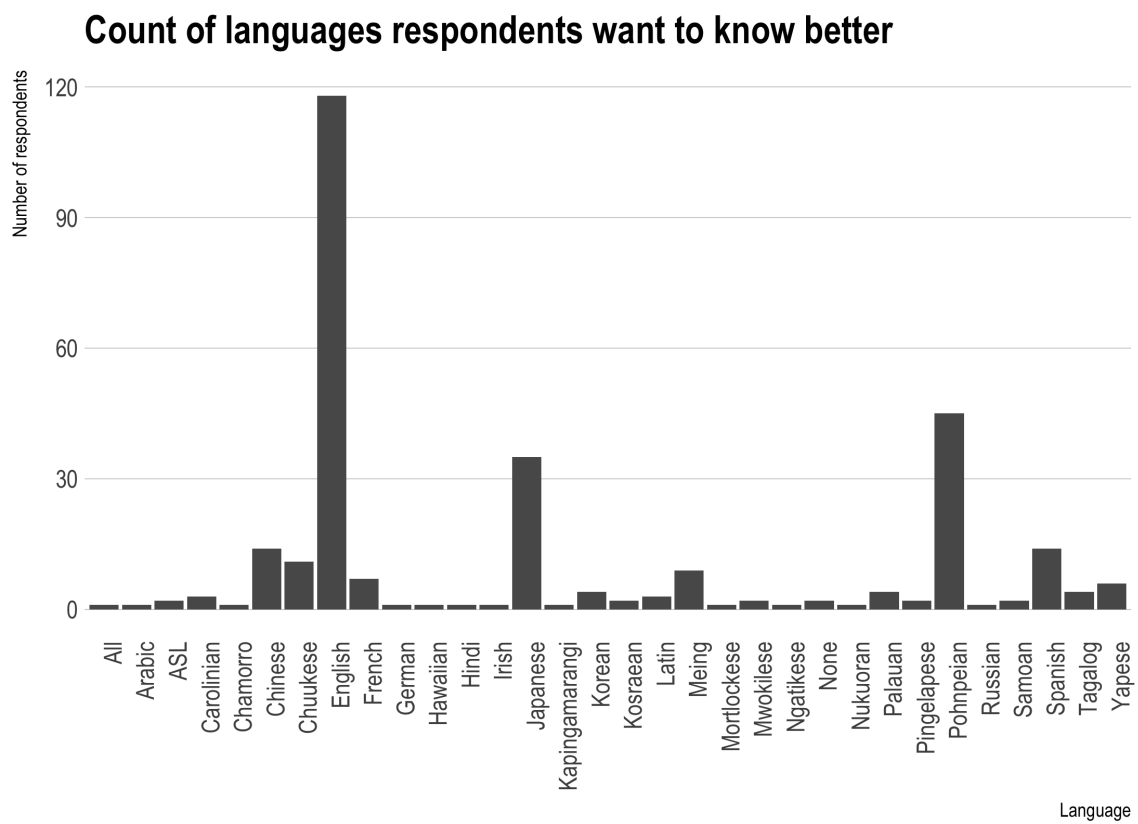


Figure 5.10. Languages the respondents want to know better

5.1.1.1 Reported language use by domain

The results from the reported language use by domain, questions 2.9–2.17, are grouped into three categories: (1) education domains (questions 2.9–2.11, and 2.16), (2) relationship domains (questions 2.12, 2.13, and 2.17), and (3) work and foreigners (questions 2.14 and 2.15).

The results for the education domains show two general trends: (1) teachers use more English at higher levels of education and (2) students still use Pohnpeian, regardless of what teachers use. At the lowest level of education, kindergarten through 8th grade (question 2.9), teachers mostly use English, but also high levels of Pohnpeian and a few other local languages such as Mortlockese. In high school (question 2.10), the amount of English use slightly increases and the level of Pohnpeian greatly decreases, as do other local languages. In college (question 2.11), this trend continues where all languages but English see a sharp decrease. This trend shows that education at lower levels start multilingual and become more monolingual incrementally as level of education increases. But, when asked what languages the respondents themselves used in school (question 2.16), Pohnpeian was the plurality, followed closely by English. They also reported speaking several other languages, such as Mortlockese and Kosraean. Overall 21 languages were reported for these four questions. The results for these questions are displayed in Figure 5.11.

The results for the relationship questions show a high level of multilingualism and linguistic diversity since there are 24 reported languages for these questions. The majority for each of these three questions is Pohnpeian, followed distantly by English. When asked about what languages are spoken with family (question 2.12) and at home (question 2.17), English is relatively low (~60 respondents) compared to Pohnpeian (~240 respondents). However, when asked about the languages spoken with friends (question 2.13), the number of English responses largely increases. All three questions have the highest level of responses of languages that are not English or Pohnpeian out of all the domains in this section of the questionnaire. The results are displayed in Figure 5.12.

The results for the domains talking with foreigners (question 2.14) and work (question 2.15) show a marked decrease in multilingualism compared to the other domain groups. Overall there were 12 languages reported with English and Pohnpeian being by far the most common. Talking with foreigners only had four languages reported: English, Pohnpeian, Kosraean, and Tagalog. Of the four, English was the most dominant, followed distantly by Pohnpeian. The domain work had a plurality of Pohnpeian responses followed closely by English. The other languages only had a few respondents select them. The results are displayed in Figure 5.13.

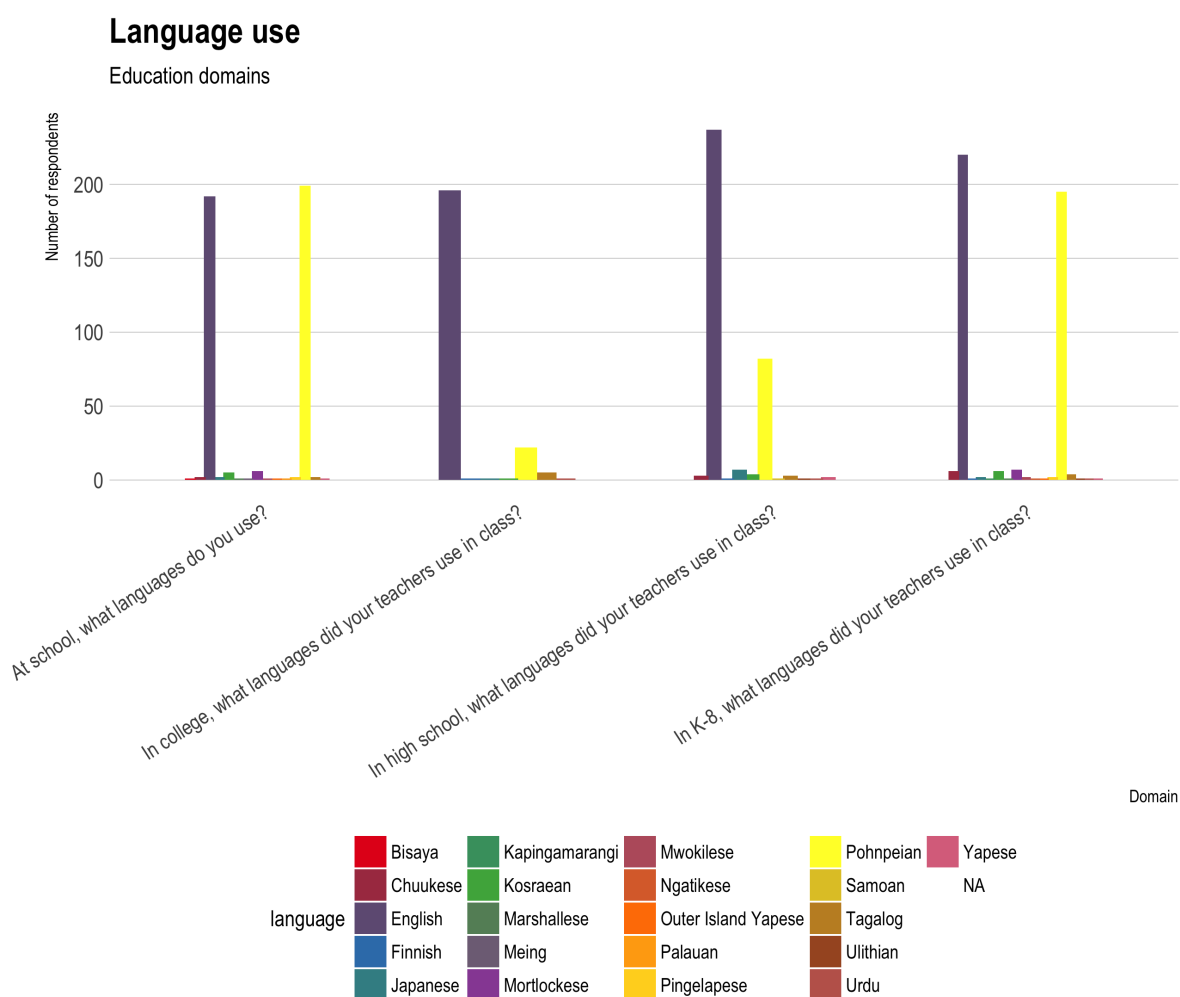


Figure 5.11. Reported language use in education domains

5.2 Descriptive statistics for language attitudes

The descriptive results of the language attitudes part of the questionnaires are described in two sections: language importance by domain (§5.2.1) and level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian (5.2.3).

5.2.1 Language importance by domain

In this section the descriptive results of the language importance by domain questions (question 3.1.1–3.37) are presented. The questions are grouped into 6 larger domains from Table 4.1: Social solidarity,

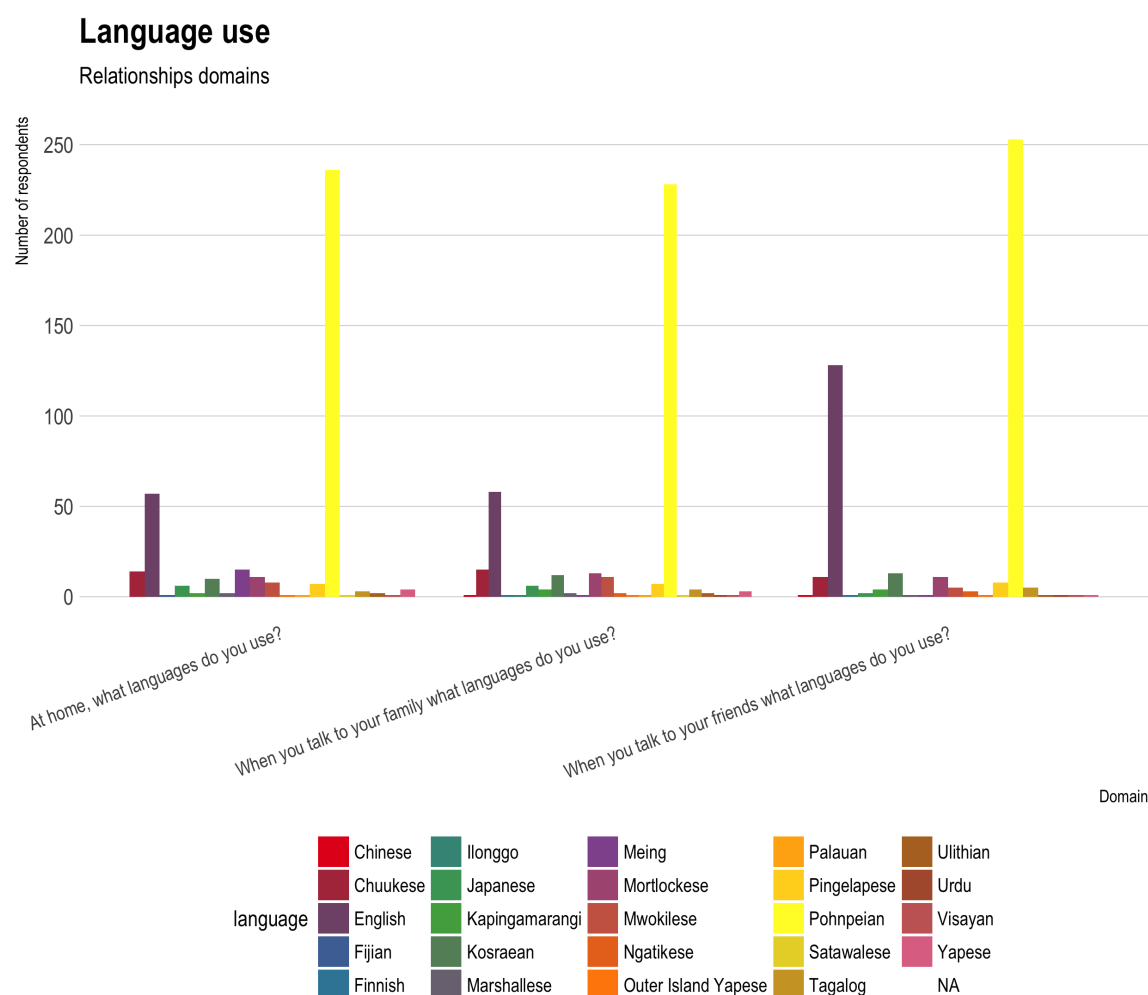


Figure 5.12. Reported language use in relationships

occupation, education, media, Pohnpei-specific, and general. Each of the six groups are discussed separately below.

The social solidarity domain includes seven questions. Each of the seven have Pohnpeian as the most common language, followed by English. The question “Talking with people in the sections of Pohnpei” have the largest difference between English and Pohnpeian responses, while “Speaking with relatives who live in the U.S.” and “Making friends” have the smallest distance. “Feeling happy in your relationship”, “Speaking with relatives who live in the U.S.”, and “Talking with your neighbors” have the highest levels of languages other than English and Pohnpeian. “Being accepted in Pohnpei” has the fewest number of languages selected: only Pohnpeian, English, Kosraean, and other. Overall,

Language use

Work and foreigners

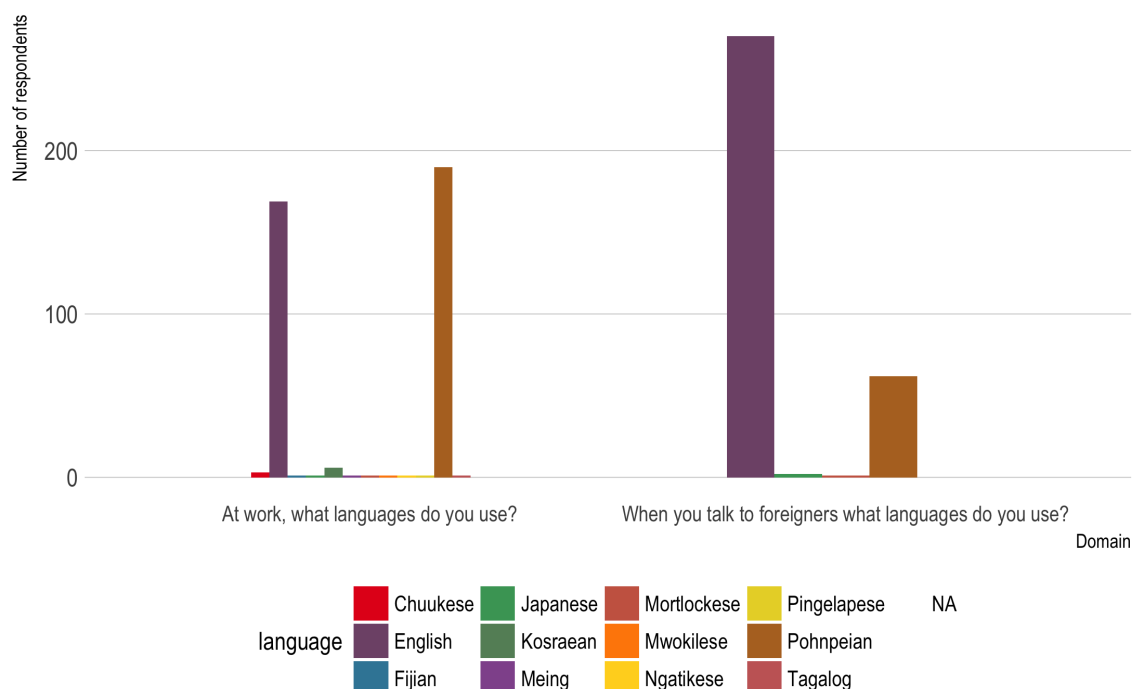


Figure 5.13. Reported language use at work and with foreigners

Pohnpeian is the primary language that is most important for social solidarity, followed by English. The domains that focus on concrete relationships, such as family, relatives, and neighbors have the highest level of linguistic diversity. Whereas as those that are more abstract, such as “Being accepted in Pohnpei” and “Talking with people in Kolonia” have the lowest levels of multilingualism. The results for these questions are displayed in Figure 5.14.

The occupation domains include three questions: “Being successful”, “Getting a good job”, and “Getting money”. All three of these domains have English as the most common selection, followed by Pohnpeian. “Being successful” has the least number of different selections with only four languages: English, Pohnpeian, Mortlockese, and Other. The other two questions both have seven language responses. English followed by Pohnpeian are the most important languages getting money and material success. The results for these questions are displayed in Figure 5.15.

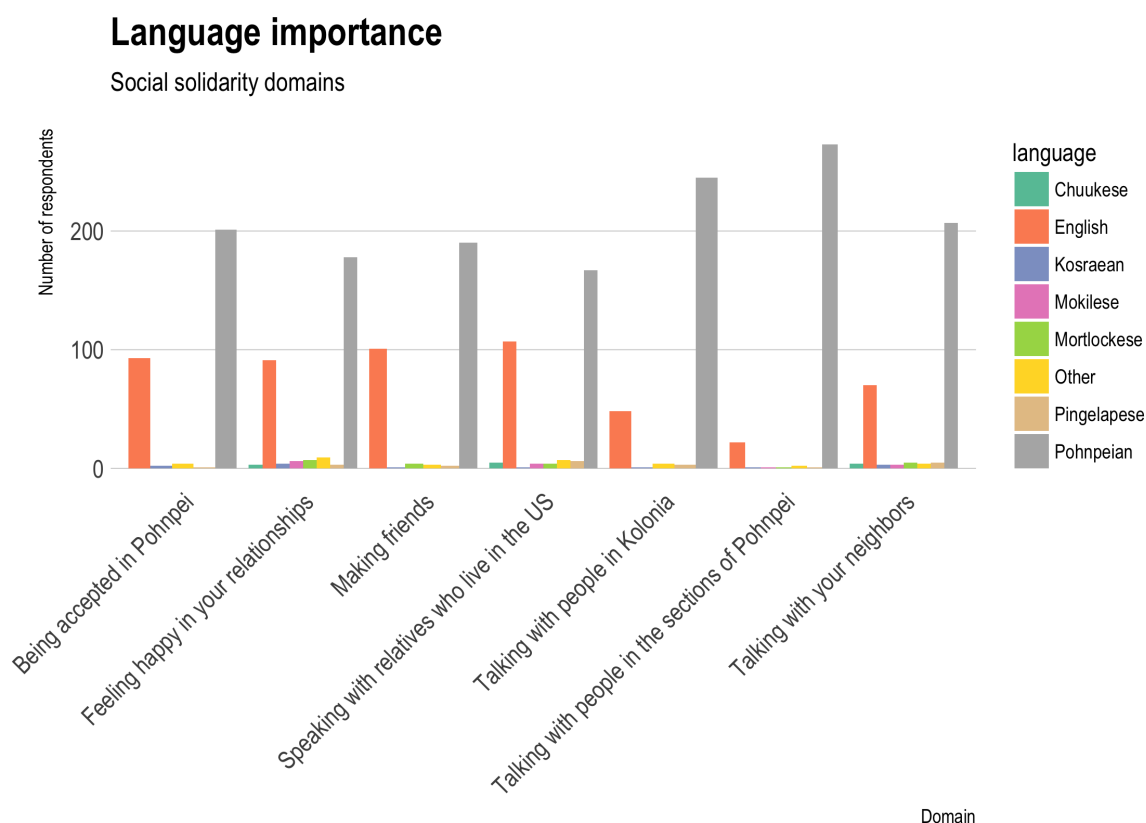


Figure 5.14. Language importance for social solidarity domains

The education domains include four questions: “Getting a good education”, “Talking with friends from school”, “Talking with teachers”, and “Writing”. Overall the domain of education has the lowest level of multilingualism out of the six domain groups in this section. Three out of the four questions have English is the most common response followed by Pohnpeian. “Talking with friends from school” has Pohnpeian as the highest response languages, followed by English. In the questions where the respondents are responding to the educational system (talking with teachers, getting a good education, and writing), where they may have less agency, there are more English responses. But, where they get to choose how to respond, as with talking with friends from school, there are more Pohnpeian responses. The results for these questions are displayed in Figure 5.16.

The media domains include four questions: “Listening to the radio”, “Reading”, “Using Facebook”, and “Watching TV”. Two of the questions, “Listening to the radio” and “Using Facebook” have more Pohnpeian responses than English responses. “Reading” and “Watching TV” have the opposite, with

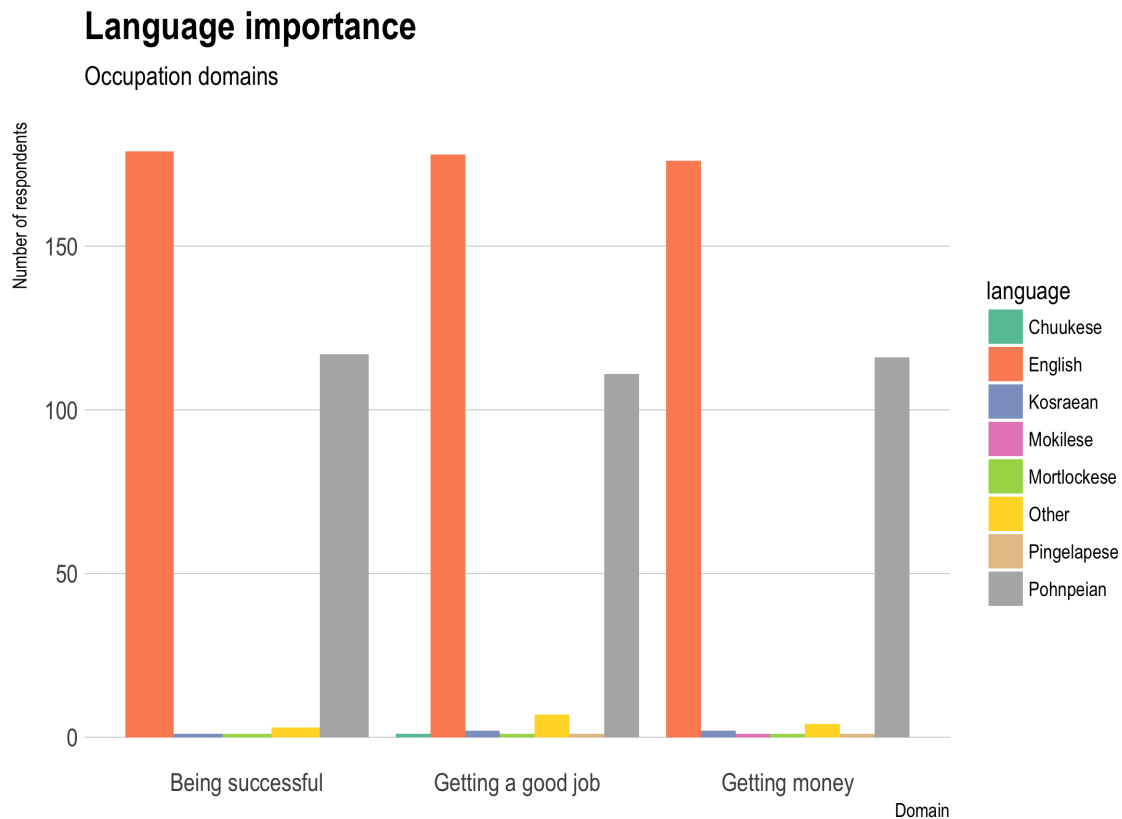


Figure 5.15. Language importance for occupation domains

more English responses than Pohnpeian responses. “Using Facebook” has the high level of responses for languages other than English and Pohnpeian. Similar to the education domains, the media domains where there is great control by people on Pohnpei have higher levels of Pohnpeian selections. For example, most of the radio stations on Pohnpei are run locally and air music and programs in Pohnpeian and English. Facebook is also a media source where people on Pohnpei can choose which language to interact in, so many choose Pohnpeian or English. On the other side, there are few books (other than the Bible) that are published in Pohnpeian or other FSM languages. There are also few TV programs or movies that are produced locally and most that are produced in the FSM are done in English. The responses for these questions are displayed in Figure 5.17.

The Pohnpei-specific domains include six questions: “Attending a kamadipw”, “Attending funerals”, “Drinking sakau en Pohnpei”, “Going to church”, “Talking with a kaunen kousapw”, and “Talking with government officials”. All of these domains for more Pohnpeian selections than English selec-

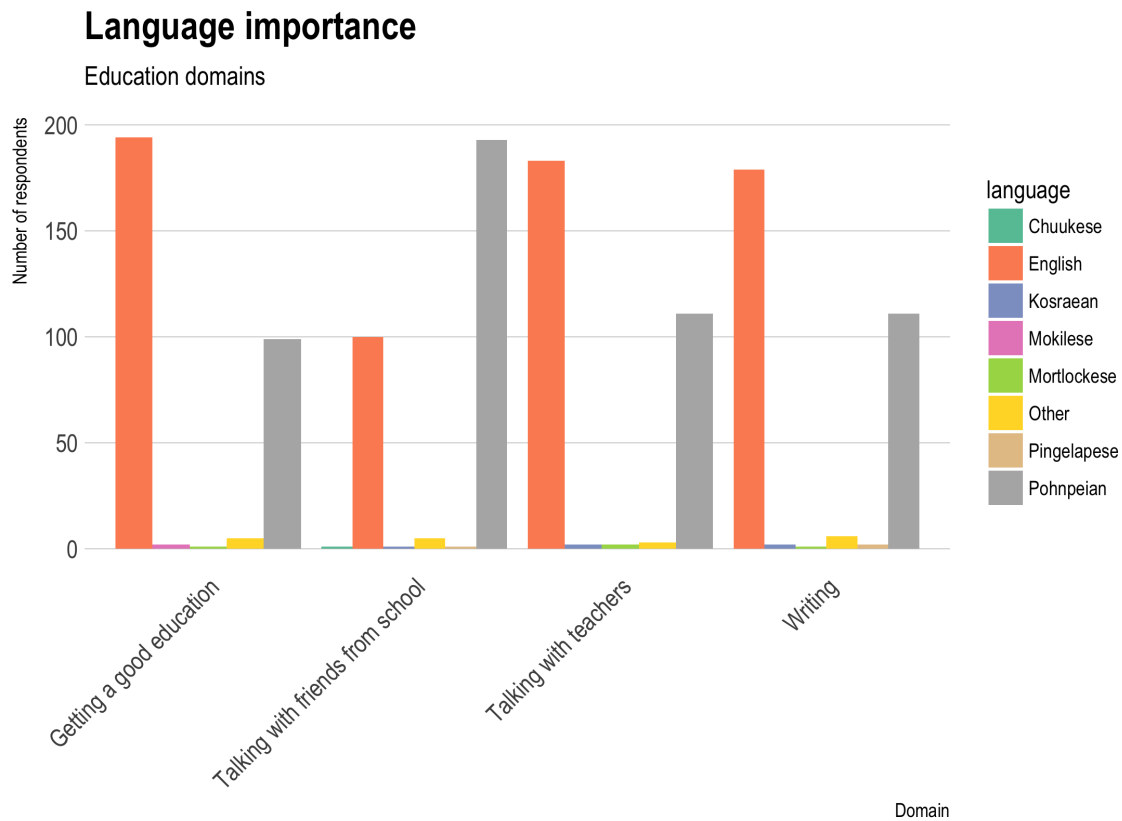


Figure 5.16. Language importance for education domains

tions. Five out of the six have a large majority of the responses being Pohnpeian and only a few English or other language responses. “Talking with government officials” has a plurality of Pohnpeian responses with English responses close behind. “Going to church” in addition to strong Pohnpeian responses has a relatively large number of selections for languages other than Pohnpeian and English. The results of these questions are displayed in Figure 5.18.

The general domain includes one question: “Going to the store”. The majority of this question’s responses are for Pohnpeian, followed by English. The other language responses are quite low, but all possible language choices were selected at least once. The results for this question are displayed in Figure 5.19.

Overall, domains that are primarily controlled by people on Pohnpei tend to have mostly Pohnpeian responses, followed by English. Domains that are not controlled as much by people on Pohnpei (such as TV) or whose norms are dictated or influenced by outside factors (such as education and em-

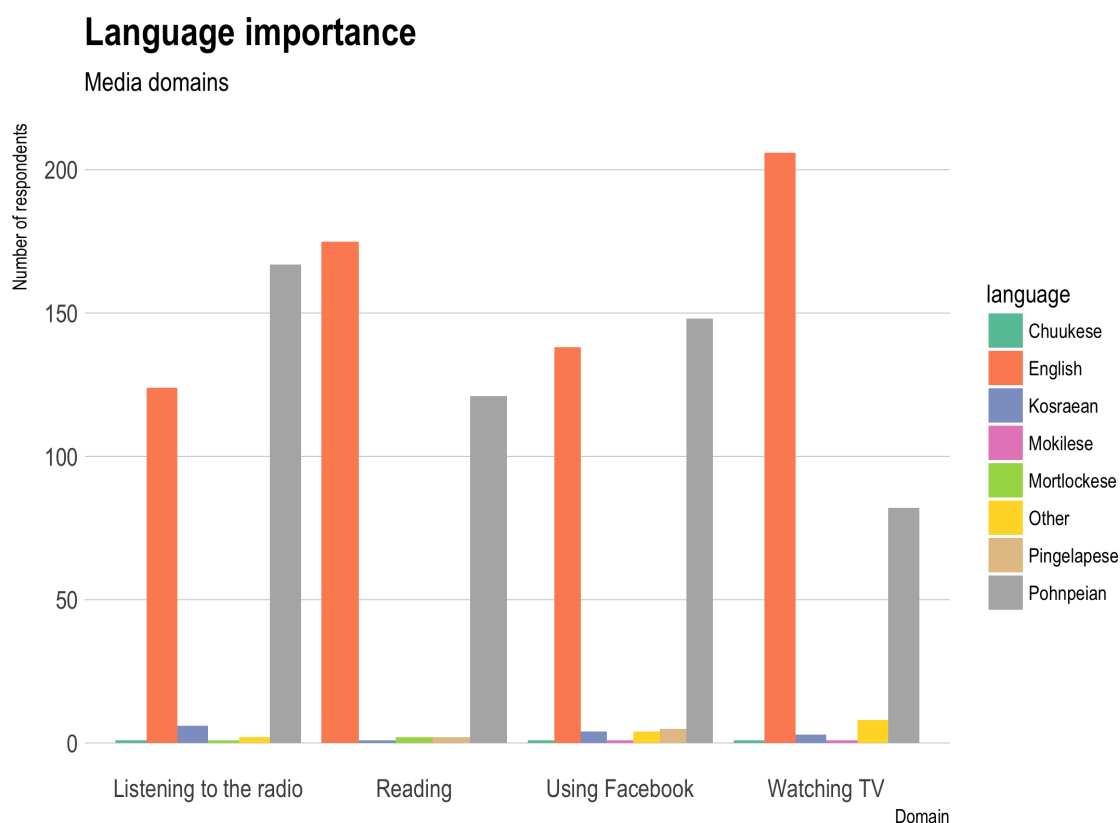


Figure 5.17. Language importance for media domains

ployment) tend to have English as the predominant language choice, followed by Pohnpeian. It seems that in all these aspects there is a give and take between Pohnpeian and English that people on Pohnpei navigate through. It must also be pointed out that even though Pohnpeian and English were the most common responses, every question had at least some responses for the other language choices. Underneath these two main languages, there is still some level of multilingualism in every domain.

5.2.2 Agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei

This section presents the descriptive results from the ‘Agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei’ questions (questions 3.4.1–3.4.53). The questions are grouped into four categories from Table 4.2: multilingualism, identity, education, and utility. Questions 3.4.1–3.4.39 are presented first, followed by a section for questions that only occur in version 2 of the questionnaire (questions 3.4.40–3.4.53). In order to describe the percentages for each response, four descriptive categories are used:

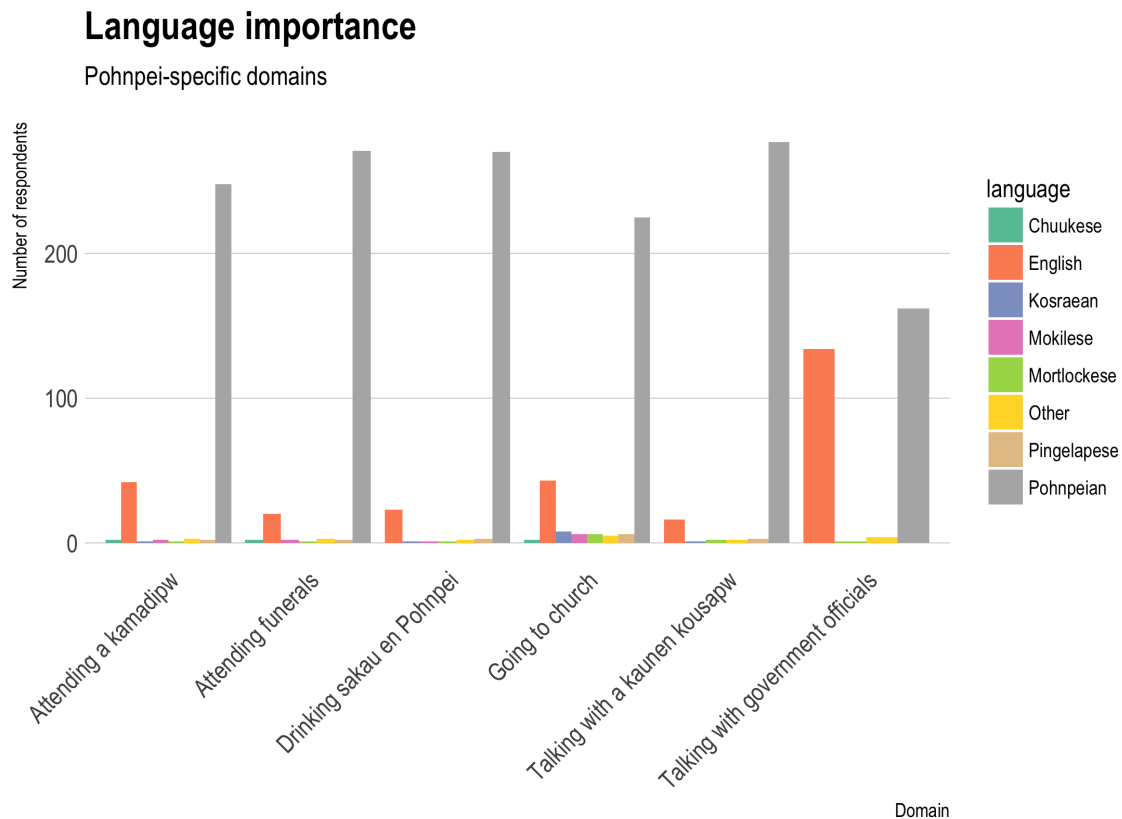


Figure 5.18. Language importance for Pohnpei-specific domains

(1) strong majority (70%+ of responses), (2) majority (60–69%), (3) slight majority (51–59%), and (4) equal distribution (50%). Overall the results show a slight bias toward agreement, which may indicate that respondents were more hesitant to disagree than agree.

5.2.2.1 Multilingualism

The multilingualism category contains ten questions. Of the ten, responses to four questions have a strong majority (70%+) of responses being ‘agree’, one with a majority being agree (60–69%), two questions about equally divided but with a slight majority (51–59%) being agree, two questions about equally divided but with a slight majority (51–59%) being disagree, and one question with a majority being disagree (60–69%). None of the questions had a strong majority of the responses being disagree. The results for these questions are shown in Figure 5.20.

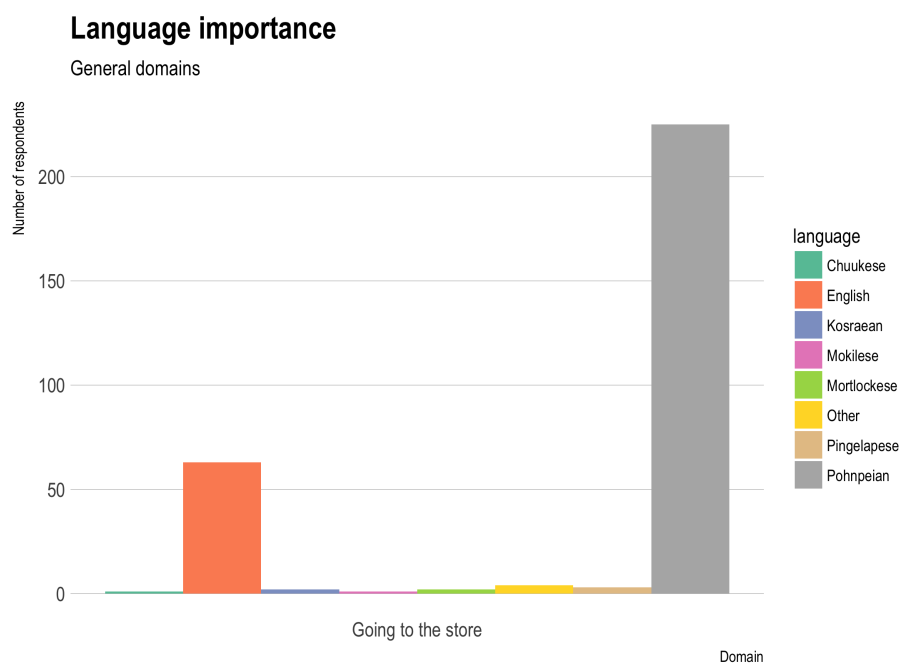


Figure 5.19. Language importance for general domains

The four questions with a strong majority of agree (70%+) are “It is important to know a local language”, “Knowing many languages is important”, “English, Pohnpeian, and other Micronesian languages can live together in Pohnpei”, and “If I had to choose only one language to speak, I would choose English”. These four questions show strong agreement with the importance of local languages, English, multilingualism, and the successful coexistence of multiple languages on Pohnpei.

The one question with a majority agree (60–69%) is “If I had to choose only one language to speak I would choose Pohnpeian.” This statement indicates a high level of importance for Pohnpeian, but also slightly less than for English. Paradoxically, most people would choose both Pohnpeian and English if they had to speak only one language, which indicates the importance of both languages and the unnaturalness of monolingualism for the respondents.

The two questions with a slight majority agree (51–59%) are “It is more important to know Pohnpeian than English” and “Knowing only one language makes life difficult.” The almost equal distribution of the answers to these questions indicate a lack of consensus and two strongly competing views. A slight majority agree that Pohnpeian is more important than English and that monolingualism complicates life, but there are many that disagree.

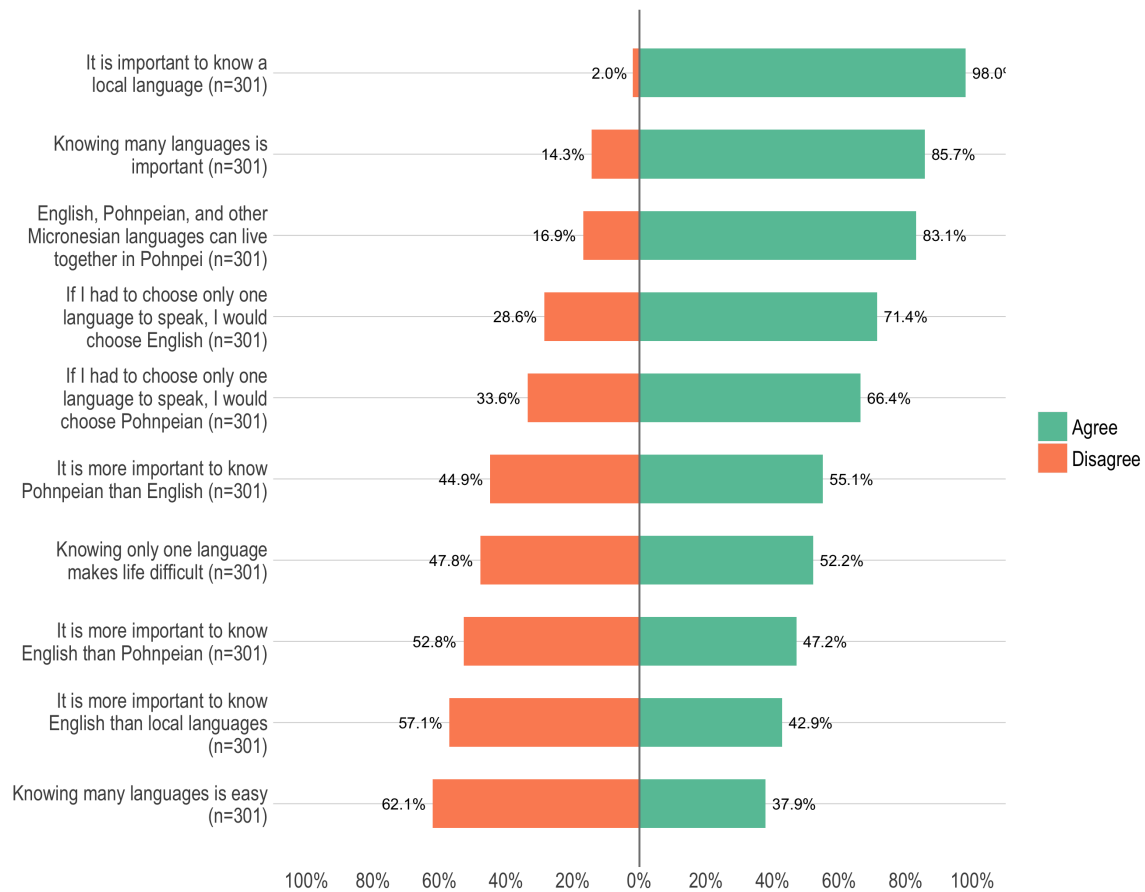


Figure 5.20. Agreement with statements about multilingualism

The two questions with a slight majority disagree (51–59%) are “It is more important to know English than Pohnpeian” and “It is more important to know English than local languages.” These two questions again indicate strong divide between those who value English over Pohnpeian and local languages. Combined with the slight majority agree questions in the previous paragraph, these four question indicate a strong divide on what is the most important language for Pohnpei. For some it is English, and for others Pohnpeian. Given the equal distribution for these questions, it may also be that neither English nor Pohnpei is more important than the other and each have their own different but equal value.

The one question with a majority disagree (60–69%) is “Knowing many languages is easy.” The disagreement with this statement indicates that the majority of the respondents think multilingualism is challenging, though a large subset (38%) views it otherwise.

Overall, the multilingualism questions indicate widespread views that multilingualism is valuable and that knowing local languages is very important. But they also indicate that multilingualism is hard and that there is a near equal divide of the importance of Pohnpei over English and vice versa.

5.2.2.2 Identity

The identity category contains 18 questions. Of the 18 questions, 8 have a strong majority (70%+) of responses being agree, 7 have a majority (60–69%) being agree, 2 with a slight majority (51–59%) being agree, and one with a slight majority (51–59%) being disagree. The responses are shown in Figure 5.21.

The 8 questions with a strong majority (70%+) agree are “Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei,” “Older Pohnpeians like to speak Pohnpeian,” “I have positive feelings about Pohnpeian,” “Pohnpeian young people like to speak Pohnpeian,” “I feel sad for Pohnpeians who live abroad who don’t know English,” “I feel sad for Pohnpeians who live abroad who don’t know Pohnpeian,” “All Micronesians need to know English,” and “Micronesian young people like to speak English.” The responses to these questions indicate widespread agreement with the importance of Pohnpeian and positive feelings about it (only 7% and 9% disagree respectively), as well as sadness for Pohnpeians abroad who cannot speak Pohnpeian. They also indicate strong agreement with both older and young people liking to speak Pohnpei, though slightly more people disagree about younger people (16% vs. 7%). The questions also show strong support for English as a marker of Micronesian identity, sadness for Pohnpeians abroad who do not speak English, and a view that young people like speaking English.

The 7 questions with a majority (60–69%) agree are “In order to be Pohnpeian, they have to speak Pohnpeian,” “I feel sad for people in Pohnpei who don’t know Pohnpeian,” “All Pohnpeians need to know English,” “Youths don’t know how to speak English properly,” “Everyone who lives in Kolonia needs to know English,” “I feel sad for people in Pohnpei who don’t know English,” and “Youths don’t know how to speak Pohnpeian properly.” These questions again show support for the importance of Pohnpeian and English on Pohnpei. They show that people feel sad for Pohnpeians on Pohnpei who cannot speak Pohnpeian (though fewer agreed than for Pohnpeians abroad), but also agree that Pohnpeians should know English. They also agree that youths do not speak either Pohnpeian or English properly, though with substantial disagreement: 39% and 35% respectively.

The two questions with a slight majority (51–59%) agree are “Pohnpeians who can’t speak Pohnpeian are not really Pohnpeian” and “People who speak English are smarter.” Both questions have 51% of responses being agree that indicates a nearly equal distribution of responses. The respondents are divided on whether Pohnpeian is a necessary marker of Pohnpeian identity or whether English indicates greater intelligence. It is interesting that more people agree to the affirmative statement (69%) “In order to be Pohnpeian, they have to speak Pohnpeian” but that there is a near equal divide

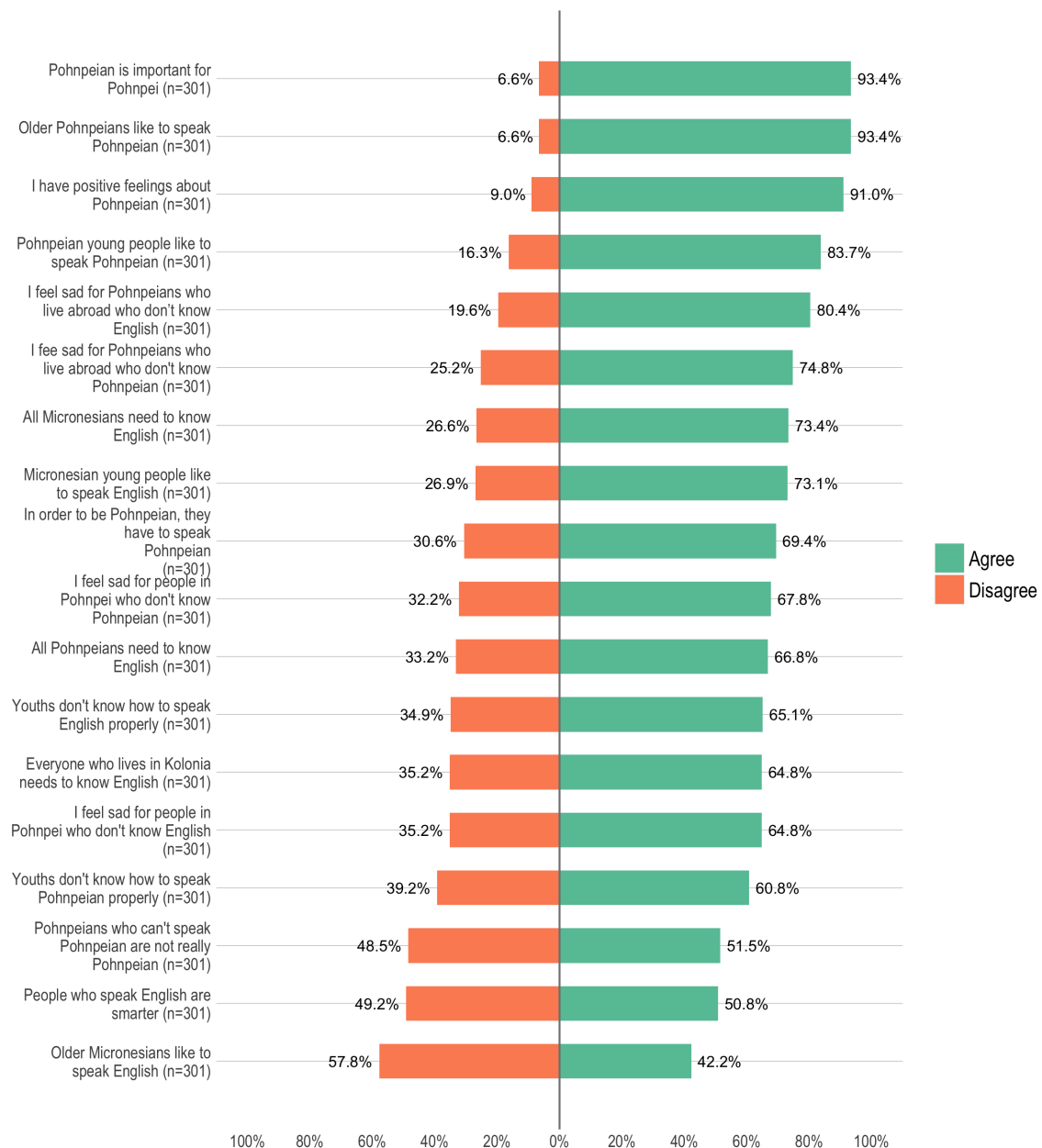


Figure 5.21. Agreement with statements about language and identity

when the question is stated in the negative form. This distinction indicates agreement that all Pohnpeians need to speak Pohnpeian, but greater uncertainty of whether to discount that person if they do not speak it.

The one question with a slight majority (51–59%) disagree is “Older Micronesians like to speak English.” Most people think that older Micronesians disprefer English, but with 42% agreeing. This statement is contrasted with 73% agreeing with “Micronesian young people like to speak English.” A majority of the respondents believe that young people like English but that older people do not.

A trend observed across the identity questions is that as the questions become either more concrete or Pohnpei localized, there is a greater level of competing answers. For example, the abstract question “Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei” has 93% agreement. As the questions become more localized the diversity increases: “All Micronesians need to know English” has 73% agreement, 67% agree that “All Pohnpeians need to know English”, and 65% agree that “Everyone who lives in Kolonia needs to know English.” Localized responses are more likely tied to more concrete experiences that lead to a greater diversity of responses.

Overall, Pohnpeian is again very important and both older and young people like to speak it. English is also important for both Micronesians and Pohnpeians and young people like it more than older people. But, young people do not speak Pohnpeian or English properly. There is also a divide about whether a lack of knowledge of the Pohnpeian language can exclude one from being Pohnpeian.

5.2.2.3 Education

The education category contains four questions. Of the four, two have a strong majority (70%+) being agree and two have a majority (60–69%) being agree. The responses are shown in Figure 5.22.

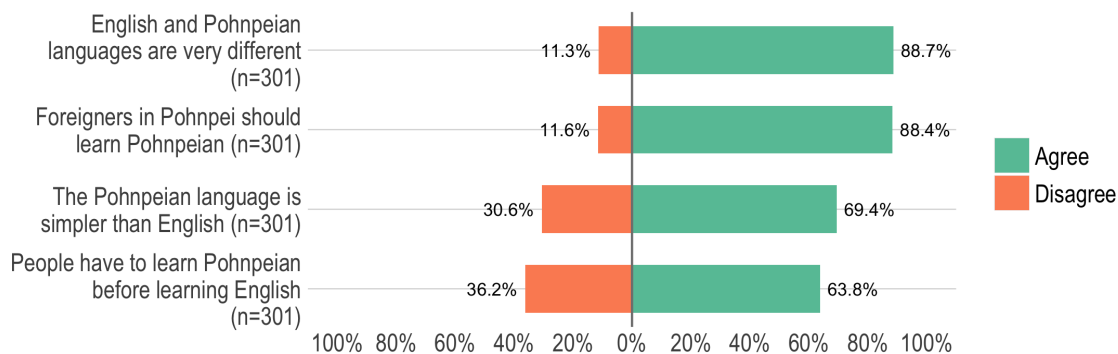


Figure 5.22. Agreement with statements about language and education

The two questions with a strong majority (70%+) agree are “English and Pohnpeian languages are very different” and “Foreigners in Pohnpeian should learn Pohnpeian.” The high level of agreement for these two questions indicate that the respondents recognize a high level of linguistic difference

between English and Pohnpeian. They also strongly agree that foreigners who live on Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian.

The two questions with a majority (60–69%) agree are “The Pohnpeian language is simpler than English” and “People have to learn Pohnpeian before learning English.” The majority of respondents view the Pohnpeian language as simpler than English, though 31% disagree. The majority also agree that people do not have to learn Pohnpeian before learning English, though 36% disagree.

5.2.2.4 Utility

The utility category contains five questions. Of the five, two have a strong majority (70%+) being agree, one has a slight majority (50–59%) being agree, one has a slight majority (50–59%) disagree, and one a strong majority (70%+) disagree. The responses are shown in Figure 5.23.

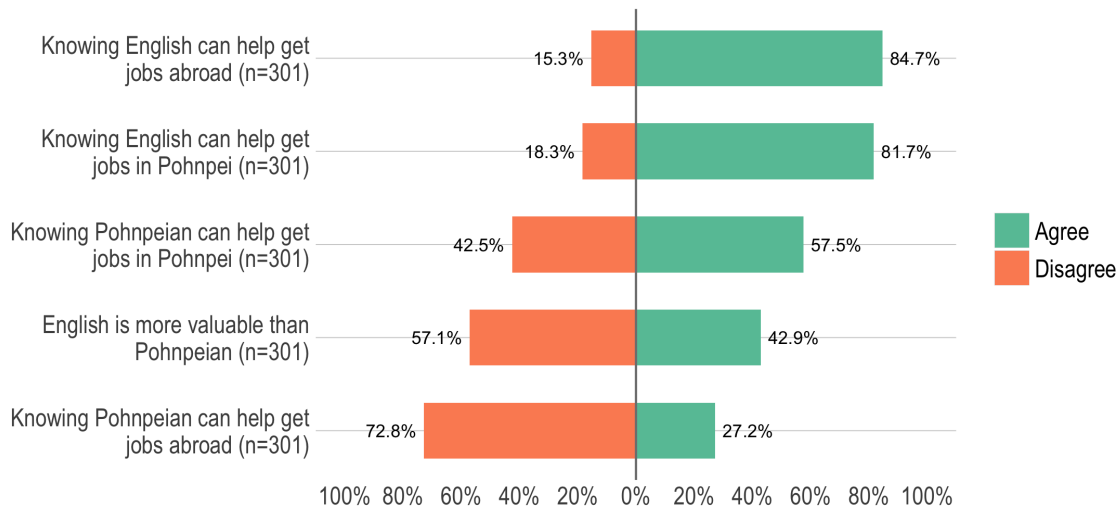


Figure 5.23. Agreement with statements about the utility of languages

The two statements with a strong majority agree (70%+) are both about English helping one get a job in both Pohnpei and abroad. The high level of agreement indicates wide belief in the utility of English for employment.

There was a slight majority (58%) agreeing that knowing Pohnpeian can help get jobs in Pohnpei. This level of agreement is much less than for English, which shows less consensus on the utility of Pohnpeian for employment.

Despite being useful for employment, a slight majority (57%) indicate disagreement with the statement English is more valuable than Pohnpeian, which shows the value of Pohnpeian perhaps resides outside of its ability to help find employment.

A strong majority (73%) disagree that knowing Pohnpeian can help get job abroad. Most people do not consider Pohnpeian helpful for finding jobs abroad, though many believe English can help. However, 27% believe Pohnpeian can help with jobs abroad.

5.2.2.5 Question that differed in versions 1 and 2

There was one question that differed in version 1 and 2. The version 1 question was “Pohnpeian is really unfashionable” and the version 2 was “Pohnpeian can show respect.” The responses are shown in Figure 5.24.

A majority (64%) agreed that Pohnpeian can show respect, while a strong majority (71%) disagreed that Pohnpeian is really unfashionable. These two questions further demonstrate that Pohnpeian is viewed positively by the majority of respondents.

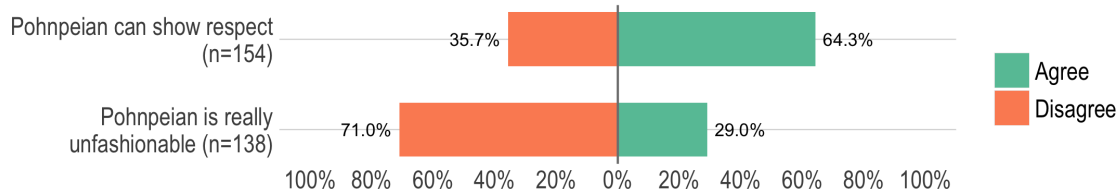


Figure 5.24. Agreement with statements that only occurred in one version

5.2.2.6 Questions only in version 2

Version 2 of the questionnaire had 15 new questions. The results for these questions are discussed in this section. Similar to the results presented above, they are discussed by category: identity and education.

5.2.2.6.1 Identity

Of the 15 new questions, 12 were questions about identity. 11 of the questions had a strong majority (70%+) being agree and one question had a majority (60–69%) agree. The results are displayed in Figure 5.25.

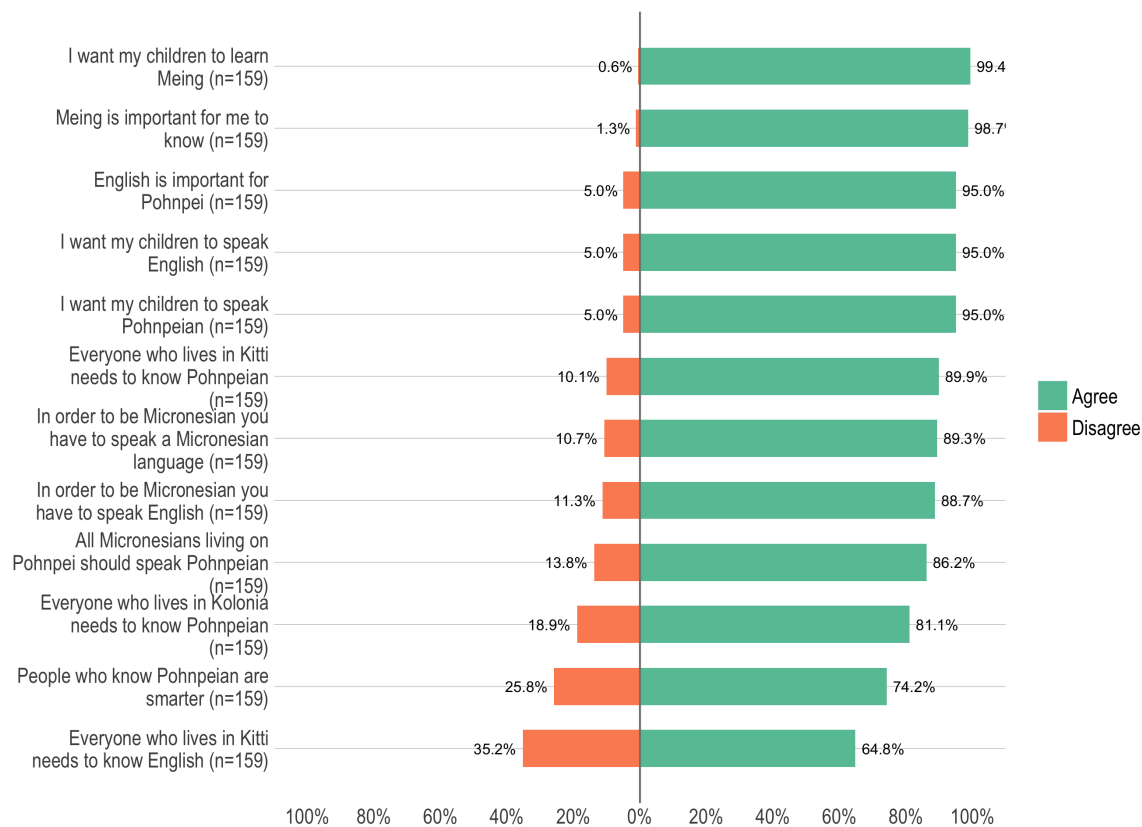


Figure 5.25. Agreement with statements about language and identity (version 2 only)

The 11 questions with a strong majority (70%+) agree are “I want my children to learn Meing,” “Meing is important for me to know,” “I want my children to speak English,” “English is important for Pohnpei,” “I want my children to speak Pohnpeian,” “Everyone who lives in Kittu needs to know Pohnpeian,” “In order to be Micronesian you have to speak a Micronesian language,” “In order to be Micronesian you have to speak English,” “All Micronesians living on Pohnpei should speak Pohnpeian,” “Everyone who lives in Kolonia needs to know Pohnpeian,” and “People who know Pohnpeian are smarter.” The questions about Meing had a near unanimous agreement (only 1% disagree) showing a very strong interest in Meing for both the respondents and their children. Likewise 95% of the respondents want their children to know English and Pohnpeian, which again indicates the importance of both languages. Similarly 89% responded that to be Micronesian you have to speak both English and a Micronesian language. All Micronesians living on Pohnpei as well as those living in Kolonia and Kittu need to speak Pohnpeian. Most of the respondents (74%) agreed that those who speak Pohnpeian are smarter.

The one question with a majority (60–69%) agree is “Everyone who lives in Kitty needs to know English.” A majority of responds agree that English is even important in Kitty, though 35% disagree.

The responses to these questions show a few interesting trends. First Pohnpeian is clearly very important in Kitty (90% agree), which is a very rural, quintessential Pohnpeian area. However, 81% also agreed that Pohnpeian is very important in Kolonia, which is the most urbanized, diverse part of the island. Clearly, Pohnpeian is very important everywhere on the island. But when asked about the importance of English in various places, the results are bit weaker. 65% agree that people in Kolonia need to speak English (from the previous section) and 65% also agree that people in Kitty need to know English. Knowing English is equally as important in Kolonia as in Kitty, though Pohnpeian is more important in both places. Secondly, it is important note that almost all respondents (95%) want their children to speak English, and the same percentage view English as important for Pohnpei. Thirdly, it is also important to note that 74% of respondents agreed that people who know Pohnpeian are smarter, while only 51% agreed that people who speak English are smarter. Pohnpeian have much stronger and more unified, positive views of Pohnpeian speakers than for English speakers.

5.2.2.6.2 Education

Three of the new questions were about education. Two of the three had a strong majority (70%+) being agree and one question had a slight majority (51–59%) being disagree. The results are displayed in Figure 5.26.

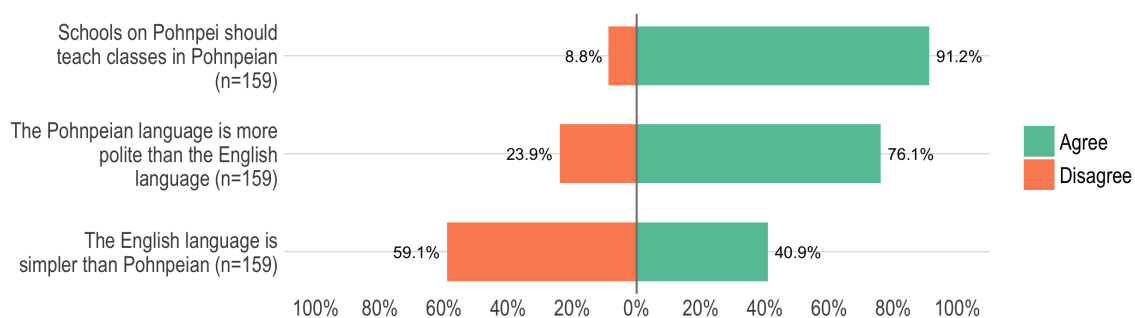


Figure 5.26. Agreement with statements about language and education (version 2 only)

The two questions with a strong majority (70%+) agree are “Schools on Pohnpei should teach classes in Pohnpeian” and “The Pohnpeian language is more polite than the English language.” The vast majority of the respondents (91%) agree that schools should conduct classes in Pohnpeian, which

is interesting given that most schools only officially conduct classes in Pohnpeian up to grade 3. The respondents also agree that Pohnpeian is a more polite language than English.

The one question with a slight majority (59%) disagree is “The English language is simpler than Pohnpeian.” Most of the respondents disagree that English is simpler than Pohnpei and from the previous set of questions 69% agree that Pohnpeian is simpler than English. More of the respondents agreed that Pohnpeian is simpler (69%) than those that disagreed that English is simpler (59%). It seems that more people are certain that Pohnpeian is simpler than are those who are certain that English is not simpler than Pohnpeian.

5.2.3 Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian

This section presents the descriptive results from the ‘Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian’ questions (questions 3.5.1–3.5.30). The questions are grouped into three categories: positive characteristics, neutral characteristics, and negative characteristics. Questions 3.5.1–3.5.27 that occur in both versions of the questionnaire are presented first, followed by a section for questions that only occur in version 2 (questions 3.5.28–3.5.30). In order to describe the percentages for each response, four descriptive categories are used: (1) strong majority (70%+ of responses), (2) majority (60–69%), (3) slight majority (51–59%), and (4) equal distribution (50%).

5.2.3.1 Positive characteristics

Thirteen of the questions were positive characteristics. Five of the characteristics had a strong majority (70%+) of agreement, three has a majority (60–69%) agreement, two had a slight majority (51–59%) agreement, one had an equal distribution (50%) of agreement vs disagreement, one had a majority (60–69%) disagreement, and one had a strong majority (70%+) disagreement. The results are displayed in Figure 5.27.

The five characteristics that had a strong majority (70%+) agreement (agree somewhat or really agree) are respectful, cultured, wise, generous, and humble. These characteristics are very strong Pohnpeian values, which is reinforced by the high level of agreement.

The three characteristics that had a majority (60–69%) agreement are peaceful, kindhearted, and successful. These characteristics had more disagreement (31%–39%) than the strong majority questions, but still have a solid majority of respondents agreeing with them.

The two characteristics that had a slight majority (51–59%) agreement are honest and quiet. While most of the respondents agreed with these characteristics, there is a high level of disagreement as well.

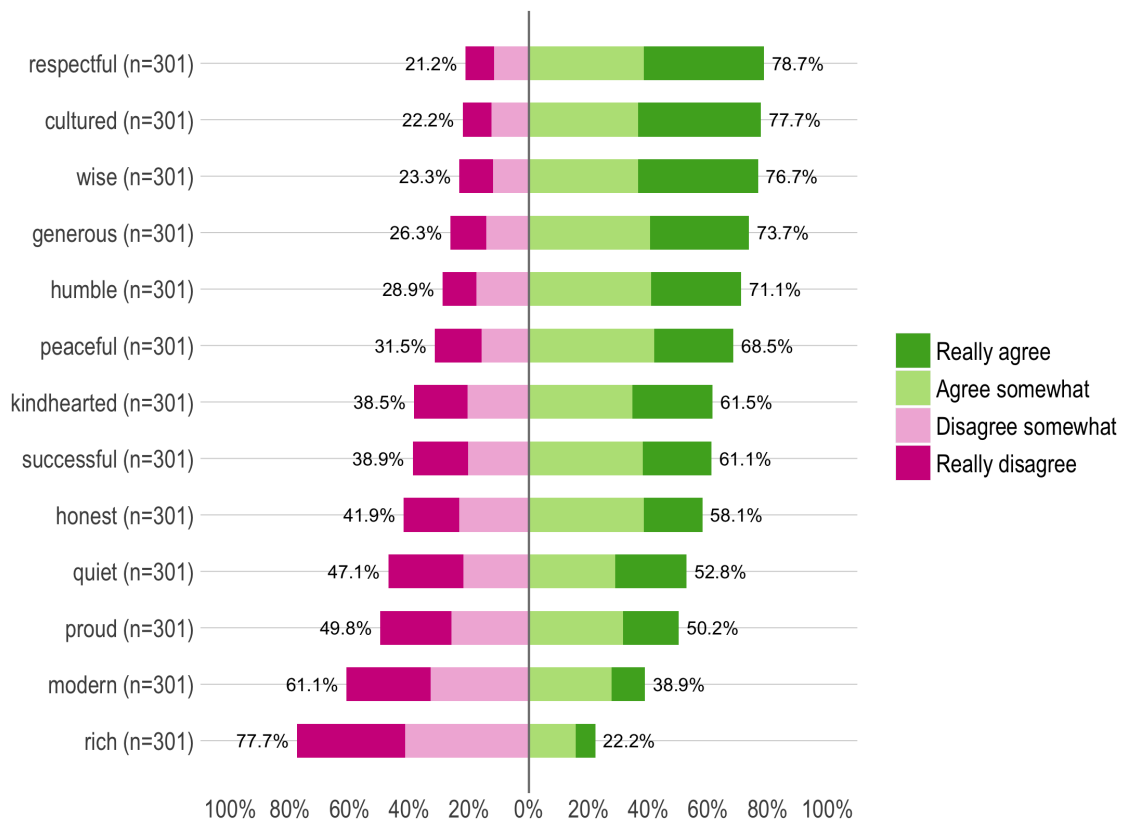


Figure 5.27. Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian

The almost equal divide indicates that the respondents overall view Pohnpeian speakers as both quiet and honest and not quiet and honest.

The characteristic proud had an equal distribution (50%) of agreement and disagreement responses. This equal distribution indicates a split in views about if Pohnpeian speakers are proud or not. This divide may stem from the fact that proud can be both a positive or negative attribute and thus have different interpretations depending on what comes to mind for the respondent.

Modern had a majority of responses being disagreement (61%). Most of the respondents did not view Pohnpeian speakers as modern, though with a substantial number (39%) agreeing. The multiple interpretations of the term 'modern' add to the diversity of responses.

Rich had a strong majority of responses (78%) being disagreement. This level of disagreement shows that most respondents do not associate being a Pohnpeian speaker with being rich.

5.2.3.2 Neutral characteristics

Five of the questions are neutral characteristics. Of the five characteristics, one had a strong majority (70%+) agreement, two had a majority (60–69%) disagreement, and two had a strong majority (70%+) disagreement. The results are displayed in Figure 5.28.

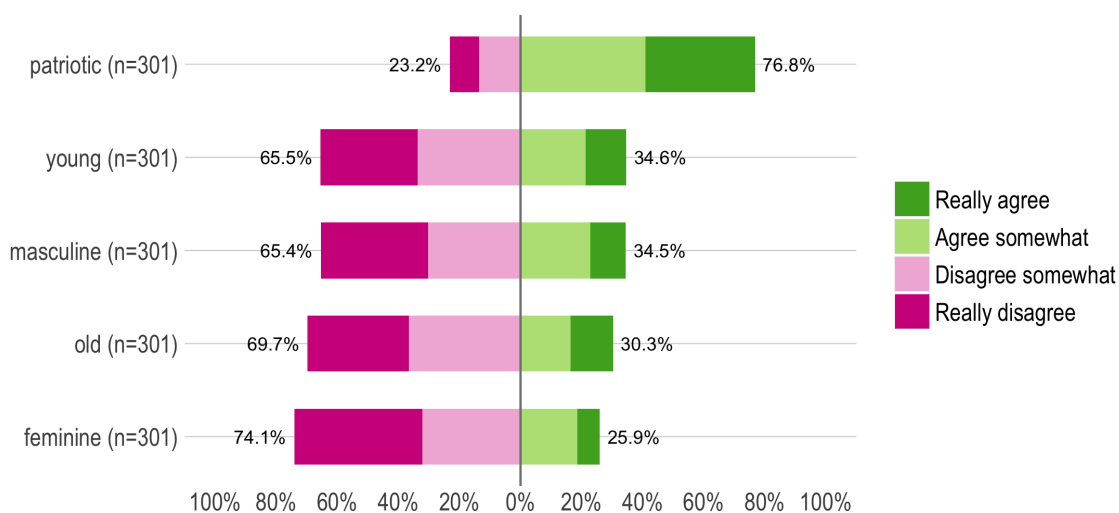


Figure 5.28. Level of agreement with neutral characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian

Patriotic was the only neutral characteristic to have more agreement responses than disagreement. It had a strong majority (76%) of responses being agreement, which indicates that most respondents view Pohnpeian speakers as patriotic. It is unsure if patriotic means patriotic for the FSM, Pohnpei, or municipality.

All the other neutral characteristics had more disagreement responses than agreement.

The two characteristics with a majority (60–69%) disagreement are young and masculine. Old and feminine had a strong majority (70%+) disagreement. Combined these show that the respondents do not link being a Pohnpeian speaker to being young, old, feminine, or masculine. Age or gender do not appear to be linked to Pohnpeian speaker identity, though patriotism is.

5.2.3.3 Negative characteristics

Eight of the questions are negative characteristics. All the negative characteristics had more disagreement responses than agreement. Of the eight, two had a majority (60–69%) disagreement and six had a strong majority (70%+) disagreement. The results are displayed in Figure 5.29.

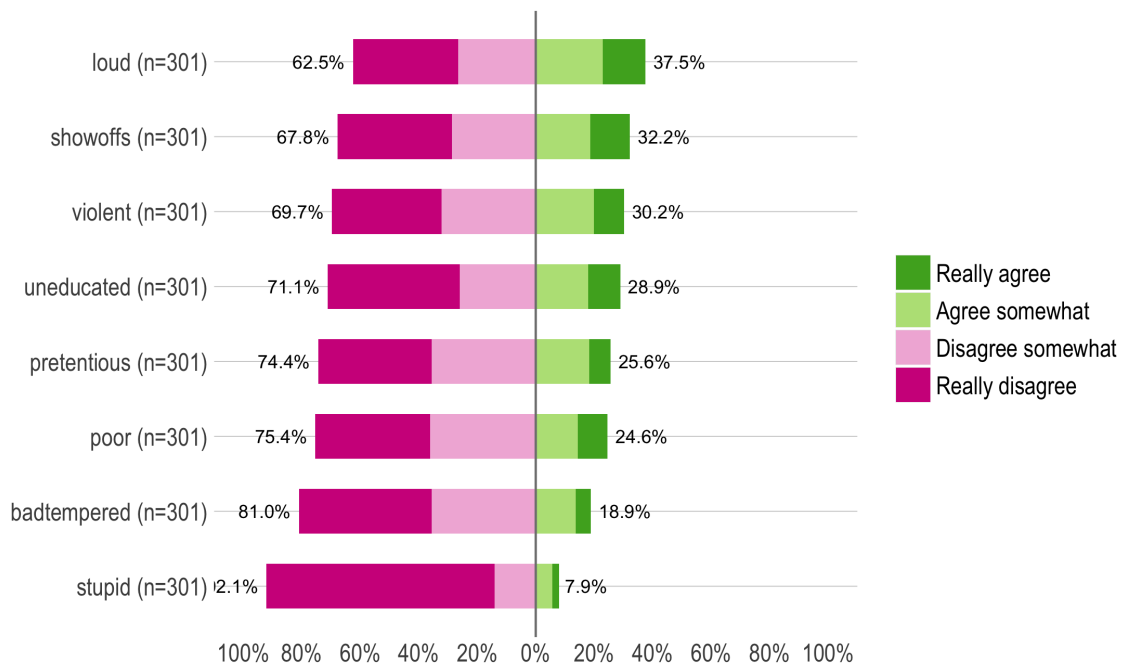


Figure 5.29. Level of agreement with negative characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian

The two majority (60–69%) disagreement characteristics are loud and showoffs. Violent, uneducated, pretentious, poor, badtempered, and stupid had a strong majority (70%+) or disagreement responses. The characteristic stupid has the strongest level of disagreement (92%) with the majority of responses being ‘really disagree’.

Overall, the respondents did not strongly associate any of the negative characteristics with Pohnpeian speaker identity. Being loud, which is a weakly negative characteristic, had the most agreement (38%) of any of the negative responses.

5.2.3.4 Question that is different in version 1 and 2

Question 3.5.10, attractive, was translated as greedy in version 2. The results from attractive in version 1 are presented here, while greedy is presented in the following section. The results are displayed in Figure 5.30.

A majority of respondents (64%) agreed with Pohnpeian speakers being attractive, while 36% expressed disagreement. ‘Agree somewhat’ was the most common answer to the question.

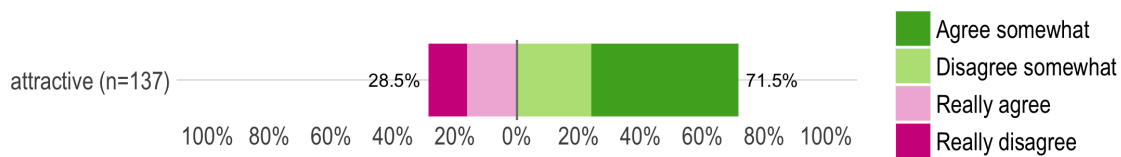


Figure 5.30. Level of agreement with question 3.5.10_1

5.2.3.5 Questions only in version 2

Four characteristics (including 'greedy') occurred only in version 2 of the questionnaire. Two of the characteristics, educated and smart, are positive and two, greedy and ugly, are negative.



Figure 5.31. Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian (version 2 only)

A strong majority (74%) of respondents agreed that Pohnpeian speakers are educated, with the majority of responses being 'Really agree', while a majority (67%) agreed that Pohnpeian speakers are smart.

A majority (69%) of respondents disagreed that Pohnpeian speakers are greedy, with 84% disagreeing that they are ugly, with the majority of responses being 'Really disagree'.

5.2.3.6 Summary of responses

The responses to the characteristics about Pohnpeian speakers show that the majority of respondents associate positive characteristics to Pohnpeian speakers, while disagreeing with most of the neutral

characteristics and all of the negative ones. They also do not associate Pohnpeian speakers with being either male or female, old or young, or rich or poor. The lack of identity association with those sets of characteristics demonstrates the diversity of Pohnpeian speakers, in that they can be any of those three sets of characteristics, since none is more salient than the other.

5.3 Hierarchical regression modeling

This section presents the results of the hierarchical regression modeling. The results are presented based on hierarchical regression family. The hierarchical poisson and negative binomial modeling results are presented first⁴ in §5.3.1, followed by the hierarchical cumulative link modeling in §5.3.2. All of the models used in this section were checked for model convergence and only convergent models are displayed. All of the models had 4 chains, 2,000 iterations, and a warmup of 1,000 iterations (inclusive of the 2,000 iterations).

5.3.1 Hierarchical poisson and negative binomial modeling

The Hierarchical poisson modeling (HPM) and hierarchical negative binomial modeling (HNBM) presented in this section was used to answer the question: which groups of respondents are most likely to use a specific language over other groups. To do this the answers to the domain-based language importance questions (questions 3.1.1–3.3.7) were used as a measure of language use habits. Because HPM and HNBM require count variable that approximates a poisson distribution, the number of times a respondent selected each of the seven language choices (Pohnpeian, Pingelapese, Mwokilese, Chuukese, English, Kosraean, Mortlockese, or Other) for any of the 25 domains were counted. The result was three scales: a count of English selections (0–25), a count of Pohnpei selections (0–25), and a count of all the other 5 language choices (0–25). Three different regression models were run—one for English, Pohnpeian, and all others—with one of the three scales as the dependent variable.

To determine the groups, nine demographic variables were used as predictor variables: age, gender, birth location, travelled abroad (yes or no), years spent on Pohnpei, highest attained education level, elementary school type (public, private, or both), high school type (public, private, both, or none), and reported level of Meing knowledge. All of the demographic variables were coded with deviation coding.

In addition, the poststratified, trimmed survey weights were used in the models as well to help the results be more representative of the demographics of Pohnpei's population.

⁴Hierarchical poisson and negative binomial modeling are presented together because they are very closely related and interpreted in a very similar way.

The grouping variables were current village of the respondent nested inside current municipality.

The predictors used in all the HPM and HNBM were first scaled⁵ and priors with normal distributions centered at 0, with a standard deviation of 0.5 were used. The covariance prior had a regularization of 2.

The model that predicts the number of English selections is in §5.3.1.1, followed by Pohnpeian selections in §5.3.1.2, and all other language selections in §5.3.1.3. The descriptive summary statistics for the language counts are given in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Count of language selections summary

Language	min	median	mean	max
English	0.0	8.0	8.4	23
Pohnpeian	0.0	14.0	13.8	23
All others	0.0	0.0	0.8	15

5.3.1.1 English selections

This section presents the HPM results for the number of English selections. The summary information of the model's posterior distribution is given in Table 5.7. The table also indicates which group each of the parameters represents to make the model's arcane coding clearer.

Since nine demographic variables were used, the results appear somewhat overwhelming. To make it easier to interpret they are presented graphically in five groups: (1) age and gender, (2) birth location and travel abroad, (3) years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability, (4) education level and types of elementary and high schools, and (5) current municipality (grouping variable). Refer to Table 5.7 for the meaning of the predictor labels in each of the plots.

The baseline for the model, the grand mean (Intercept) for English selections was 1.9 [0.7, 2.4]⁶ log counts of English selections.

5.3.1.1.1 Age and gender

This section discusses the age and gender posterior distributions for the English selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.32.

The trends for age are somewhat convoluted. The first age group (18–25 years old) has on average 0.3 more log count selections than the grand mean. It's HDI also has no overlap with 0 [0.1, 0.5]

⁵Scaling means that the variables were shifted to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.

⁶The values inside the [] indicate the 95% HDI or the most probable values for that parameter, i.e., the true value of that parameter should lie within the HDI.

Table 5.7. English HPM posterior summary

Parameter	mean	sd	2.5%	97.5%	Meaning of predictor
(Intercept)	1.9	0.4	0.7	2.4	Grand mean
age1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.5	18–24 years old
age2	0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.3	25–34 years old
age3	0.0	0.1	-0.2	0.2	35–45 years old
age4	-0.3	0.1	-0.5	-0.1	45–54 years old
age5	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.5	55–64 years old
age6	-0.2	0.2	-0.6	0.2	65–74 years old
sex1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	women
birth location1	-0.2	0.1	-0.4	0.0	Pohnpei State
birth location2	0.0	0.1	-0.3	0.2	Chuuk State
birth location3	-0.1	0.1	-0.4	0.1	USA
birth location4	-0.1	0.2	-0.4	0.2	Kosrae State
birth location5	0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.4	Other
birth location6	0.2	0.2	-0.3	0.6	RMI
travelled abroad1	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	0.0	Not travelled abroad
time pni1	0.1	0.1	-0.2	0.3	0–4 years
time pni2	0.0	0.1	-0.3	0.3	5–9 years
time pni3	0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.2	10–19 years
time pni4	-0.1	0.1	-0.2	0.1	20–29 years
time pni5	0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.3	30–39 years
education1	-0.4	0.1	-0.6	-0.3	Not H.S. grad.
education2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	H.S. grad.
education3	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.2	Some college
education4	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.2	Associate degree
education5	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	Bachelor's degree
elementary type1	-0.2	0.1	-0.3	0.0	Public elementary
elementary type2	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.2	Private elementary
hs type1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	Public H.S.
hs type2	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.1	Private H.S.
meing1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	Not at all
meing2	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.1	Somewhat well
meing3	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.2	Well

indicating greater than 95% probability that it is different from the grand mean. The second age group (25–34 years old) has on average only 0.1 more log English selections than the grand mean, but slightly more overlap with 0 [-0.1, 0.3] indicating more probable similarity with the grand mean. Age group 3 (35–44 years old) has even fewer selections than group 2 with on average 0.0 fewer log English selections than the grand mean and significant overlap with 0 [-0.2, 0.2], which indicate no probable difference from the mean. Age group 4 (45–54 years old) continues this trend of having fewer English selections as age increases by having on average 0.3 fewer log English selections than



Figure 5.32. Posterior distributions for age and gender for English HPM

the grand mean. It also has no overlap with 0 $[-0.5, -0.1]$ indicating a probability of 95% or higher that it is completely different from the grand mean. Age group 5 (55–64 years old) breaks this decreasing trend by having on average 0.3 more log English selections than the grand mean and no overlap with 0 $[0.1, 0.5]$ indicating greater than 95% probability that is completely different from the grand mean. Age group 6 (65–74 years old) has on average on 0.2 fewer log selections than the grand mean, but has significant overlap with 0 $[-0.6, 0.2]$, indicating some probable similarity with the grand mean.

For age, groups 1–4 have subsequently fewer English selections, but group 5 has more than 4, and 6 does not deviate from the grand mean. What this means in part is that respondents 18–25 years old selected the most English responses of any age group and that up to age 54, each subsequent age group selected few English selections. But the question remains why the trend switches at age 55.

The posterior distribution for gender is centered at zero with women on average the same log English selections as the grand mean. There are no meaningful differences in the model based on gender.

5.3.1.1.2 Birth location and travel abroad

This section discusses the birth location and travel abroad posterior distributions for the English selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.33.

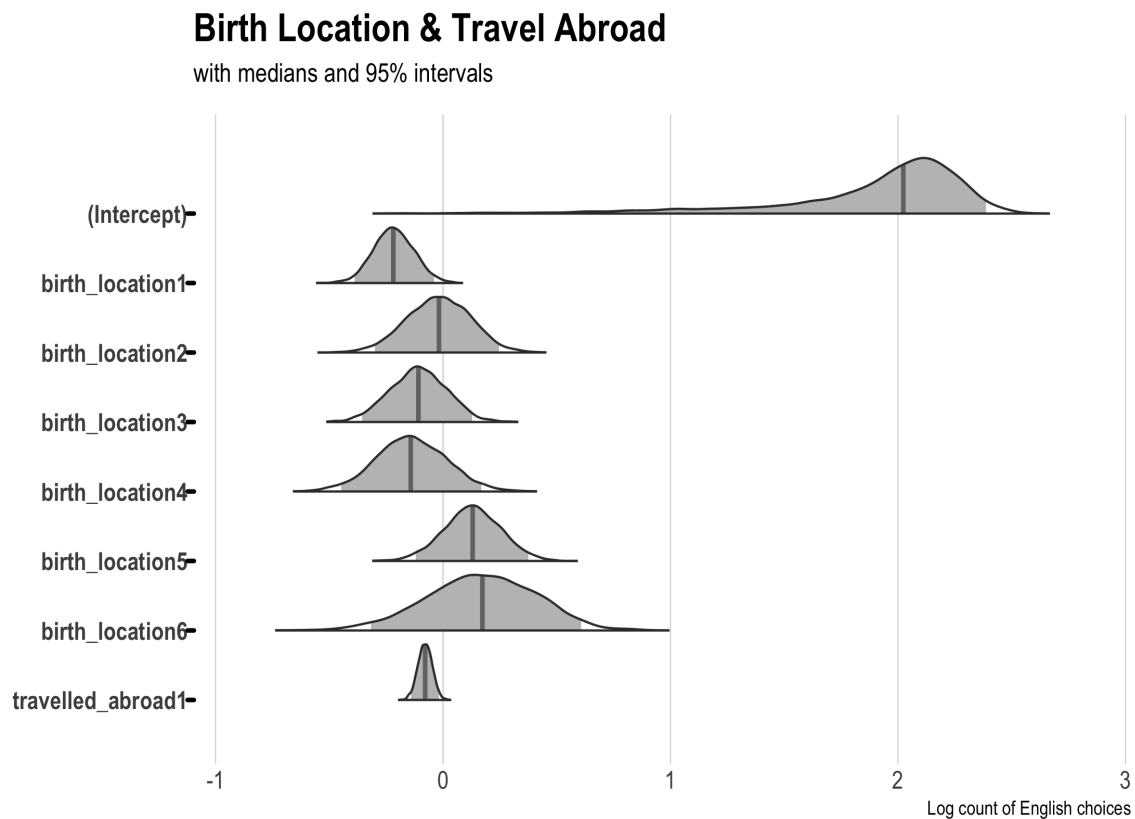


Figure 5.33. Posterior distributions for birth location and travel abroad for English HPM

Birth location 1, Pohnpei State has on average 0.2 fewer log English selections than the grand mean. It also has no overlap with 0 $[-0.4, 0.0]$ indicating high probable difference from the grand mean.

All other Birth locations (2–6) have high means close to 0, high overlap with 0 indicating little probable difference from the grand mean, and wide HDI's indicating large probable, group internal

variation. Overall, this means that those born in Pohnpei State have fewer English selections than those born elsewhere, since the other groups are not meaningfully different from the intercept.

Those who have not travelled abroad (travelled abroad 1) have on average 0.1 fewer English selections. This group has no overlap with 0 $[-0.1, 0.0]$ indicating a strong probable difference from the grand mean. While only a small effect, because of its clear difference from the grand mean, having not travelled abroad from Pohnpei correlates with slightly fewer English selections.

5.3.1.1.3 Years on Pohnpei and Meing ability

This section discusses the years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability posterior distributions for the English selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.34.

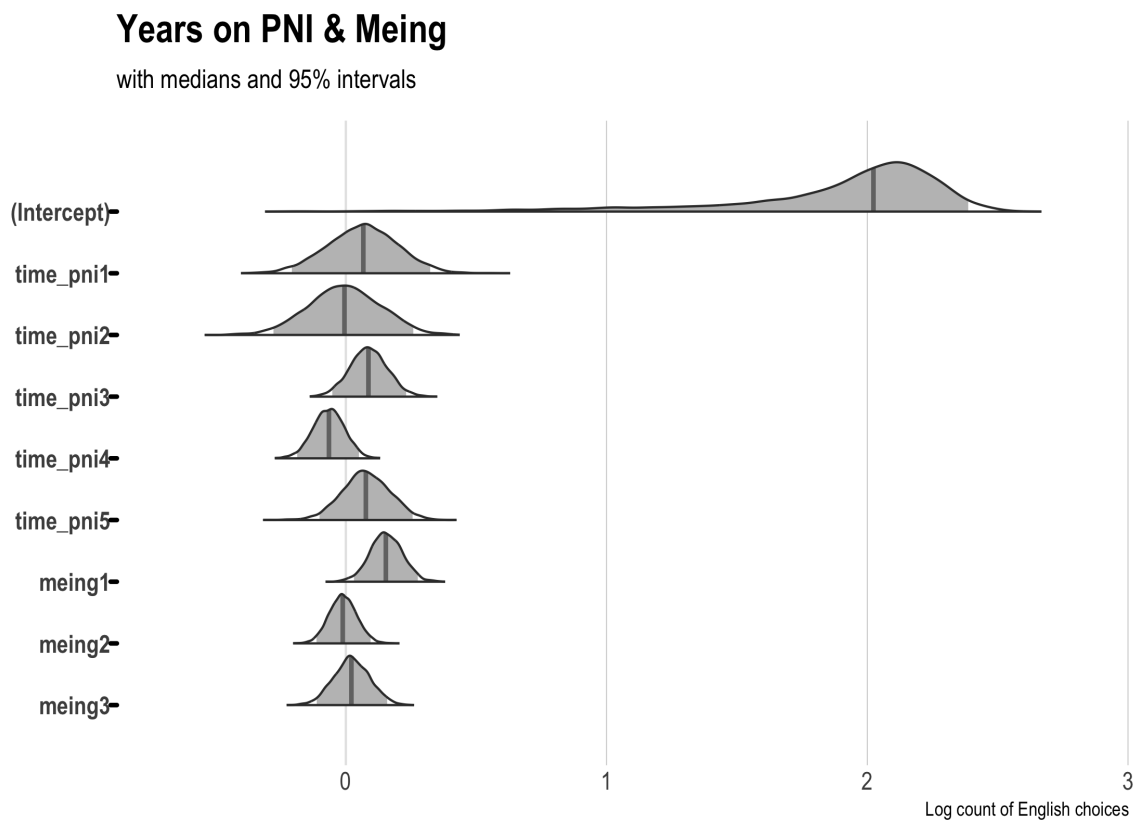


Figure 5.34. Posterior distributions for years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability for English HPM

The amount of time spend on Pohnpei, like the variable age, does not have a single clear trend. Groups 1 (0-4 years) and 2 (5-9 years) have on average 0.1 and 0.0 more log English selections re-

spectively than the grand mean, but given their wide HDIs and large overlap with 0, there is a high probability that they are not meaningfully different from the grand mean. The same goes for groups 3 (10–19 years), 4 (20–29 years), and 5 (30–39 years) who also have high levels of overlap with 0.

For reported Meing ability, only group 1 (Not at all) is meaningfully different from the grand mean. Group 1 has on average 0.2 more log English selections than the grand mean and no overlap with 0 [0.0, 0.3]. Meing groups 2 and 3 have large amounts of overlap with 0 and means of 0.

Overall for Meing ability, those who do not know Meing at all have slightly more log English selections than those who report having any other Meing abilities.

5.3.1.1.4 Education level and type of schools

This section discusses the education level, type of elementary school, and type of high school posterior distributions for the English selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.35.

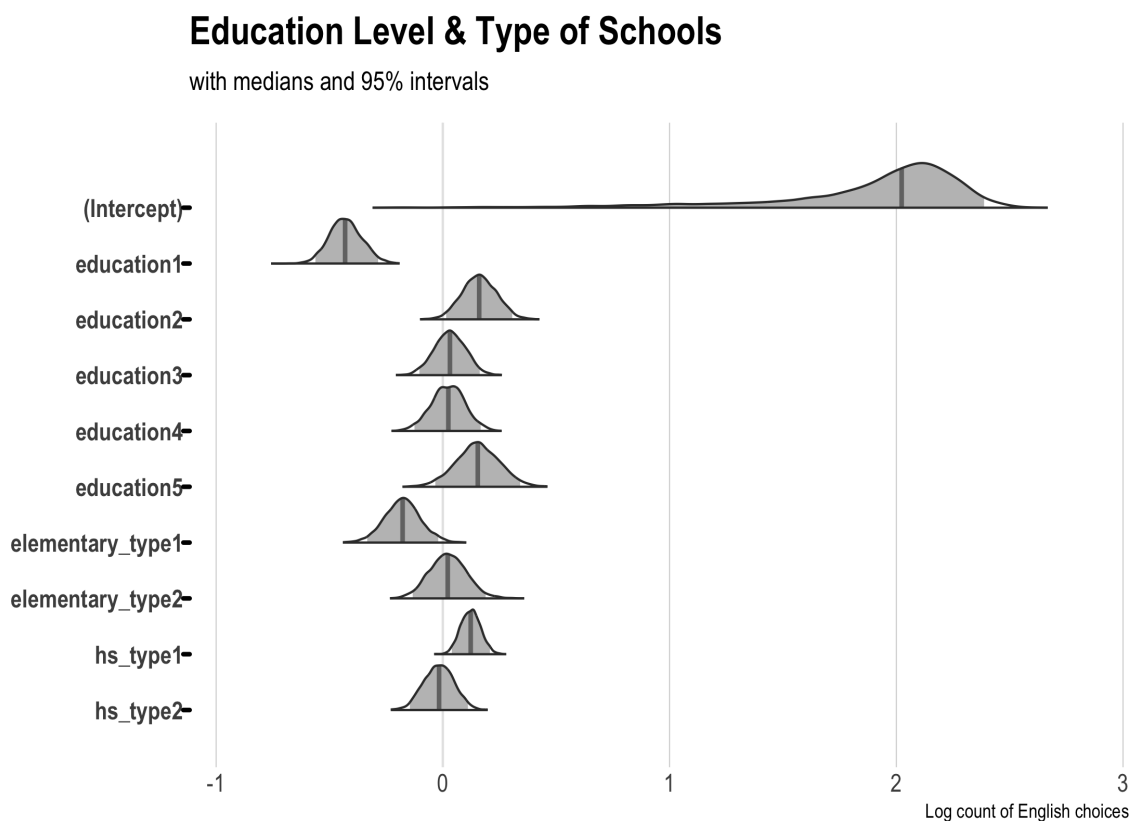


Figure 5.35. Posterior distributions for education level and types of school for English HPM

Three education groups are meaningfully different from the grand mean: group 1 ‘not high school graduate’, group 2 ‘high school graduate’, and group 5 ‘bachelor’s degree’. Group 1 has 0.4 fewer log English selections than the grand mean and no overlap with 0 [-0.6, -0.3] indicating that it is more than 95% likely to be completely different from the grand mean. Group 2 has on average 0.2 more log English selections than the grand mean and not overlap with 0 [0.0, 0.3]. Group 5 has 0.2 more log English selections on average than the grand mean and no overlap with 0 [0.0, 0.3]. All other education groups have significant overlap with 0, indicating that there is a high probability of similarity with the grand mean. This difference shows that completing high school or a Bachelor’s degree correlates with more English selections.

For elementary school type, only group 1 public elementary school is meaningfully different from the grand mean. Group 1 has on average 0.2 fewer log English selections than the grand mean. It also has no overlap with 0 [-0.3, 0], indicating that it has a high probability of being different from the grand mean. Group 2, private elementary school, is centered at 0 and has wide overlap indicating a high probability that it is not meaningfully different from the grand mean.

Of the two high school type groups (Public or Private), only group 1, public high school, is meaningfully different from the grand mean. Group 1 has a mean of 0.1 more log English selections than the grand mean and no overlap with 0 [0.0, 0.2]. Group 2, private high school is centered at 0 and have a high level of overlap with 0.

Overall for these parameters, the only meaningful ones are ‘not high school graduate’ and ‘public elementary school,’ both of which lead to fewer English selections.

5.3.1.1.5 Current municipality (grouping variable)

This section discusses the current municipality (grouping variable) posterior distributions for the English selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.36.

The posterior distributions shown for current municipality have a different shape from the other parameters, because current municipality was the grouping variable (random intercept) used in the model. All of the municipalities are very similar, but Sokehs and Uh have the most positive averages that mean that overall those municipalities had more English selections on average. The other municipalities have means centered closer to 0 indicating that overall they did not differ strongly in a consistent way.

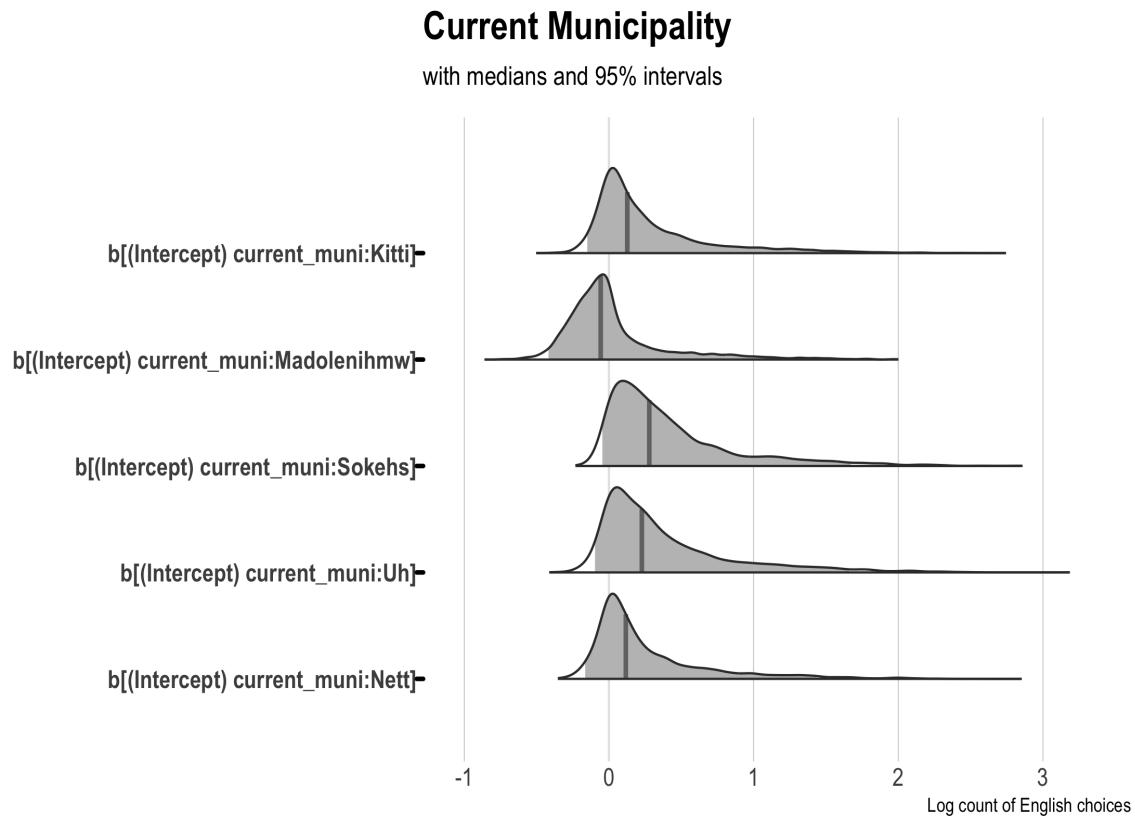


Figure 5.36. Posterior distributions for current municipality for English HPM

5.3.1.1.6 Summary of meaningful predictors for English selections

Of the 31 predictor groups used in the English selections HPM, only 11 are meaningfully different from the grand mean. The 9 groups are (1) age 1 (18–24 years old), (2) age 4 (45–54 years old), (3) age 5 (55–64 years old), (4) birth location 1 (Pohnpei State), (5) travelled abroad 1 (not travelled abroad), (6) meing 1 (not at all), (7) education 1 (not high school graduate), (8) education 2 (high school graduate), (9) education 5 (Bachelor’s degree), (10) elementary type 1 (public elementary), and (11) high school type 1 (public high school). The general trend shown for each of these groups is shown in Table 5.8.

5.3.1.2 Pohnpeian selections

This section presents the HPM results for the number of Pohnpeian selections. The summary information of the model’s posterior distribution is given in Table 5.9. The table also indicates which group each of the parameters represents.

Table 5.8. English HPM meaningful predictors

Predictor	Meaning	Effect (relative to grand mean)
age1	18–24 years old	more English
age4	45–54 years old	less English
age5	55–64 years old	more English
birth location1	Pohnpei State	less English
travelled abroad1	Not travelled abroad	less English
meing1	Not at all	more English
education1	Not high school graduate	less English
education2	High school graduate	more English
education5	Bachelor's degree	more English
Elementary type1	Public elementary	less English
High school type1	Public high school	more English

Like the previous section for the English selections HPM, the results for the Pohnpeian HPM are presented in five groups: (1) age and gender, (2) birth location and travel abroad, (3) years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability, (4) education level and types of elementary and high schools, and (5) current municipality (grouping variable).

The baseline for the model, the grand mean (Intercept) for Pohnpeian selections is 1.1 [-0.6, 2.1] log Pohnpeian selections.

5.3.1.2.1 Age and gender

This section discusses the age and gender posterior distributions for the Pohnpeian selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.37.

Of the six age groups, only three are meaningfully different from the grand mean: age group 1 (18–24 years old), age group 2 (25–34 years old), and age group 4 (45–54 years old). Age group 1 has on average 0.2 fewer log Pohnpeian selections than the grand mean. It also has no overlap with 0 [-0.3, -0.1]. Age group 2 has on average 0.1 fewer log Pohnpeian selections and no overlap with 0 [-0.2, 0]. Age group 4 has on average 0.1 more log Pohnpeian selections than the grand mean. It has no overlap with 0 [0.0, 0.2]. The other age groups (3, 5, 6) all have large amounts of overlap with zero indicating a high probability of similarity with the grand mean.

The posterior distribution for gender1 (women) is centered at zero and has significant overlap with 0, indicating a high probability of not being meaningfully different from the grand mean.

Overall, the trend for age mirrors that of the English selections HPM where age groups 1–4 show increasing Pohnpeian selections, but the trend stops with age groups 5 and 6.

Table 5.9. Pohnpeian HPM posterior summary

Parameter	mean	sd	2.5%	97.5%	Meaning of predictor
(Intercept)	1.1	0.9	-0.6	2.1	Grand mean
age1	-0.2	0.1	-0.3	-0.1	18–24 years old
age2	-0.1	0.1	-0.2	0.0	25–34 years old
age3	0.0	0.0	-0.1	0.1	35–44 years old
age4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	45–54 years old
age5	-0.1	0.1	-0.2	0	55–64 years old
age6	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.2	65–74 years old
sex1	0.0	0.0	-0.1	0	women
birth location1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.5	Pohnpei State
birth location2	-0.1	0.1	-0.4	0.2	Chuuk State
birth location3	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.5	USA
birth location4	-0.1	0.2	-0.6	0.3	Kosrae State
birth location5	0.1	0.1	-0.2	0.4	Other
birth location6	-0.1	0.3	-0.7	0.4	RMI
travelled abroad1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	Not travelled abroad
time pni1	-0.4	0.2	-0.7	-0.1	0–4 years
time pni2	-0.4	0.2	-0.7	0.0	5–9 years
time pni3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	10–19 years
time pni4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.4	20–29 years
time pni5	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3	30–39 years
education1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	Not H.S. grad
education2	-0.1	0.1	-0.3	0.0	H.S. grad
education3	0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.2	Some college
education4	0.0	0.1	-0.1	0.1	Associate degree
education5	-0.1	0.1	-0.3	0.0	Bachelor’s degree
elementary type1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.4	Public elementary
elementary type2	-0.1	0.1	-0.3	0.0	Private elementary
hs type1	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	0.0	Public H.S.
hs type2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	Private H.S.
meing1	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	0.0	Not at all
meing2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	Somewhat well
meing3	0.0	0.0	-0.1	0.1	Well

5.3.1.2.2 Birth location and travel abroad

This section discusses the birth location and travel abroad posterior distributions for the Pohnpeian selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.38.

Only two birth locations are meaningfully different from the grand mean: birth location 1, Pohnpei State and birth location 3, USA. Those born in Pohnpei State have on average 0.3 more log Pohnpeian selections than the grand mean and no overlap with 0 [0.1, 0.5]. Those born in the USA also

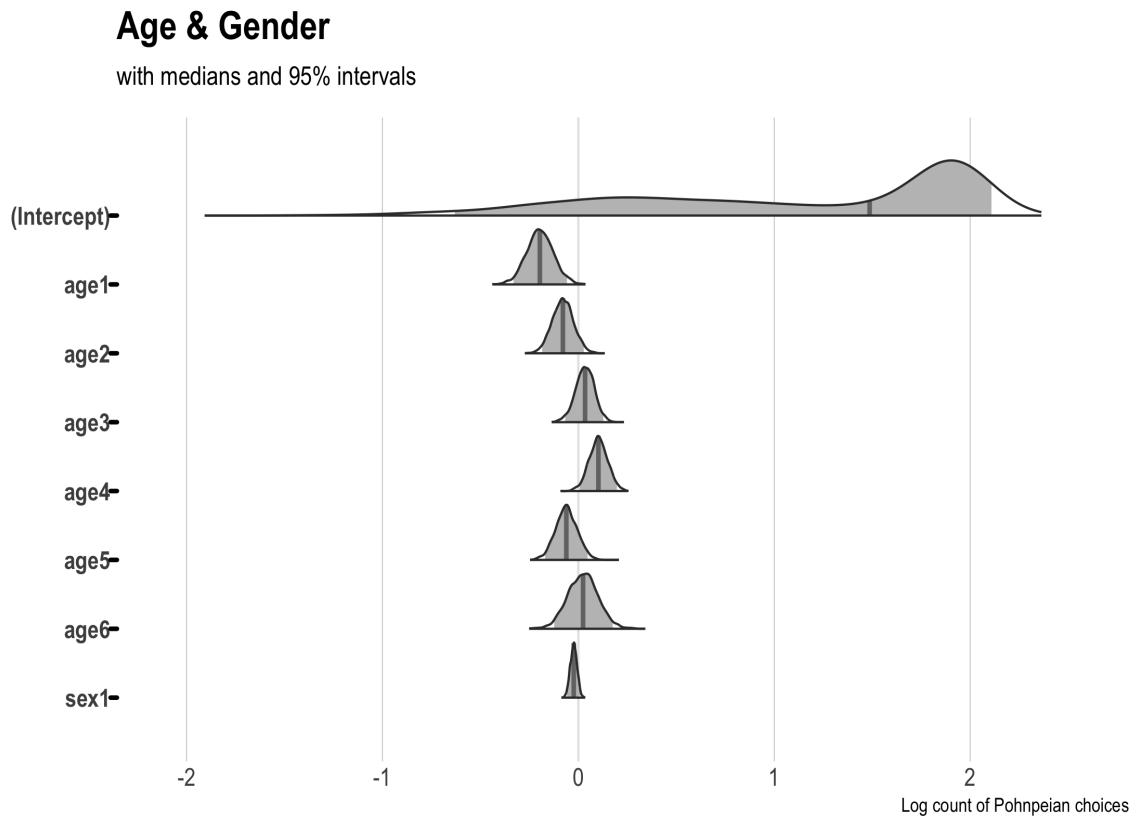


Figure 5.37. Posterior distributions for age and gender for Pohnpeian HPM

have on average 0.3 more log Pohnpeian selections than the grand mean with no overlap with 0 [0.0, 0.5]. All the other birth locations have large amounts of overlap with 0.

For travel abroad, those who have not travelled abroad slightly more log Pohnpeian selections [0.0, 0.1], though its mean is less than 0.05, since it was rounded to 0.0 in the output.

5.3.1.2.3 Years on Pohnpei and Meing ability

This section discusses the years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability posterior distributions for the Pohnpeian selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.39.

For time on Pohnpei, all five groups are meaningfully different from the grand mean.

Groups 1 (0–4 years) and 2 (5–9 years) are very similar with both having on average 0.4 fewer log Pohnpeian selections than the grand mean. Neither of them have overlap with 0. Group 3 (10–19 years), 4 (20–29 years), and 5 (30–39 years) each have more log Pohnpeian selections than the grand

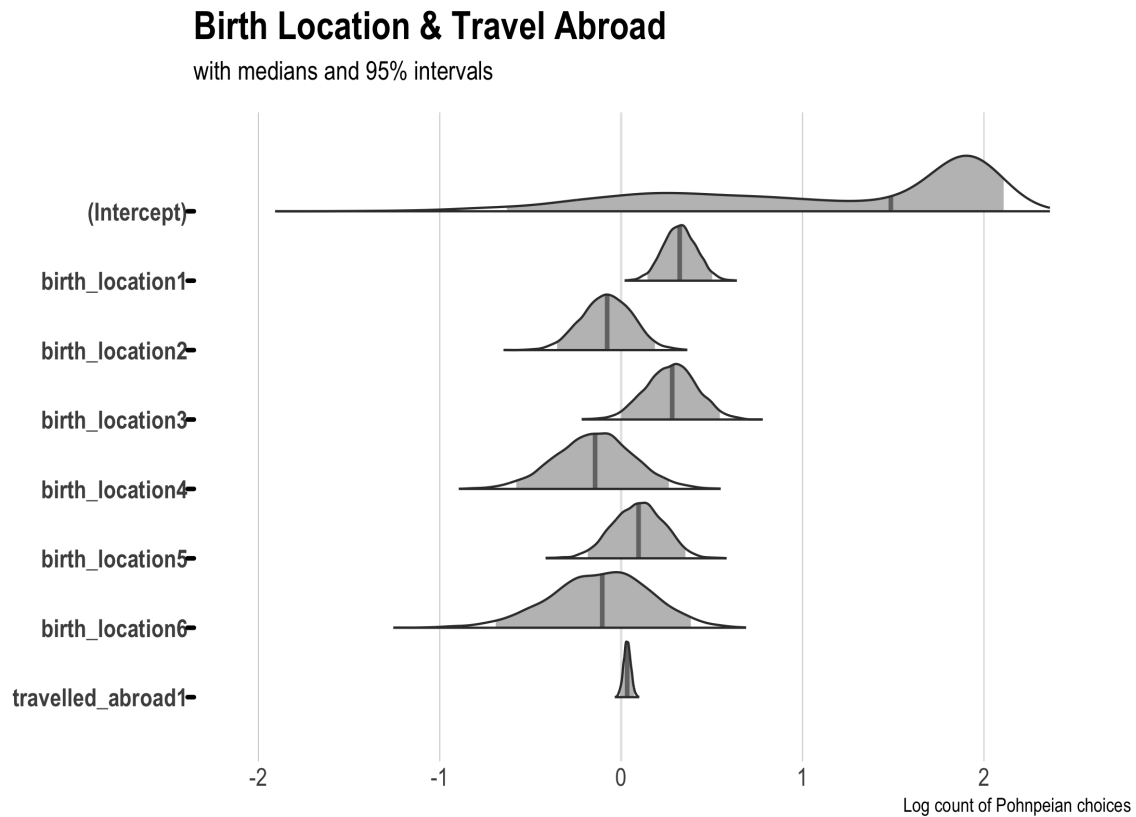


Figure 5.38. Posterior distributions for birth location and travel abroad for Pohnpeian HPM

mean (0.1, 0.3, and 0.2 respectively). None of those groups have overlap with 0. This trend means that 9 or fewer years spent on Pohnpei translate to few Pohnpeian selections, while 10 or more correlate with more selections.

For Meing ability, only Meing group 1 (not at all) is meaningfully different from the grand mean. It has on average 0.1 fewer log Pohnpeian selections and does not overlap with 0. The other two Meing groups both have means of 0.0 and overlap with 0 indicating a probable lack of meaningful difference from the grand mean.

5.3.1.2.4 Education level and type of schools

This section discusses the education level, type of elementary school, and type of high school posterior distributions for the Pohnpeian selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.40.

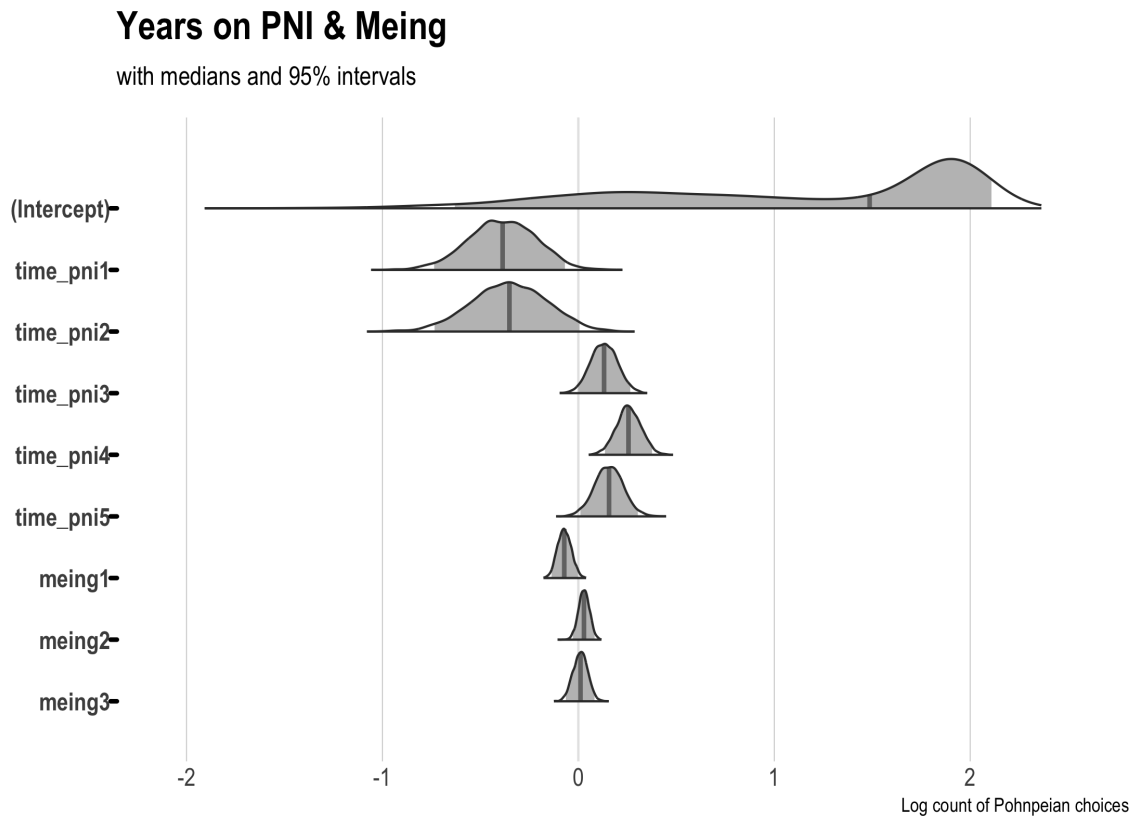


Figure 5.39. Posterior distributions for years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability for Pohnpeian HPM

For education, only three of the five groups have meaningful differences from the grand mean: group 1 (Not high school graduate), group 2 (high school graduate), group 5 (Bachelor's degree). Group 1 has on average 0.2 more log Pohnpeian selections than the grand mean. It also has no overlap with 0 [0.1, 0.3]. Group 2 has on average 0.1 fewer log Pohnpeian selections and also no overlap with 0. Group 5 has 0.1 fewer Pohnpeian selections and no overlap with 0. The other education groups do not have meaningful differences from the grand mean. Overall, these results mirror the English selections HPM, where high school graduates and bachelor's degree holders have fewer Pohnpeian selections and non-high school graduates have more.

Both groups for elementary school type are meaningfully different from the grand mean. Group 1, public elementary, have on average 0.2 more log Pohnpeian selections and no overlap with 0. Group 2, private elementary schools on the other hand have 0.1 fewer log Pohnpeian selections and no overlap with 0.

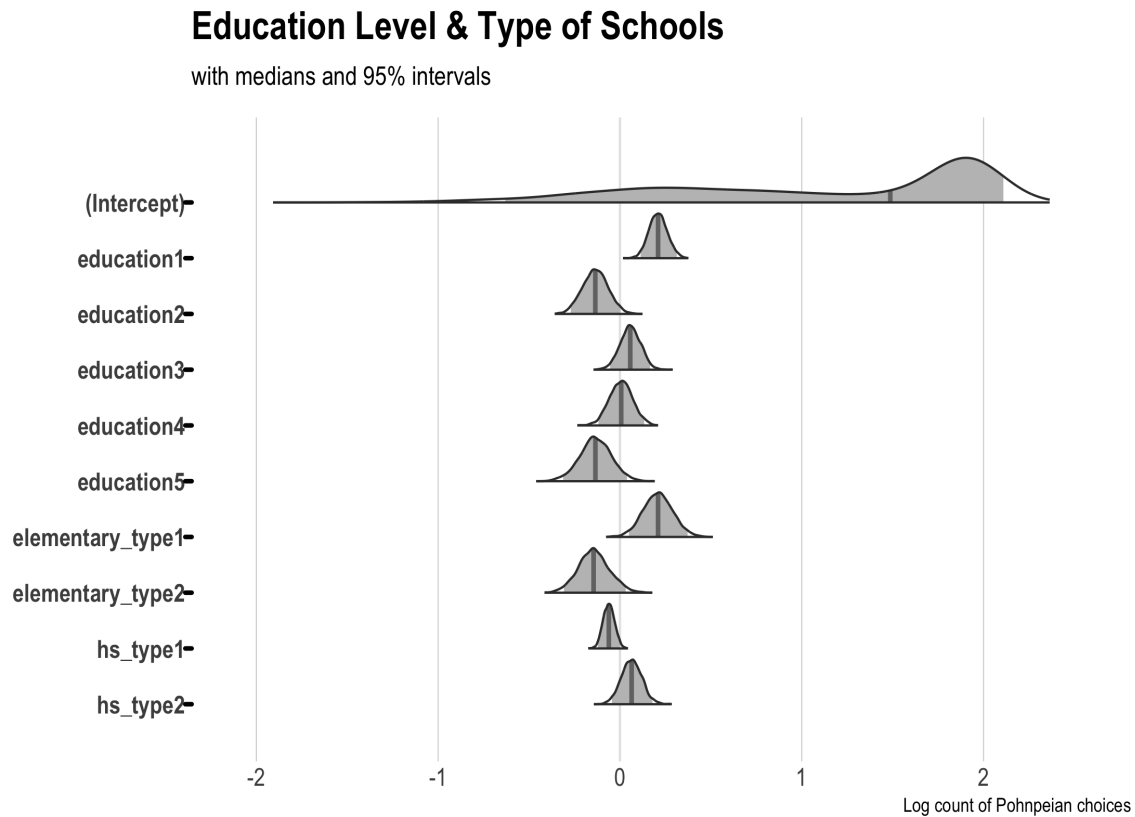


Figure 5.40. Posterior distributions for education level and types of school for Pohnpeian HPM

For high school type, both groups are meaningfully different from the grand mean. Group 1, public high school, has on average 0.1 fewer log Pohnpeian selections, and group 2, private high school, has on average 0.1 more Pohnpeian selections. Neither group overlaps with 0.

The trends for the four school types are mirror images of each other. Public elementary schools and private high schools have more Pohnpeian selections, while private elementary school and public high schools lead to fewer Pohnpeian selections.

5.3.1.2.5 Current municipality (grouping variable)

This section discusses the current municipality (grouping variable) posterior distributions for the Pohnpeian selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.41.

All of the municipalities have large amounts of overlap. Kitti and Madolenihmw have the highest median values indicating more Pohnpeian selections overall for them. Nett, Uh, and Sokehs have

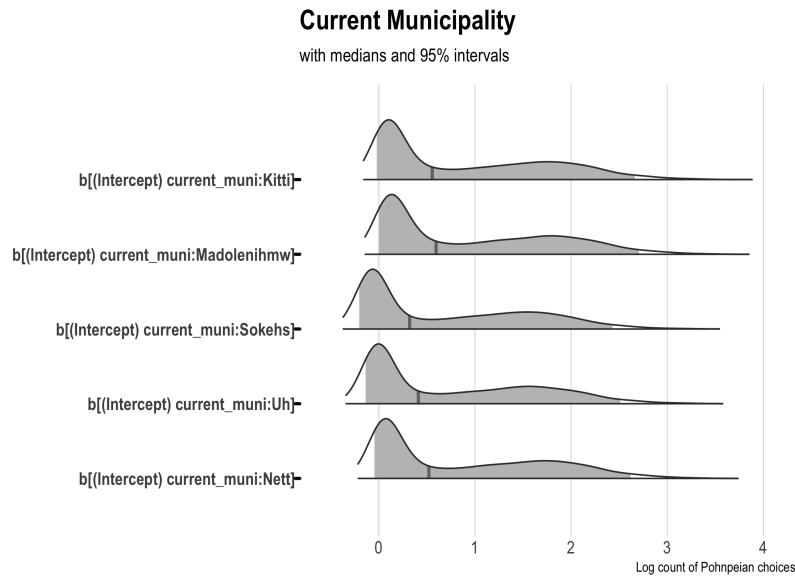


Figure 5.41. Posterior distributions for current municipality for Pohnpeian HPM

about the same medians, though slight differences with Nett having slightly more than Uh and Uh having slightly more than Sokehs.

5.3.1.2.6 Summary of meaningful predictors for Pohnpeian selections

Of the 31 predictor groups used in the Pohnpeian selections HPM, only 19 are meaningfully different from the grand mean. The 19 predictors are listed in Table 5.10.

5.3.1.3 All other language selections

This section presents the HNBM results for the number of all other language selections. The languages includes are Kosraean, Mortlockese, Mwokilese, Chuukese, Pingelapese, and Other. HPM was not used for this model, because the data are overdispersed as a result of the high number of 0 responses and the relatively low number of selections. HNBM is better able to model the data and was used in lieu of HPM. The results of the HNBM are interpreted the same way as the HPM. The summary information of the model's posterior distribution is given in Table 5.11. The table also indicates which group each of the parameters represents.

The baseline for the other languages selection, the grand mean, is -0.7 log selections with an HDI of [-2.8, 1.4]. When converted from log-space, the grand mean has an other languages selection incidence rate of 49.7% or $e^{-0.7}$.

Table 5.10. Pohnpeian HPM meaningful predictors

Predictor	Meaning	Effect (relative to grand mean)
age1	18–24 years old	less Pohnpeian
age2	25–34 years old	less Pohnpeian
age4	45–54 years old	more Pohnpeian
birth location1	Pohnpei State	more Pohnpeian
birth location3	USA	more Pohnpeian
travelled abroad1	Not travelled abroad	more Pohnpeian
time PNI1	0–4 years	less Pohnpeian
time PNI2	5–9 years	less Pohnpeian
time PNI3	10–19 years	more Pohnpeian
time PNI4	20–29 years	more Pohnpeian
time PNI5	30–39 years	more Pohnpeian
meing1	Not at all	less Pohnpeian
education1	Not high school graduate	more Pohnpeian
education2	High school graduate	less Pohnpeian
education5	Bachelor's degree	less Pohnpeian
Elementary type1	Public elementary	more Pohnpeian
Elementary type2	Private elementary	less Pohnpeian
High school type1	Public high school	less Pohnpeian
High school type2	Private high school	more Pohnpeian

5.3.1.3.1 Age and gender

This section discusses the age and gender posterior distributions for all other languages selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.42.

None of the age nor gender groups are meaningfully different from the Intercept. Each group for these two variables have high levels of overlap with zero, which indicate a high probability of similarity with the grand mean.

5.3.1.3.2 Birth location and travel abroad

This section discusses the birth location and travel abroad posterior distributions for all other languages selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.43.

Of the six birth locations, only group 2, Chuuk State, is meaningfully different from the grand mean. Group 2 has on average 2.3 more log other language selections than the grand mean and no overlap with 0 [0.3, 4.5].

The travel abroad group does not have any meaningful differences from the grand mean.

Table 5.11. Other languages HNBM posterior summary

Parameter	mean	sd	2.5%	97.5%	Meaning of predictor
(Intercept)	-0.7	1.1	-2.8	1.4	Grand mean
age1	0.6	0.7	-0.7	2	18–24 years old
age2	0.7	0.6	-0.5	2	25–34 years old
age3	0.7	0.6	-0.5	1.9	35–44 years old
age4	0	0.7	-1.4	1.5	45–54 years old
age5	0.2	0.8	-1.4	1.8	55–64 years old
age6	-1.5	1.7	-5	1.6	65–74 years old
sex1	0.1	0.2	-0.3	0.4	women
birth location1	-0.5	0.6	-1.8	0.7	Pohnpei State
birth location2	2.3	1.1	0.3	4.5	Chuuk State
birth location3	-0.4	1.1	-2.3	1.8	USA
birth location4	0.6	1.2	-1.6	2.9	Kosrae State
birth location5	-0.9	1.2	-3.2	1.6	Other
birth location6	-0.2	1.9	-3.6	3.7	RMI
travelled abroad1	0	0.2	-0.4	0.3	Not travelled abroad
time pni1	0	0.7	-1.5	1.4	0–4 years
time pni2	0	0.8	-1.5	1.6	5–9 years
time pni3	0.2	0.5	-0.7	1.2	10–19 years
time pni4	-0.1	0.4	-0.9	0.7	20–29 years
time pni5	-0.1	0.5	-0.9	0.9	30–39 years
education1	-0.5	0.5	-1.4	0.4	Not H.S. grad
education2	-0.1	0.6	-1.2	1.2	H.S. grad
education3	0	0.5	-1	1	Some college
education4	-0.2	0.6	-1.4	1	Associate degree
education5	0.3	0.7	-1	1.8	Bachelor's degree
elementary type1	0.2	0.8	-1.4	1.8	Public elementary
elementary type2	0.9	0.8	-0.8	2.5	Private elementary
hs type1	0.5	0.3	-0.1	1.1	Public H.S.
hs type2	0.1	0.5	-0.8	1.1	Private H.S.
meing1	0.1	0.4	-0.8	0.9	Not at all
meing2	0	0.4	-0.8	0.8	Somewhat well
meing3	-0.4	0.5	-1.4	0.5	Well

5.3.1.3.3 Years on Pohnpei and Meing ability

This section discusses the years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability posterior distributions for all other languages selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.44.

None of the time on Pohnpei or Meing groups has any meaningful differences from the grand mean given their high level of overlap with 0.



Figure 5.42. Posterior distributions for age and gender for other languages HNBM

5.3.1.3.4 Education level and type of schools

This section discusses the education level, type of elementary school, and type of high school posterior distributions for all other languages selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.45.

None of the five education groups or the two elementary type groups are meaningfully different from the grand mean.

High school type group 1, public high school, is mostly different from the grand mean with an average of 0.5 more log other language selections than the grand mean. The group's HDI has 8.3% overlap with 0 [-0.1, 1.1], which indicates a slight probability of similarity with the grand mean, though 91.7% of the HDI does not overlap, which mean it is mostly different.

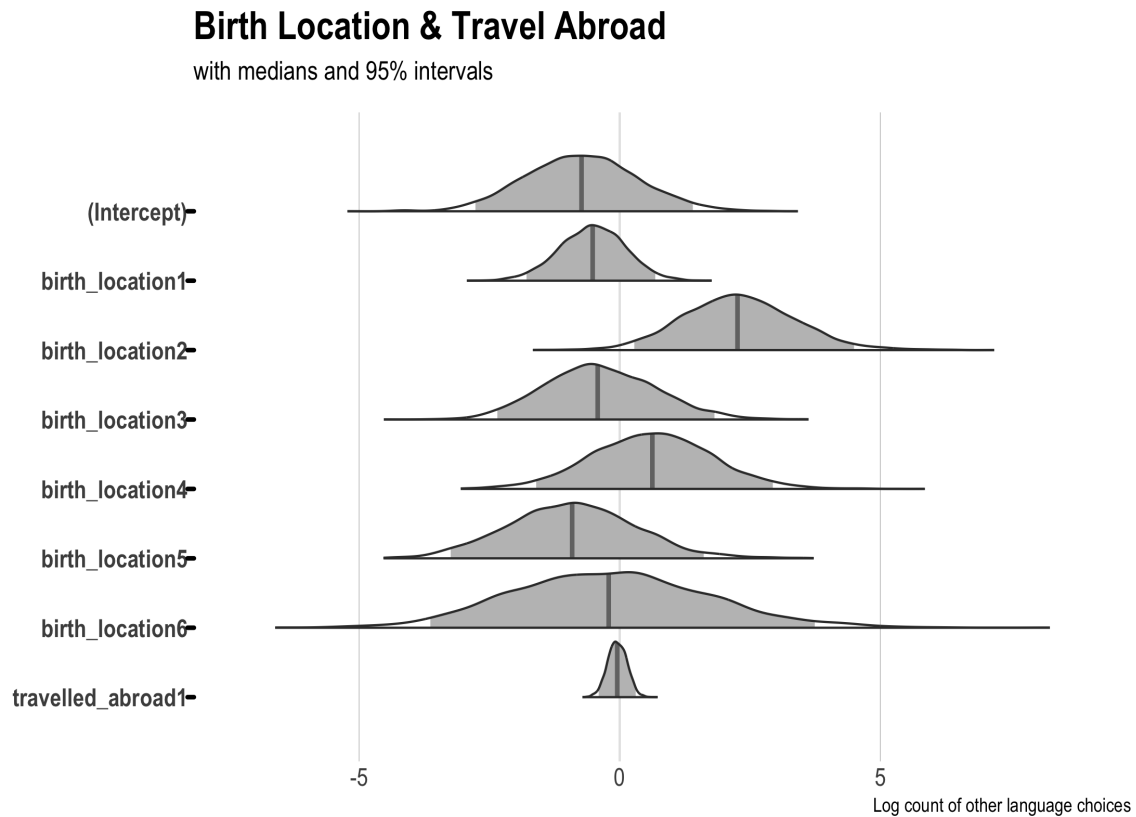


Figure 5.43. Posterior distributions for birth location and travel abroad for other languages HNBM

5.3.1.3.5 Current municipality (grouping variable)

This section discusses the current municipality (grouping variable) posterior distributions for all other languages selections. They are plotted in Figure 5.46.

The municipalities all have strongly overlapping HDIs centered close to 0. Sokehs and Nett have the highest positive median values, which indicate more other language selections for them, followed by Uh, Madolenihmw, and Kitty, which all have negative median values.

5.3.1.3.6 Summary of meaningful predictors for all other languages selections

Of the 31 predictor groups used in the all other languages selections HNBM, only two are meaningfully different from the grand mean. The two predictors are listed in Table 5.12.

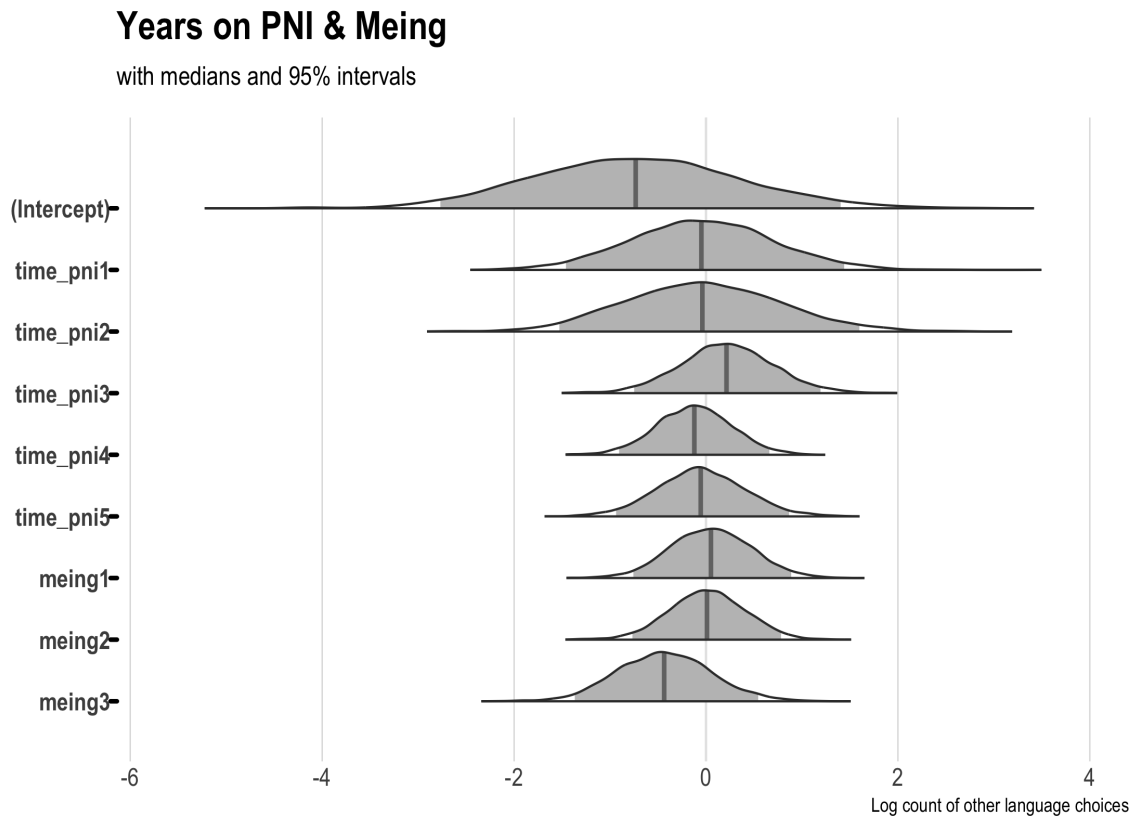


Figure 5.44. Posterior distributions for years on Pohnpei and reported Meing ability for other languages HNBM

Table 5.12. All other languages HNBM meaningful predictors

Predictor	Meaning	Effect (relative to grand mean)
birth location2	Chuuk State	more other languages
High school type1	Public high school	more other languages

5.3.2 Hierarchical cumulative link modeling

The Hierarchical cumulative link modeling (HCLM) presented in this section was used to answer the question: who is more likely to report a higher Meing ability. To do this, the answers to the Meing ability question (question 2.3) was used as the dependent variable. Since the choices to this answer, ‘Not at all,’ ‘Somewhat well,’ ‘Well,’ and ‘Very well’ represent an ordinal variable, HCLM was used since it is designed for ordinal variables.

To determine the groups, the demographic variables age, gender, birth location, travel abroad, time on Pohnpei, education level, elementary type, and high school type were used. Current section

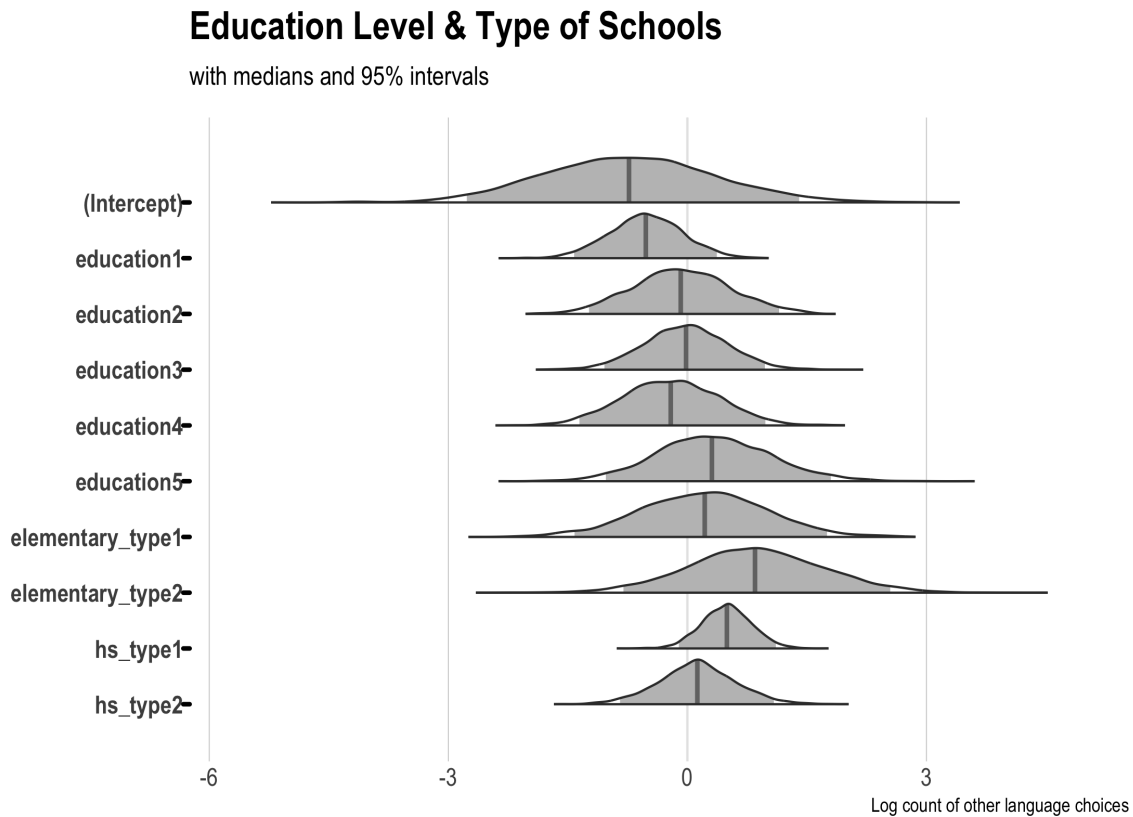


Figure 5.45. Posterior distributions for education level and types of school for other languages HNBM

nested inside current municipality were used as grouping variables. The poststratification weights were not used in this section like the previous models, since the *R* package *brms* that was used to run the HCLM cannot yet incorporate them.

Since eight demographic variables were used, the results are presented graphically in five groups: (1) age and gender, (2) birth location and travel abroad, (3) years on Pohnpei, (4) education level and types of elementary and high schools, and (5) current municipality (grouping variable). Table 5.13 gives the summary information for the HCLM posterior distributions as well as what each predictor means. The values given indicate the log odds of a one level increase in reported Meing ability for that predictor.

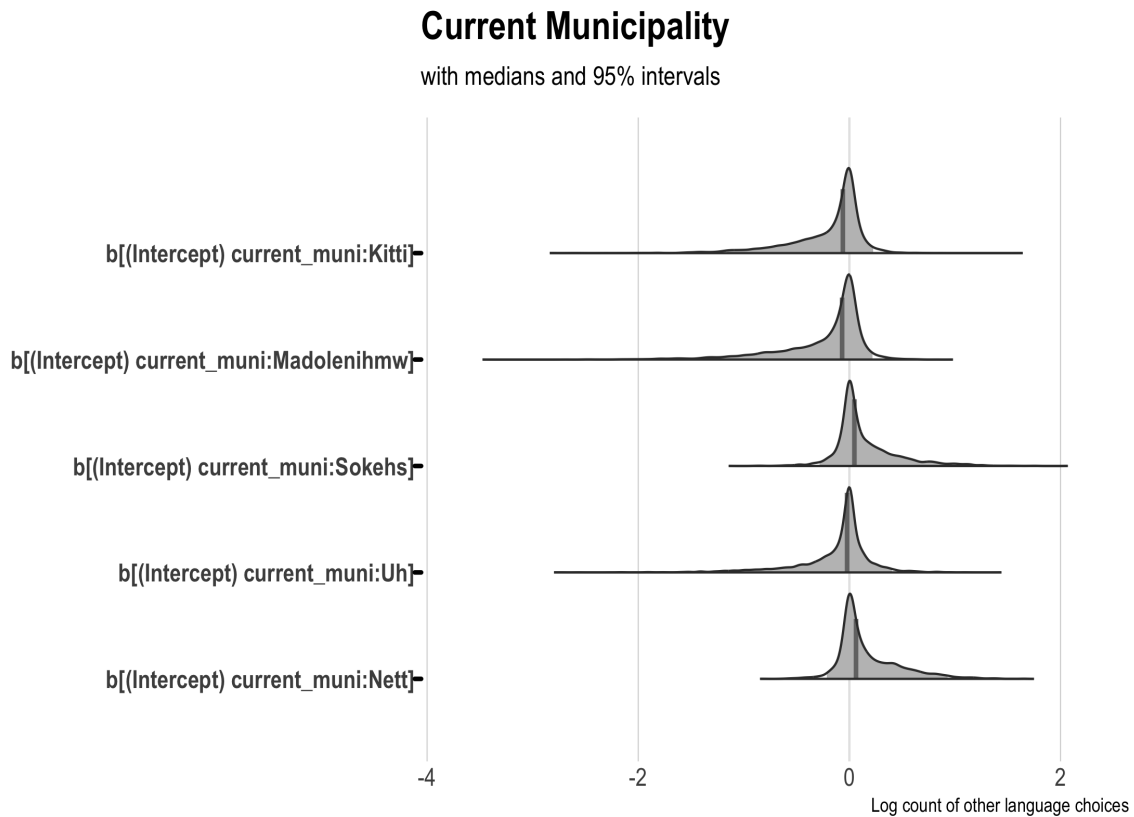


Figure 5.46. Posterior distributions for current municipality for other languages HNB

5.3.2.1 Age and gender

This section discusses the age and gender posterior distributions for the reported Meing HCLM. They are plotted in Figure 5.47.

Of the six age groups, only group 4, 45–54 years old, does not overlap with 0 $[-1.74, -0.07]$. Group 4 has a mean log odds of -0.90 having a one unit increase in reported Meing ability (59% less likely than the baseline of having a greater Meing ability). All the other age groups have significant overlap with 0.

Gender group 1, women, has a mean log odds of -0.50 and no overlap with 0 $[-0.77, -0.23]$. This means that women are 39% less likely than men to report a higher Meing ability.

Table 5.13. Report Meing ability HCLM posterior summary

Predictor	mean	sd	2.5%	97.5%	Meaning of predictor
age1	0.41	0.52	-0.58	1.46	18–24 years old
age2	0.08	0.45	-0.79	0.96	25–34 years old
age3	-0.52	0.42	-1.36	0.30	35–44 years old
age4	-0.90	0.42	-1.74	-0.07	45–54 years old
age5	-0.65	0.52	-1.66	0.37	55–64 years old
age6	0.03	0.82	-1.63	1.65	65–74 years old
sex1	-0.50	0.14	-0.77	-0.23	women
birth location1	0.15	0.55	-0.93	1.26	Pohnpei State
birth location2	-3.14	1.43	-6.32	-0.60	Chuuk State
birth location3	-0.29	0.63	-1.51	0.98	USA
birth location4	-1.70	1.68	-5.15	1.39	Kosrae State
birth location5	0.78	0.96	-1.10	2.70	Other
birth location6	3.50	1.12	1.34	5.77	RMI
travelled abroad1	-0.12	0.16	-0.42	0.19	Not travelled abroad
time pni1	-3.94	1.33	-6.84	-1.58	0–4 years
time pni2	-2.56	1.13	-4.84	-0.51	5–9 years
time pni3	0.66	0.46	-0.21	1.56	10–19 years
time pni4	1.03	0.42	0.26	1.89	20–29 years
time pni5	1.98	0.52	1.02	3.03	30–39 years
education1	0.06	0.34	-0.62	0.71	Not H.S. grad.
education2	0.46	0.43	-0.39	1.32	H.S. grad.
education3	0.57	0.32	-0.03	1.21	Some college
education4	-0.17	0.39	-0.91	0.61	Associate degree
education5	0.35	0.48	-0.57	1.28	Bachelor’s degree
elementary type1	-0.78	0.45	-1.66	0.09	Public elementary
elementary type2	-1.40	0.51	-2.433	-0.40	Private elementary
hs type1	0.36	0.22	-0.05	0.81	Public H.S.
hs type2	-0.25	0.34	-0.92	0.43	Private H.S.

5.3.2.2 Birth location and travel abroad

This section discusses the birth location and travel abroad posterior distributions for the reported Meing HCLM. They are plotted in Figure 5.48.

Of the six birth location groups, only group 2 (Chuuk State) and group 6 (RMI) do not overlap with 0. Those in group 2 have a mean log odds of -3.14 [-6.23, -0.60] for a higher Meing score, which means they are 96% less likely than the grand mean to have a reported higher Meing ability. Those in group 6, however, have a mean log odds of 3.50 [1.34, 5.77], which means they are 33 times more likely to have a reported higher Meing ability than the grand mean.

There is no meaningful difference for travel abroad.

Age & Gender

with medians and 95% intervals

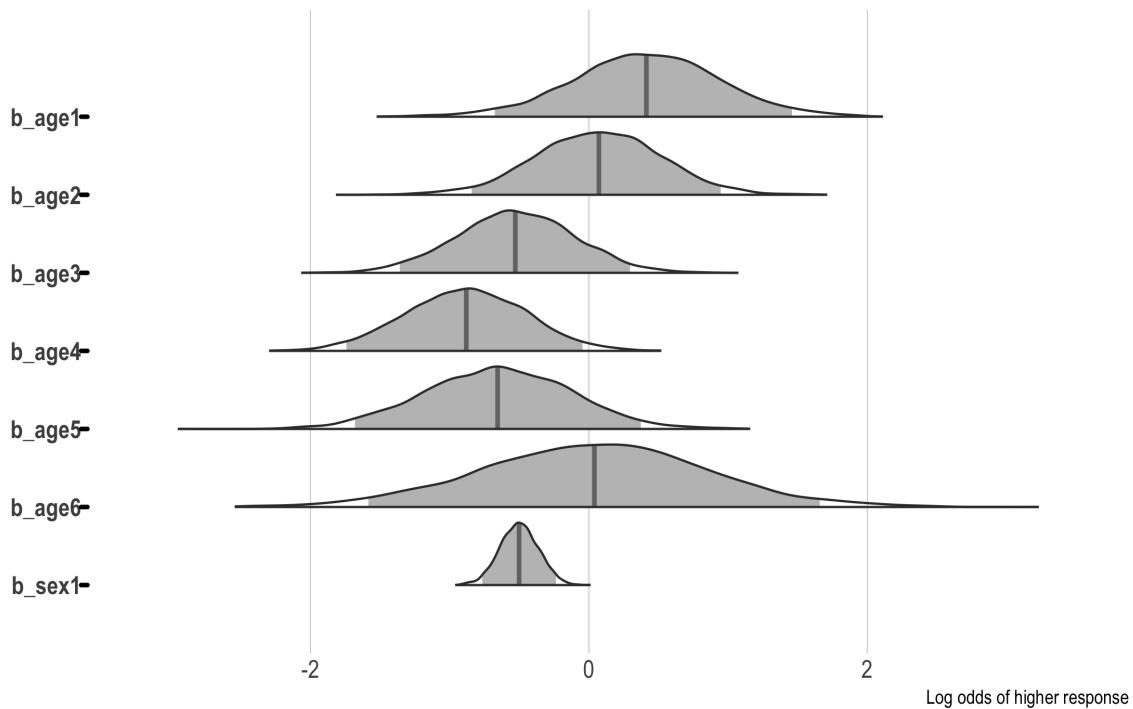


Figure 5.47. Posterior distributions for age and gender for Meing HCLM

5.3.2.3 Years on Pohnpei

This section discusses the years on Pohnpei posterior distributions for the reported Meing HCLM. They are plotted in Figure 5.49.

Of the five years on Pohnpei groups, four do not overlap with 0: (1) group 1, 0–4 years, (2) group 2, 5–9 years, (3) group 4, 20–29 years, and (4) group 5, 30–39 years. Group 1 has a mean log odds of -3.94 [-6.84, -1.58], which means that they are 98% less likely to have a higher reported Meing ability. Group 2 has a mean log odds of -2.56 [-4.84, -0.51], which translates to that group being 92% less likely to have a higher Meing ability. Group 4 has a mean log odds of 1.03 [0.26, 1.89], which means that they are 2.8 times more likely to have a higher ability. Group 5 has a mean log odds of 1.98 [1.02, 3.03] so they are 7.2 times more likely to have a higher ability.

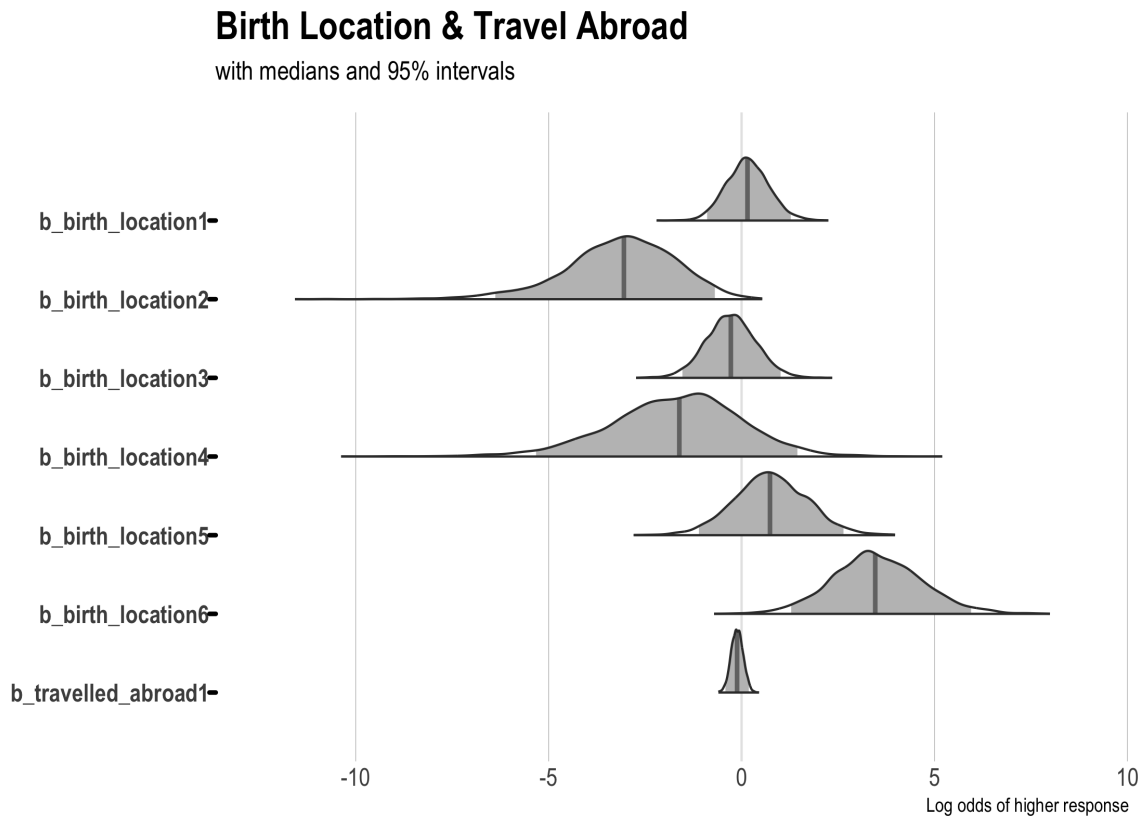


Figure 5.48. Posterior distributions for birth location and travel abroad for Meing HCLM

Overall, if one spend 0–9 years on Pohnpei, they are less likely to report a higher Meing ability. From 10–19 years, they have the same odds as the grand mean. For 20 or more years on Pohnpei, then a person is more likely to report a higher ability.

5.3.2.4 Education level and types of schools

This section discusses the education level and types of schools posterior distributions for the reported Meing HCLM. They are plotted in Figure 5.50.

Of the five education groups, only one is meaningfully different from the reference group: group 3 ‘Some college.’ This group has a mean log odds of 0.57 and slight overlap with 0 [-0.03, 1.21]. On average, this group is 1.8 times more likely to have a higher reported Meing ability. None of the other education level groups are meaningfully different from the grand mean.

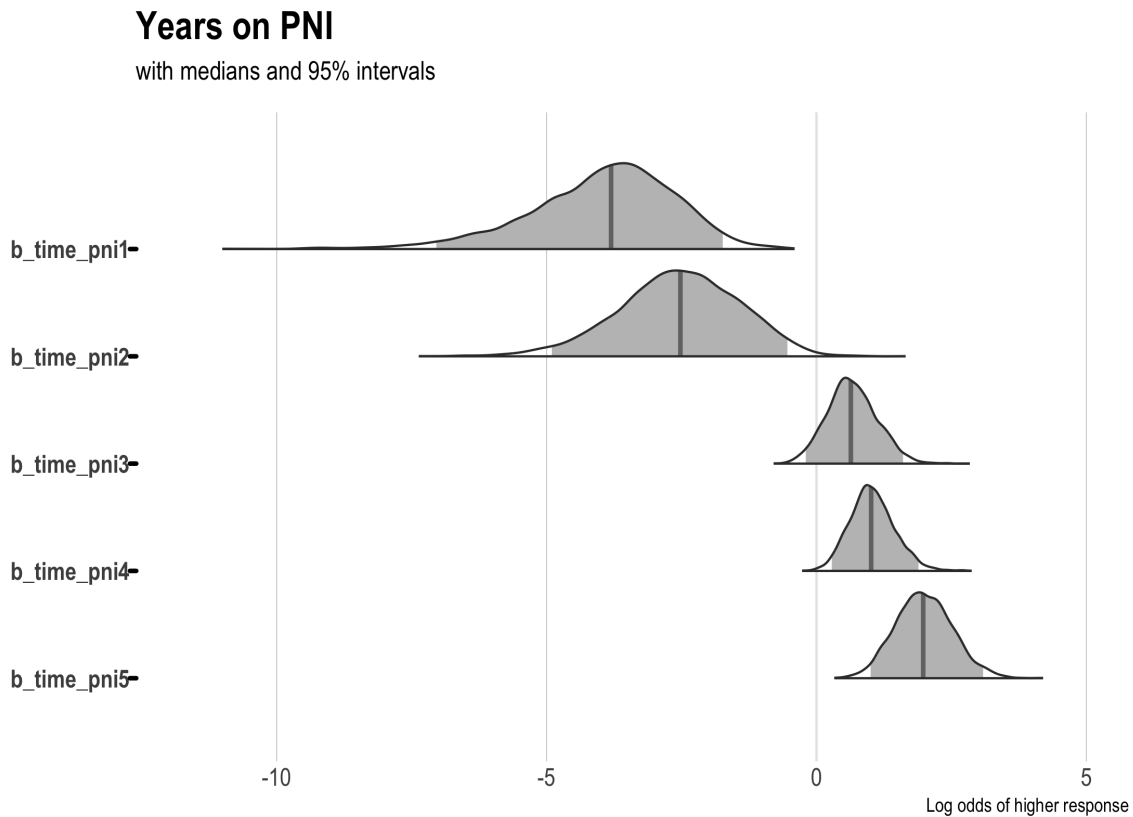


Figure 5.49. Posterior distributions for years on Pohnpei for Meing HCLM

For elementary school type, both groups are meaningfully different from the grand mean. Group 1, public elementary, has a mean log odds of -0.78 and slight overlap with 0 [-1.66, 0.09], which means on average they are 54% less likely to have a higher ability. Group 2, private elementary, has a mean log odds of -1.40 and no overlap with 0 [-2.43, -0.40], which corresponds to that them being 75% less likely to have a reported higher ability. Both groups have lower reported abilities, but those who attended a private elementary school have lower reported Meing abilities than for public school attendees.

For high school type, those who attended a public high school have a mean log odds of 0.36 and a slight overlap with 0 [-0.05, 0.81], which means that they are 1.4 times more likely to have a higher Meing ability than the grand mean. Those who attended a private high school, group 2, are not meaningfully different from the grand mean.

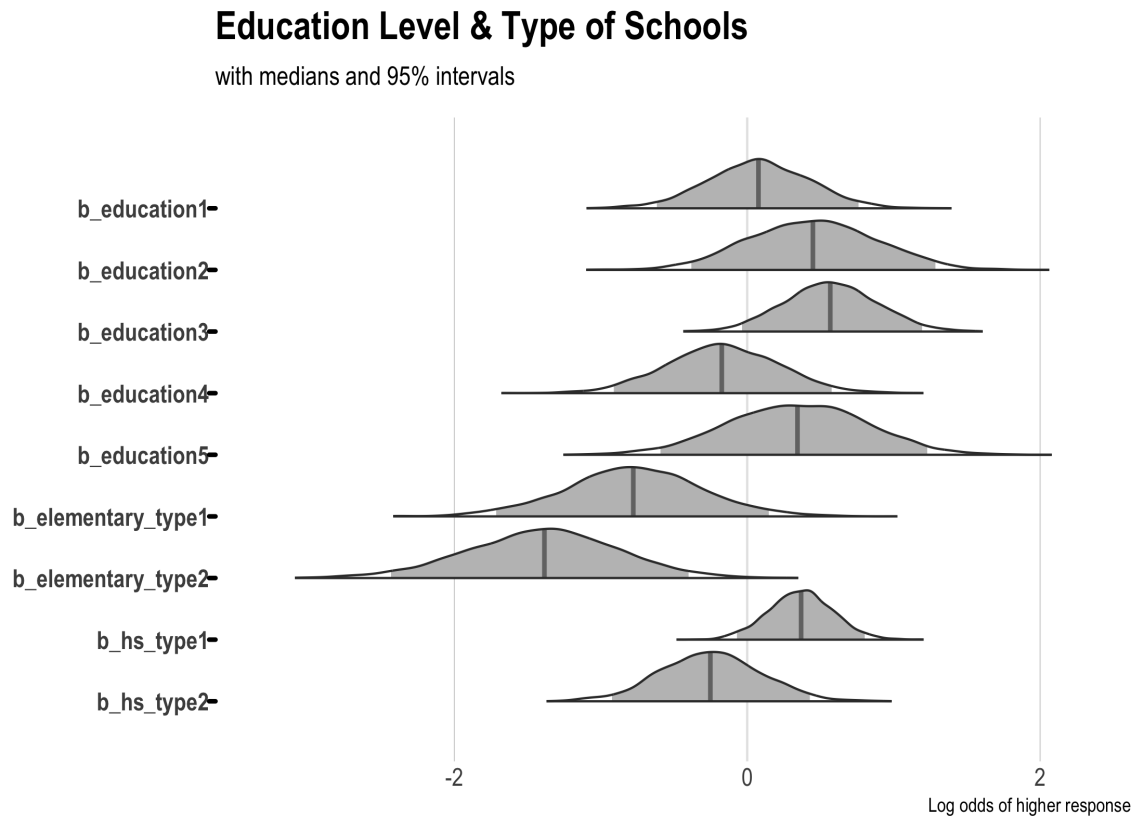


Figure 5.50. Posterior distributions for education level and types of school for Meing HCLM

5.3.2.5 Current municipality (grouping variable)

This section discusses the current municipality posterior distributions for the reported Meing HCLM. They are plotted in Figure 5.51.

The HDIs for each of the municipalities have high overlaps. Kittu has the highest positive median value, followed by Sokehs, which indicate higher Meing abilities for them overall. Uh, Nett, and Madolenihmw have negative medians, which indicates lower Meing abilities for them.

5.3.2.6 Summary of meaningful predictors for Meing HCLM

Of the 28 predictor groups used in the reported Meing HCLM, only 13 are meaningfully different from the grand mean. The 13 predictors are listed in Table 5.14.

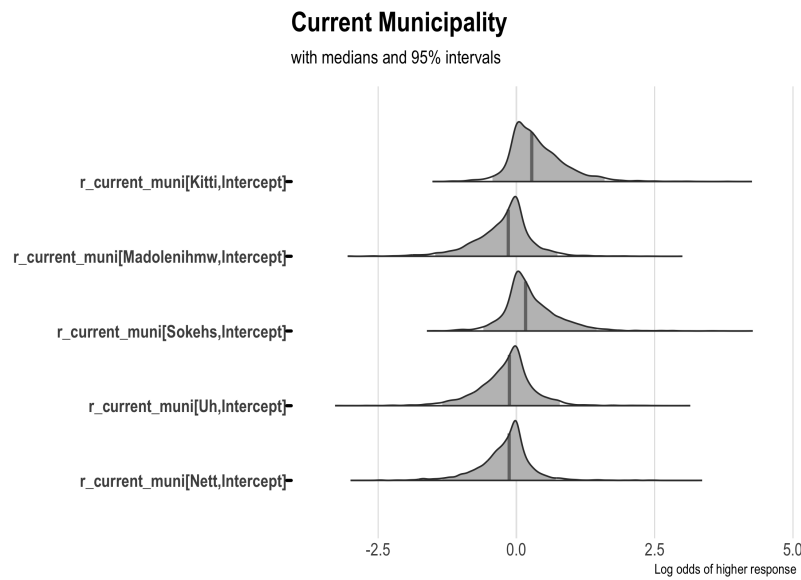


Figure 5.51. Posterior distributions for current municipality for Meing HCLM

Table 5.14. Meing HCLM meaningful predictors

Predictor	Meaning	Effect (relative to grand mean)
age4	45–54 years old	lower Meing ability
sex1	women	lower Meing ability
birth location2	Chuuk State	lower Meing ability
birth location6	RMI	higher Meing ability
time PNI1	0–4 years	lower Meing ability
time PNI2	5–9 years	lower Meing ability
time PNI4	20–29 years	higher Meing ability
time PNI5	30–39 years	higher Meing ability
education3	some college	higher Meing ability
elementary type1	public elementary	lower Meing ability
elementary type 2	private elementary	lower Meing ability
high school type1	public high school	higher Meing ability

5.4 Multidimensional scaling and cluster analysis

This section presents the results of the multidimensional scaling (MDS) and partitioning around medoids (PAM) clustering analysis. This analysis allows groups to emerge from the data, rather than using predetermined categories like hierarchical regression modeling (see §4.2.4.2 for more background details). Three different clustering analyses were completed for each of the questionnaire’s language attitudes sections: (1) language importance by domain (§5.4.1), (2) agreement with state-

ments about languages on Pohnpeian (§5.4.2), and (3) level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian (§5.4.3).

5.4.1 Language importance by domain

In this section, the results of the MDS+PAM analysis for the language importance by domain questions are presented. Using the silhouette method, two clusters were found in the data. The two clusters are visualized in Figure 5.52. Each point in the figure represents a single respondent. Based on how the data cluster, it appears that a rough dividing point is 0 on the first variable (V1) of the MDS, which corresponds to the x-axis. It appears that positive values of V2 correspond to more English selections and negative values more Pohnpeian selections. It is not immediately clear what V2 corresponds with, though it may be more non-Pohnpeian or non-English responses. Based on these groupings, cluster 1 appears to find English important for more domains and cluster 2 finds Pohnpeian to be more important, though other languages also appear in those clusters.

To see how each of the two clusters differ in their language selections, the responses for each domain are shown, grouped by the two clusters. The results are shown by macro-domains: (1) social solidarity (§5.4.1.1), (2) occupation (§5.4.1.2), (3) education (§5.4.1.3), (4) media (§5.4.1.4), (5) Pohnpei specific (§5.4.1.5), and (6) general (§5.4.1.6).

5.4.1.1 Social solidarity

The social solidarity clusters correspond to two groups: cluster 1 generally prefers more English and cluster 2 prefers more Pohnpeian. But, this trend is not true for each question. The results for each question are shown in Figure 5.53.

For cluster 1, English is the most common language for ‘Feeling happy in your relationships,’ ‘Making friends,’ and ‘Speaking with relatives in the US.’ These questions also had high levels of Pohnpeian and relatively high levels of all the other possible language choices. The questions about relationships and relatives had the highest diversity of answers, which reflects Pohnpei’s linguistic diversity.

The other questions for cluster 1 have Pohnpeian majority responses: ‘Being accepted in Pohnpei,’ ‘Talking with people in Kolonia,’ ‘Talking with people in the sections of Pohnpei,’ and ‘Talking with your neighbors.’ All of these questions have English as the second most common answer. ‘Talking with people in the sections of Pohnpei,’ though, has relatively low levels of English responses compared to the rest of the questions. All but one of the questions with Pohnpeian majority responses also have languages other than Pohnpeian and English, with ‘Talking with neighbors’ having the most. ‘Being accepted in Pohnpei’ only has Pohnpeian followed by English as the selected languages.

MDS plot for domain questions

Colored by PAM cluster

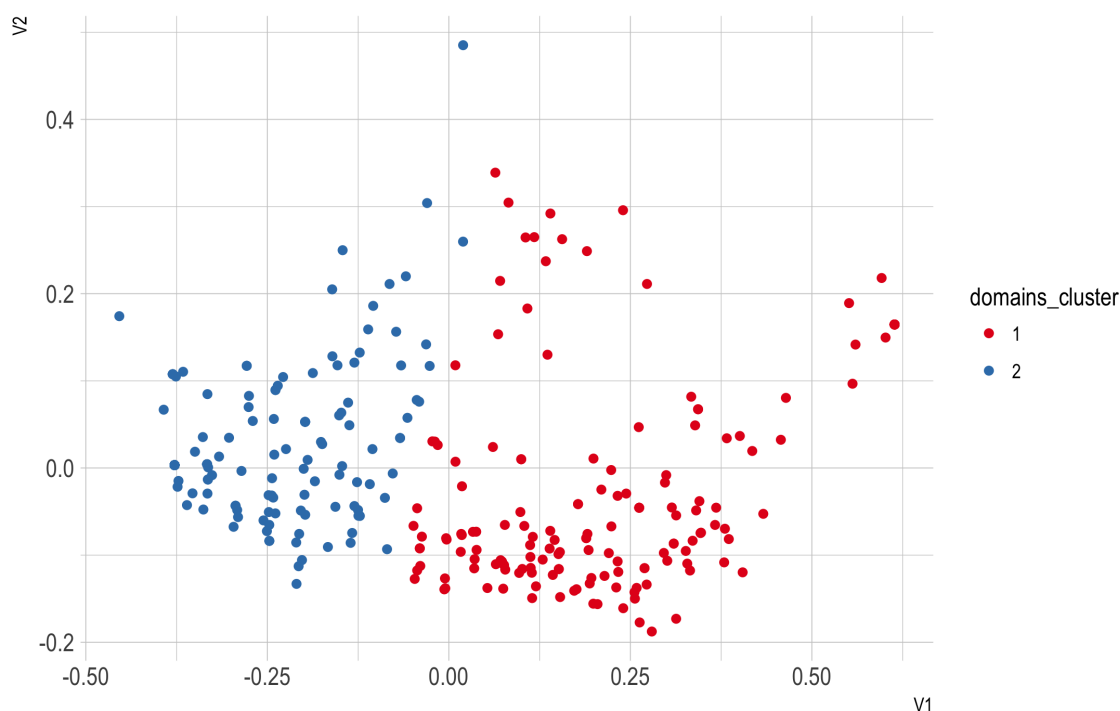


Figure 5.52. MDS of language importance by domains by PAM cluster

For cluster 2, Pohnpeian is the most common language for all the questions. English is a distant second for all the questions, with ‘Talking with people in the sections of Pohnpei’ and ‘Talking with people in Kolonia’ having very few English selections. ‘Being accepted in Pohnpei’ has the most English selections for cluster 2, though still a low proportion of responses. ‘Being accepted in Pohnpei’ also has five languages represented, compared to two in cluster 1.

Cluster 2 has a relatively low proportion of responses for languages other than Pohnpeian and English. Most of the questions have only 3–4 different languages selected, with the most being five, ‘Being accepted in Pohnpei,’ and least three, ‘Making friends’ and ‘Talking with people in the sections of Pohnpei.’ The levels of other languages are also quite low compared with cluster 1, which has both higher rate of occurrence and all the possible languages represented for many of the questions. Overall cluster 2 shows less diversity in responses than cluster 1.

Language importance by PAM cluster

Social solidarity domains

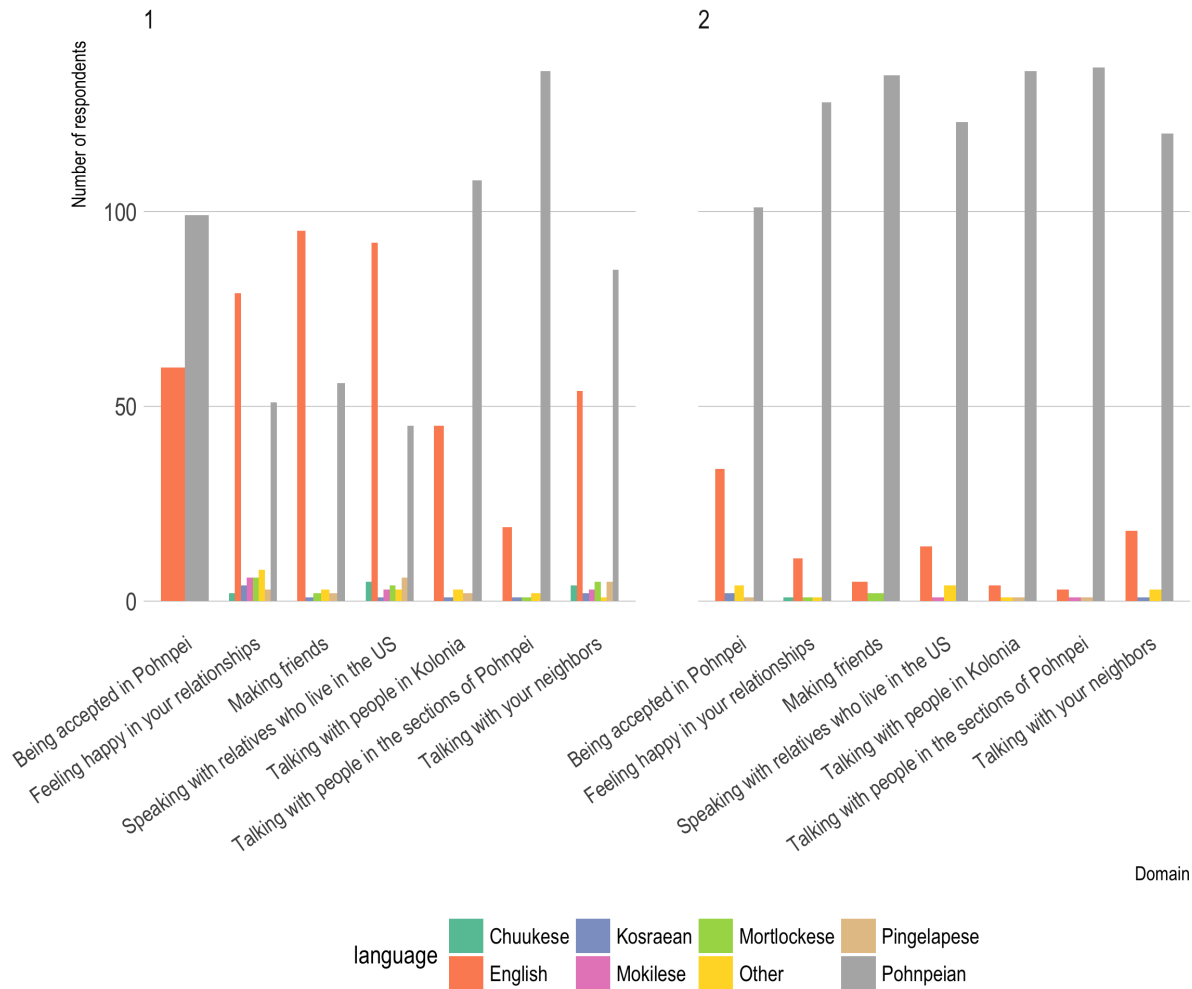


Figure 5.53. Language importance for social solidarity domains by PAM cluster

5.4.1.2 Occupation

The occupation clusters correspond to two groups: cluster 1 generally prefers more English and cluster 2 prefers more Pohnpeian. The results for each question are shown in Figure 5.54.

Cluster 1 strongly prefers English for each of the three occupation domains. Pohnpeian is the second most common answer for each of the questions, though there are fewer than 25 selections

Language importance by PAM cluster

Occupation domains

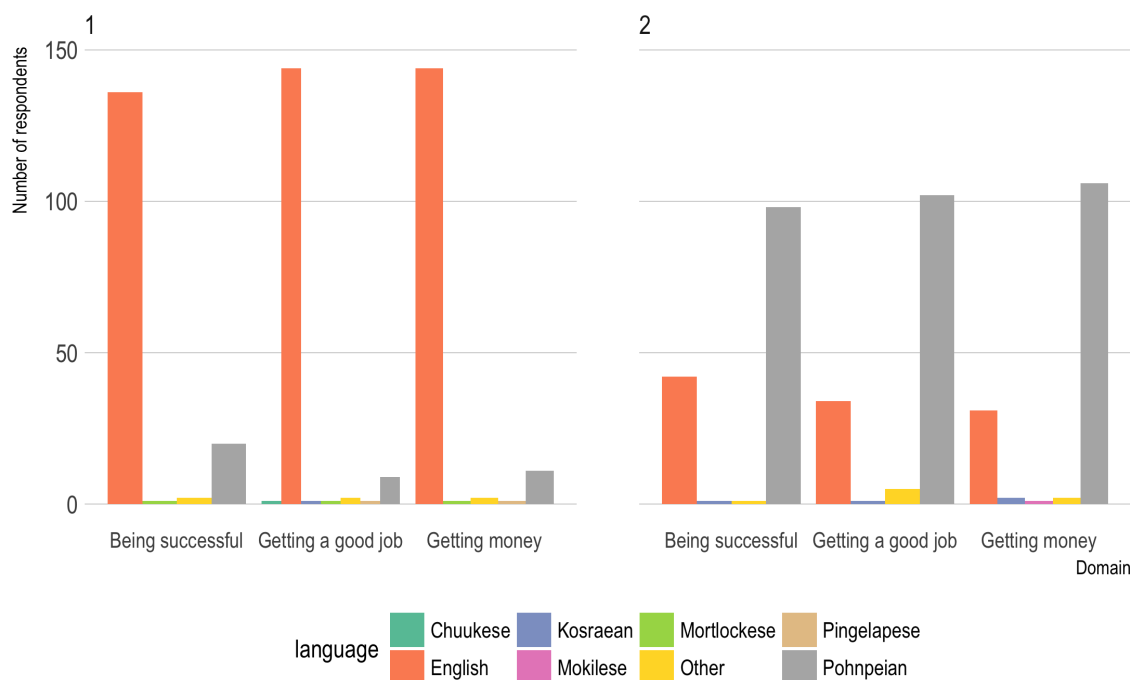


Figure 5.54. Language importance for occupation domains by PAM cluster

for each question, compared to the almost 150 English selections for each domain. The third most common selection is 'Other', followed by Mortlockese, Pingelapese, and Kosraean. These language options only had a handful of selections each. Of the four domains, 'Getting a good job' has the most diverse language selections with seven different languages, but it also had the most English selections. 'Getting money' has five different languages and 'Being successful' has four. 'Being successful' also has the most Pohnpeian selection of the four domain, though still quite low compared to the number of English selections.

Cluster 2 has more Pohnpeian selections than any other language for the four occupation domains. English is the second most common language, followed distantly by 'Other', then Kosraean and Mwokilese. The divide between Pohnpeian and English selection for these domains is less than the divide for cluster 1. 'Being successful' has the most English selections and the fewest Pohnpei selections of the four domains. 'Getting money' has the most Pohnpeian selections and fewest En-

glish. ‘Getting money’ also has the most diversity with five different languages, followed by ‘Being successful’ and ‘Getting a good job’, which each have four different languages.

5.4.1.3 Education

The education clusters correspond to two groups: cluster 1 generally prefers more English and cluster 2 prefers more Pohnpeian. The results for each question are shown in Figure 5.55.

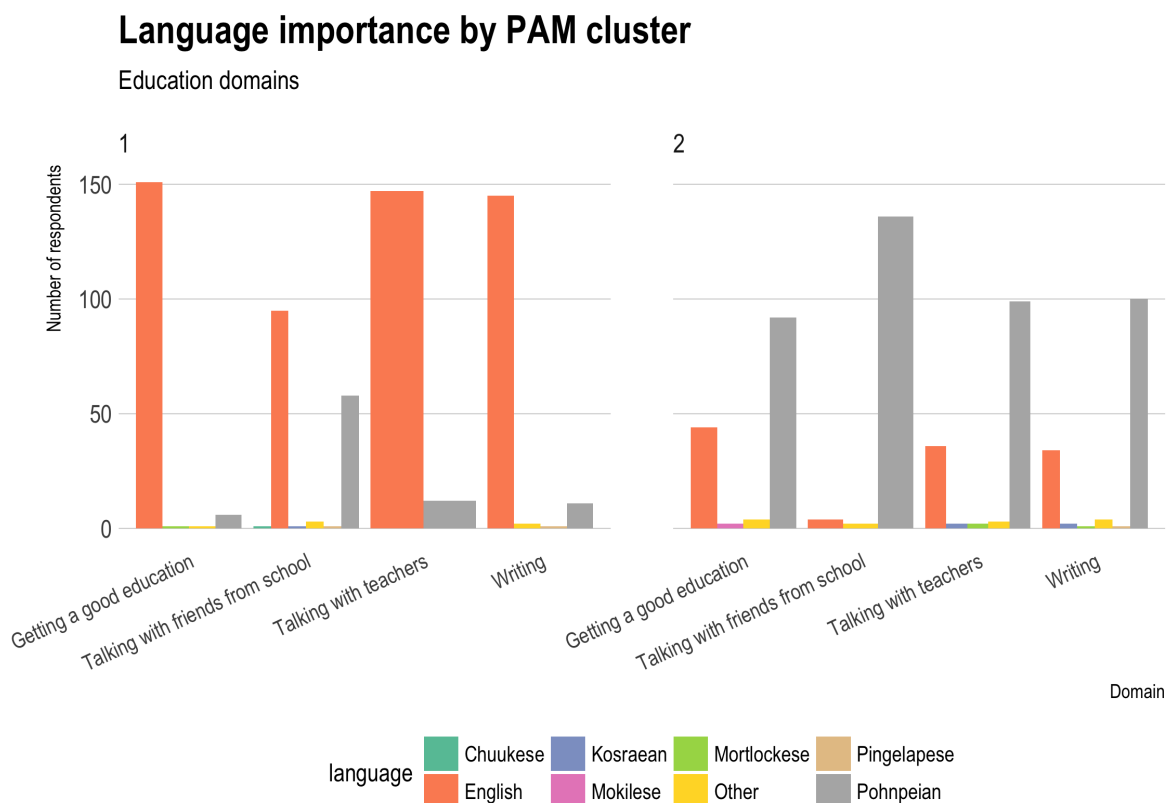


Figure 5.55. Language importance for education domains by PAM cluster

Cluster 1 has English as the most common selection for each of the four education domains. Pohnpeian is the second most common selection, followed by ‘Other’. ‘Getting a good education’ has the most English selections of the four domains. It also has the least number of Pohnpeian selections. ‘Other’ and ‘Mortlockese’ were also selected, but with very low numbers. ‘Talking with teachers’ has the second most highest number of English selections and the second lowest number of Pohnpeian selections. This domain only has two languages: English and Pohnpeian. ‘Writing’ has the third

highest number of English selections, which is only marginally lower than both ‘Getting a good education’ and ‘Talking with teachers’. It also has the third lowest rate of Pohnpeian selections. The third most common selection for ‘Writing’ is ‘Other’, followed by Pingelapese. ‘Talking with friends from school’ has also English as the most common selection but much less than the other three domains. It also has the highest number of Pohnpeian selection and the greatest diversity of responses with six different languages selected.

Cluster 2 has Pohnpeian as the most common selection for each of the four education domains. English is the second most common followed distantly by ‘Other’, Kosraean, and Pingelapese. ‘Talking with friends from school’ has the highest number of Pohnpeian selections and the lowest number of English. ‘Writing’ and ‘Talking with teachers’ have similar rates of Pohnpeian and English respectively and have the second highest number of Pohnpeian selections and second lowest number of English selections. They also have the greatest diversity of the education domains with ‘Writing’ have six languages and ‘Talking with teachers’ five. ‘Talking with friends from school’ has the least diversity with only three languages represented. ‘Getting a good education’ has the lowest rate of Pohnpeian selection and the highest rate of English.

5.4.1.4 Media

The media clusters correspond to two groups: cluster 1 generally prefers more English and cluster 2 prefers more Pohnpeian. The results for each question are shown in Figure 5.56.

Cluster 1 has English as the most common selection for each of the four media domains. ‘Watching TV’ has the most English selections and almost no Pohnpeian selections. ‘Reading’ has the second highest number of English selections and the second lowest number of Pohnpeian selections. It also has a handful of Mortlockese and Pingelapese selections. ‘Using Facebook’ has the third highest number of English selections and the third lowest number of Pohnpeian selections. It also has the most diversity, with seven different language selections (all selections but Mortlockese). ‘Listening to the radio’ has the lowest number of English selections and the highest number of Pohnpeian selections. Along with ‘Watching TV’ is has five different language selections. ‘Reading’ is the least diverse with only four different language selections.

Cluster 2 has Pohnpeian as the most common selection for each of the four media domains. ‘Using Facebook’ has the most Pohnpeian selections and the least number of English selections. ‘Listening to the radio’ has the second highest number of Pohnpeian selections and the second lowest number of English selections. It also has the highest number of Kosraean responses. ‘Reading’ has the third highest number of Pohnpeian responses and the second highest number of English responses. ‘Watching TV’ has the lowest number of Pohnpeian selections and the highest number of English selections. It

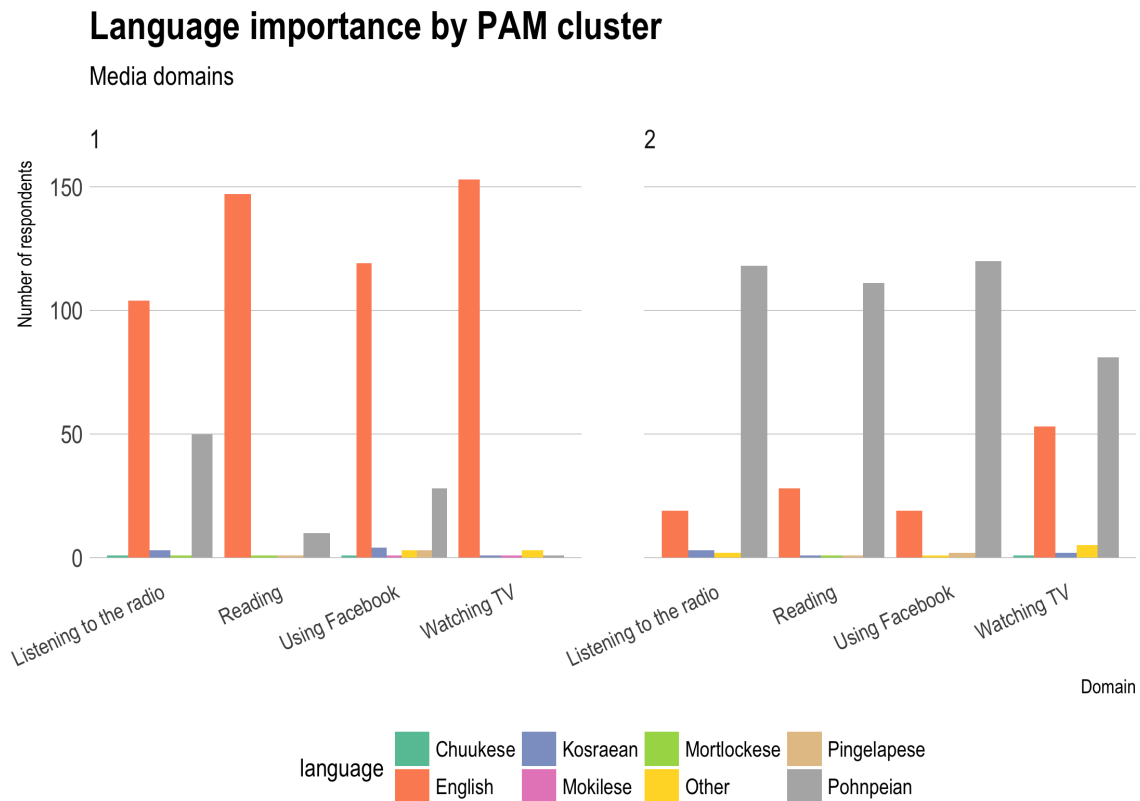


Figure 5.56. Language importance for media domains by PAM cluster

also has the highest number of ‘Other’ responses. ‘Watching TV’ and ‘Reading’ have the most diverse responses with five different languages represented. The other two questions both have four different languages represented.

5.4.1.5 Pohnpei-specific

The Pohnpei-specific clusters correspond to two groups: cluster 1 generally prefers more Pohnpeian but has higher rate of English and other languages, while cluster 2 mostly prefers only Pohnpeian. The results for each question are shown in Figure 5.57.

Cluster 1 has Pohnpeian as the most common selection for all of the domains, except for ‘Talking with government officials’ where English is the most common selection. For five of the six questions, Pohnpeian is by far the most common selection followed distantly by English. ‘Talking with a kaunen kousapw’ has the highest number of Pohnpeian selections followed by only a few English selections.

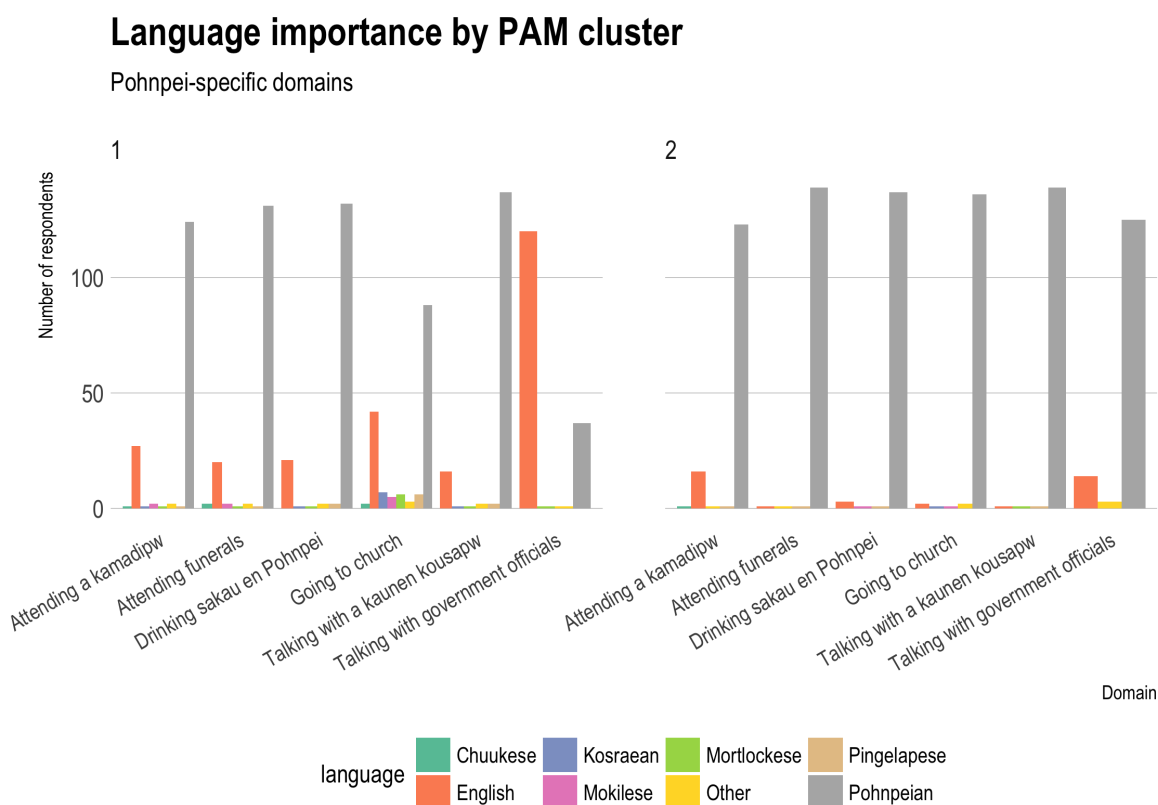


Figure 5.57. Language importance for Pohnpei-specific domains by PAM cluster

‘Drinking sakau en Pohnpei’, ‘Attending funerals’, and ‘Attending a kamadipw’ have similarly high Pohnpeian rates and low English rates. ‘Going to church’ has the lowest Pohnpeian rate and the highest English rate of the five Pohnpeian dominant questions. It also has relatively high rates of selection for all of the other possible languages compared to the other domains. ‘Going to church’ and ‘Attending a kamadipw’ are the most diverse of the six domains with all 8 language choices represented. ‘Attending funerals’ is the next diverse with seven languages represented. ‘Drinking sakau en Pohnpei’ and ‘Talking with a kaunen kousapw’ have six languages and ‘Talking with government officials’ has four.

Cluster 2 has Pohnpeian as the most common selection for all of the domains and very low levels for all the other languages including English. ‘Attending funerals’, ‘Drinking sakau en Pohnpei’, ‘Going to church’, and ‘Talking with a kaunen kousapw’ all have similar very high levels of Pohnpeian and negligible selections for other languages. ‘Attending a kamadipw’ has the highest level of English

and lowest level of Pohnpeian, though still very high rates of Pohnpeian (about 120 to 20). ‘Talking with government officials’ has the second highest rate of English, second lowest rate of Pohnpeian, and highest rate of ‘Other’. Overall ‘Attending a kamadipw’ and ‘Going to church’ have the greatest diversity with five different languages represented. ‘Attending funerals’, ‘Drinking sakau en Pohnpei’ and ‘Talking with a kaunen kousapw’ each have four different languages represented. The least diverse is ‘Talking with government officials’, which has only three languages represented.

Overall, Pohnpeian is by far the most common language for these domains. They also represent high levels of linguistic diversity, with domain 1 being the most diverse.

5.4.1.6 General

The general clusters correspond to two groups: cluster 1 generally prefers more Pohnpeian but has higher rate of English and other languages, while cluster 2 mostly prefers only Pohnpeian. The results for each question are shown in Figure 5.58.

Cluster 1 has Pohnpeian as the most common selection for ‘Going to the store’ followed by English. It also has seven different languages represented (all but Chuukese).

Cluster 2 has Pohnpeian as the most common language. English, ‘Other’, and Chuukese are also represented, but at very low rates.

Overall, ‘Going to the store’ patterns very closely with the Pohnpei-specific domains discussed in §5.4.1.5.

5.4.1.7 Summary

In general the two PAM cluster show two groups with different language patterns. One of the groups (cluster 1) tends to select more English than any other languages, while the other group (cluster 2) tends to select more Pohnpeian. However, this pattern breaks down for cluster 1 for some social solidarity domains, all but one of the Pohnpei-specific domains, and the general domain, where they preferred more Pohnpeian than English. The domains where cluster 1 preferred more Pohnpeian than English coincide with interacting with people on Pohnpei in area where Pohnpeians have the most control, such as funeral, church, kamadipw, and talking with people in Kolonia. In other situations, English tends to be preferred. It is also striking that cluster 2 preferred Pohnpeian for every domain.

In addition to Pohnpeian and English, almost all of the domains had selections for the other languages. Though often low in comparison to Pohnpeian and English, these languages represent a constant diversity that takes place everywhere on the island in all aspects of life from education and occupations to relationships and even Pohnpei-specific things like kamadipw.

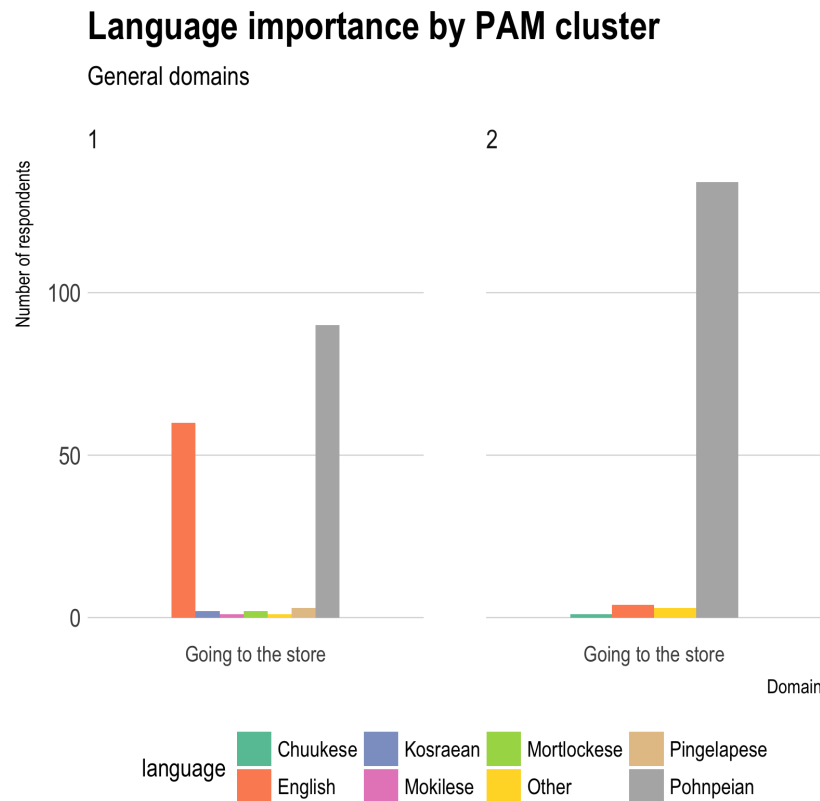


Figure 5.58. Language importance for general domains by PAM cluster

5.4.2 Agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei

In the section, the results of the MDS+PAM analysis for the agreement with statements about languages on Pohnpei are presented. Using the silhouette method, two clusters were found in the data. Cluster 1 has 123 respondents and cluster 2 has 178. The two clusters are visualized in Figure 5.59. Each point in the figure represents a single respondent. It is not immediately clear what the two MDS variables, V1 and V2, correspond to in terms of the responses, since the groups do not simply correspond to more agreement or disagreement. Since the MDS algorithm reduces the complexity of the data to two dimensions, it is not always possible to directly interpret what the variables represent.

To see how each of the two clusters differ in their attitudes, the responses for each statement are shown grouped by the two clusters. Since the two versions of the questionnaires have some different questions, the responses are presented in two different parts: those that occur in both questionnaires and those that occur in only version 2 (§5.4.2.6). The results for those statements in both

MDS plot for agreement questions

Colored by PAM cluster

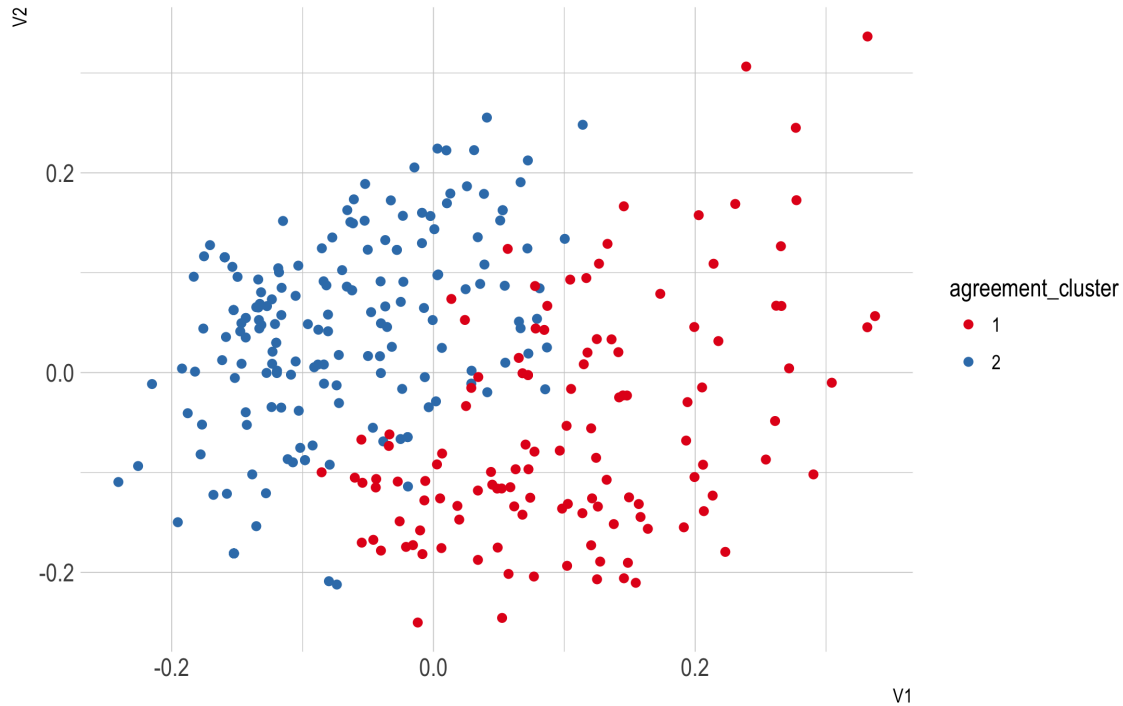


Figure 5.59. MDS of statements about languages on Pohnpei by PAM cluster

questionnaires are shown by category: (1) multilingualism (§5.4.2.1), (2) identity (§5.4.2.2), (3) education (§5.4.2.3), and (4) utility (§5.4.2.4).

5.4.2.1 Multilingualism

This section presents the results of the multilingualism clusters. The results for cluster 1 are shown in Figure 5.60 and for cluster 2 in Figure 5.61.

Cluster 1 strongly believe it is important to know a local language (98% agree), but also believe that it is more important to know English than local languages (71% agree) and more important than Pohnpeian (72% agree). They also mostly disagree that Pohnpeian is more important to know than English (76% disagree). The vast majority in the cluster would also choose English if had to choose only one language to speak (81% agree) and most disagree that they would choose Pohnpeian if they could only choose one language (66% disagree).



Figure 5.60. Agreement with statements about multilingualism for PAM cluster 1

Despite the apparent preference for English, the majority (84% agree) agree that knowing many languages is important, knowing only one language makes life difficult (67% agree), and that many languages can live together on Pohnpei (82% agree). However, most disagree (63%) that knowing many languages is easy.

Overall cluster 1 prefers English over Pohnpeian, but still values local languages and multilingualism, but finds multilingualism to not be easy.

Cluster 2 almost unanimously agrees (98%) that local languages are important to know. Unlike cluster 1, cluster 2 mostly agrees that Pohnpeian is more important to know than English (76%) and disagrees that English is more important than local languages (76% disagree) and disagrees that it is

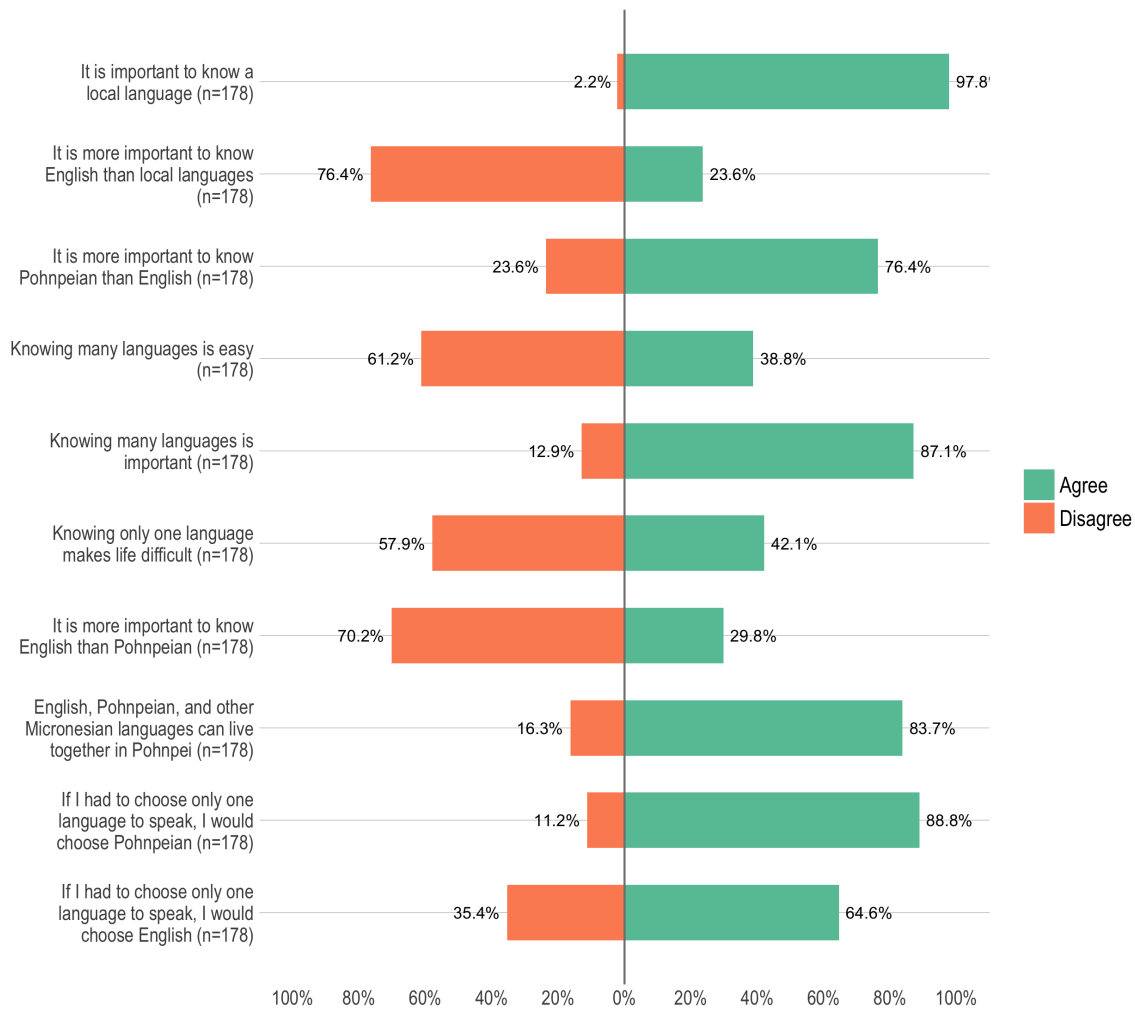


Figure 5.61. Agreement with statements about multilingualism for PAM cluster 2

more important to know English than Pohnpeian (70% disagree). 89% in the cluster would choose Pohnpeian if they had to choose only one language to speak, but surprisingly 65% would also choose English if they could only speak one language.

Despite the preference for Pohnpeian, the majority (87% agree) agree that know many languages is important, and that many languages can live together on Pohnpei (84% agree). However, most disagree (61%) that knowing many language is easy and that knowing only one language makes life difficult (58% disagree).

Overall cluster 2 prefers Pohnpeian over English, but still values local languages and multilingualism, but finds multilingualism to not be easy and that monolingualism does not make life more difficult (though with substantial disagreement).

5.4.2.2 Identity

This section presents the results of the identity clusters. The results for cluster 1 are shown in Figures 5.62 and 5.63 and for cluster 2 in Figures 5.64 and 5.65.

Those in cluster 1 mostly feel sad for those in Pohnpei who do not know Pohnpeian (61% agree) and English (67% agree) as well as those Pohnpeians abroad who do not know Pohnpeian (69% agree) and English (81% agree). They also tend to agree that all Micronesians (69% agree) and Pohnpeians (65% agree) need to know English, as well as everyone living in Kolonia (63% agree). But they do not agree that English makes someone smarter (63% disagree). They do slightly agree that youth do not know how to speak English properly (55% agree) and also slightly disagree that youth cannot speak Pohnpeian properly (55% disagree).

In terms of who does speak Pohnpeian and English, 65% of cluster 1 agree that Micronesian young people like to speak English, but 64% disagree that older Micronesians like to speak English. For Pohnpeian, a strong majority agree that both older Pohnpeians (94% agree) and young Pohnpeians (84% agree) like to speak Pohnpeian.

Cluster 1 also have mostly positive feelings about Pohnpeian (83% agree) and 89% agree that Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei. Most of them, however, disagree that in order to be Pohnpeian, someone has to speak Pohnpeian (63% disagree) and most also disagree that Pohnpeians who cannot speak Pohnpeian are not really Pohnpeian (72% disagree).

Overall, cluster 1 agree that both Pohnpeian and English are important for Pohnpei and Micronesia and are sad when Pohnpeians both on Pohnpei and abroad cannot speak either one. They think that young people do not speak English properly but that they can speak Pohnpeian. They also do not feel that the ability to speak the Pohnpeian language is an essential part of Pohnpeian identity.

Those in cluster 2 mostly feel sad for those in Pohnpei who do not know Pohnpeian (73% agree) or English (64% agree) as well as those Pohnpeians abroad who do not know Pohnpeian (79% agree) or English (80% agree). They also tend to agree that all Micronesians (76% agree) and Pohnpeians need to know English (68%), as well as everyone living in Kolonia (66% agree). They also agree that English makes someone smarter (60% agree). They do, however, agree that youth do not know how to speak English properly (72% agree), nor Pohnpeian properly (72% agree).

In terms of who does speak Pohnpeian and English, 79% of cluster 2 agree that Micronesian young people like to speak English, but 53% disagree that older Micronesians like to speak English. For

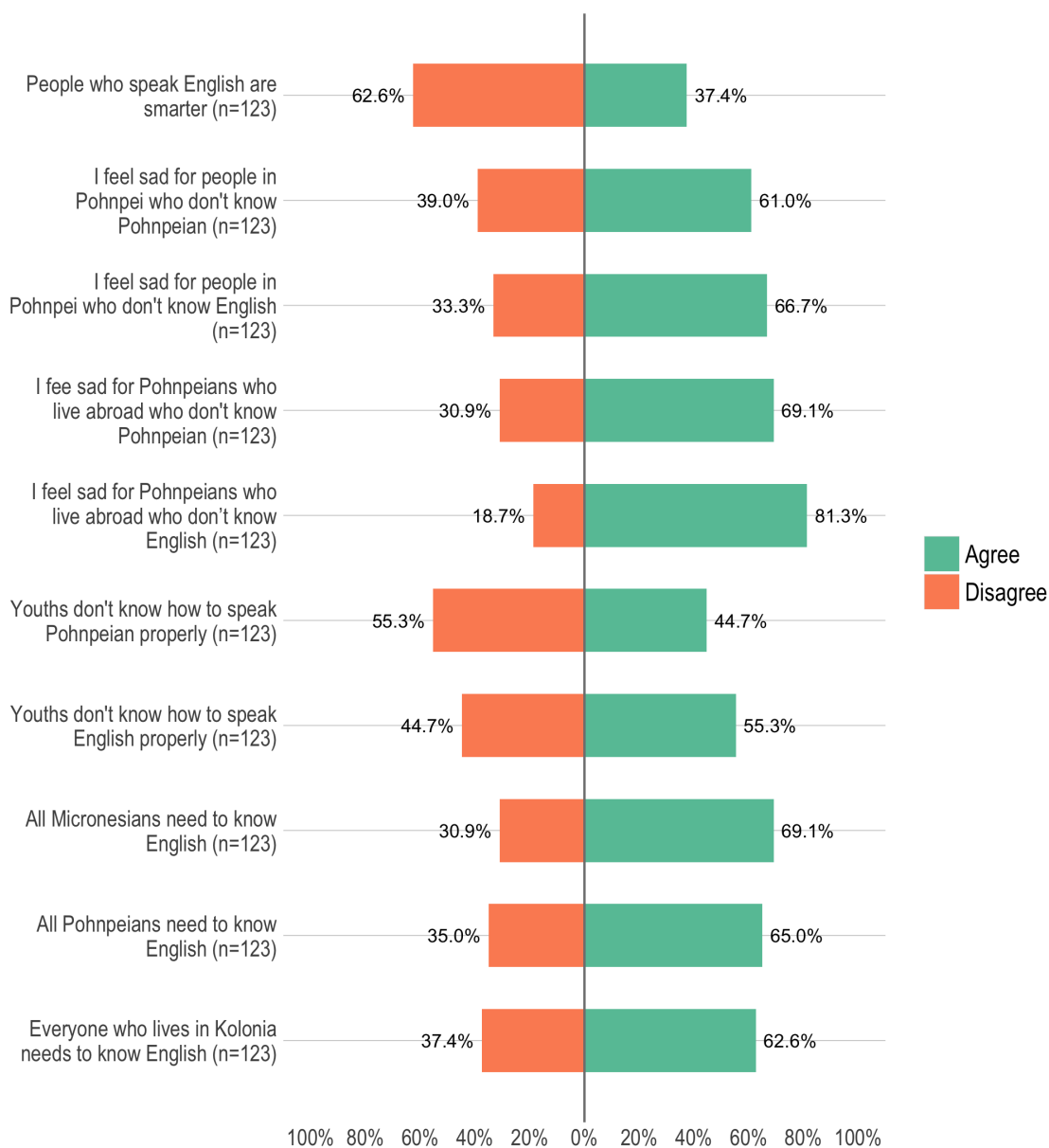


Figure 5.62. Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 1 (part 1)

Pohnpeian, a strong majority agree that both older Pohnpeians (93% agree) and young Pohnpeians (84% agree) like to speak Pohnpeian.

Cluster 2 also have near unanimous positive feelings about Pohnpeian (97% agree) and 97% agree that Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei. Most of them, also agree that in order to be Pohnpeian, they

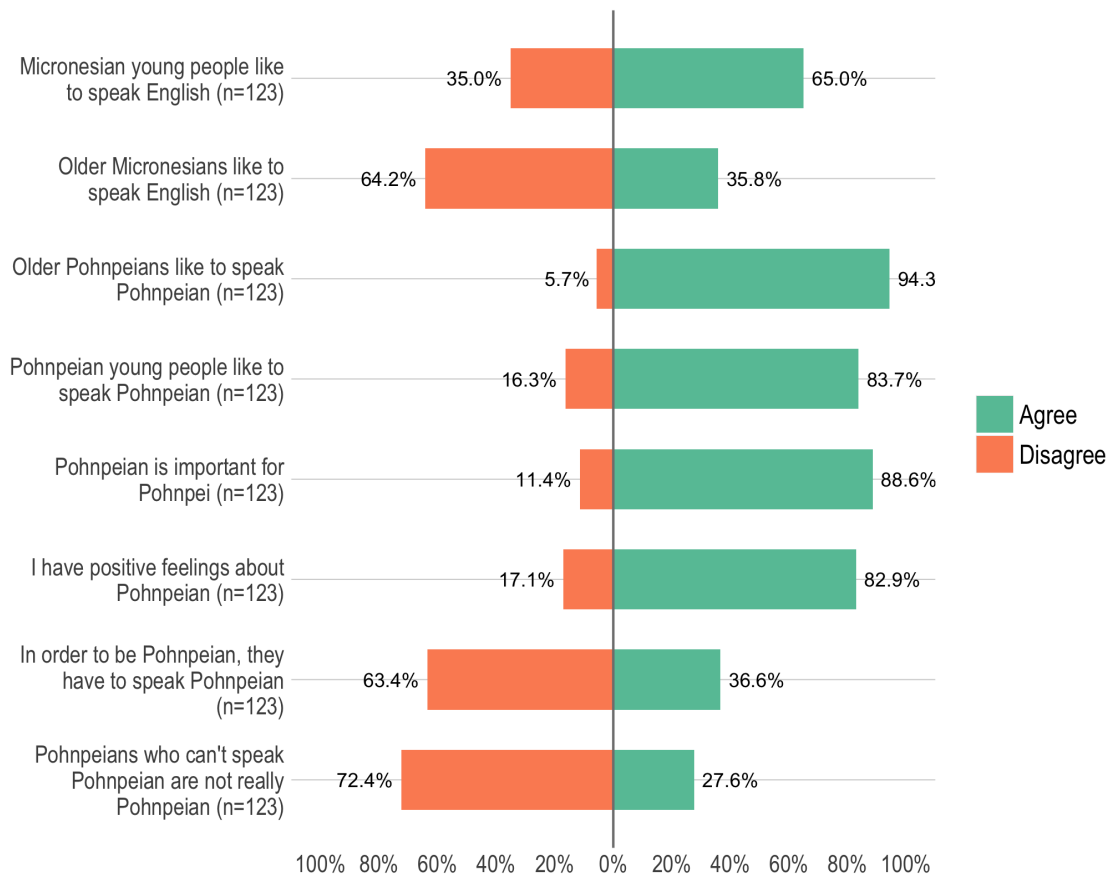


Figure 5.63. Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 1 (part 2)

have to speak Pohnpeian (92% disagree) and agree that Pohnpeians who cannot speak Pohnpeian are not really Pohnpeian (68% disagree).

Overall, cluster 2 agree that both Pohnpeian and English are important for Pohnpei and Micronesia and are sad when Pohnpeians both on Pohnpei and abroad cannot speak either one. They think that young people do not speak English or Pohnpeian properly and that the ability to speak English makes you smarter. They also feel that the ability to speak the Pohnpeian language is an essential part of Pohnpeian identity.

5.4.2.3 Education

This section presents the results of the education clusters. The results for cluster 1 are shown in Figure 5.66 and for cluster 2 in Figure 5.67.

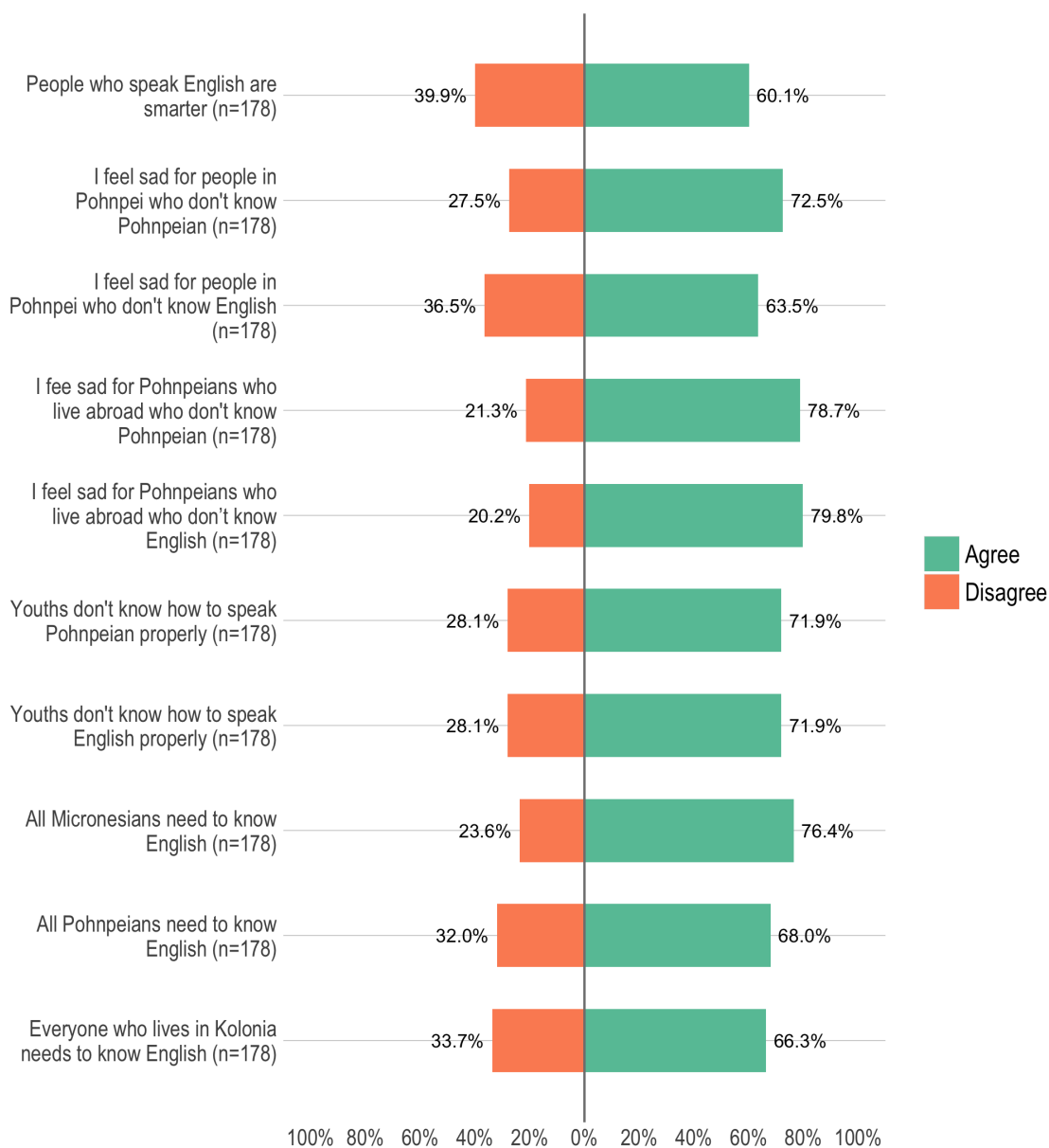


Figure 5.64. Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 2 (part 1)

Those in cluster 1 agree that Pohnpeian and English are very different (88% agree) and just over half (55%) agree that the Pohnpeian language is simpler than English. Most also agree that foreigners in Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian (85%). However, 67% disagree that Pohnpeian must be learned before learning English.

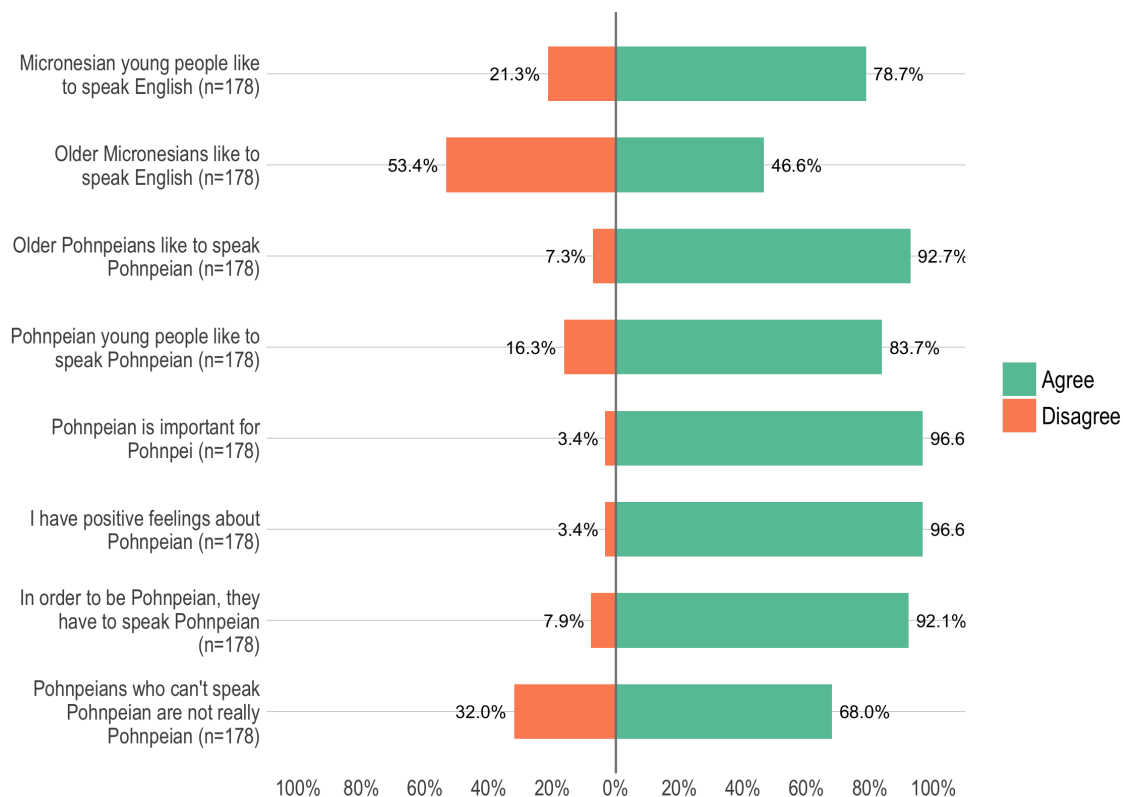


Figure 5.65. Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 2 (part 2)

For cluster 2, 89% agree that Pohnpeian and English are very different and 79% agree that Pohnpeian is simpler than English. The vast majority (90%) agree that Pohnpeians should learn Pohnpeian and 85% agree that Pohnpeian should be learned before English.

Overall cluster 1 and 2 differ in their view than Pohnpeian should be learned before English and cluster 2 more strongly view Pohnpeian as being simpler than English.

5.4.2.4 Utility

This section presents the results of the utility clusters. The results for cluster 1 are shown in Figure 5.68 and for cluster 2 in Figure 5.69.

Those in cluster 1 have a high level of agreement that English can help get jobs both on Pohnpei (84% agree) and abroad (85% agree). For Pohnpeian the results are more divided. 59% agree that Pohnpeian can help get job on Pohnpei but 72% disagree that it can help get jobs abroad. A 63% majority also agree that English is more valuable than Pohnpeian.

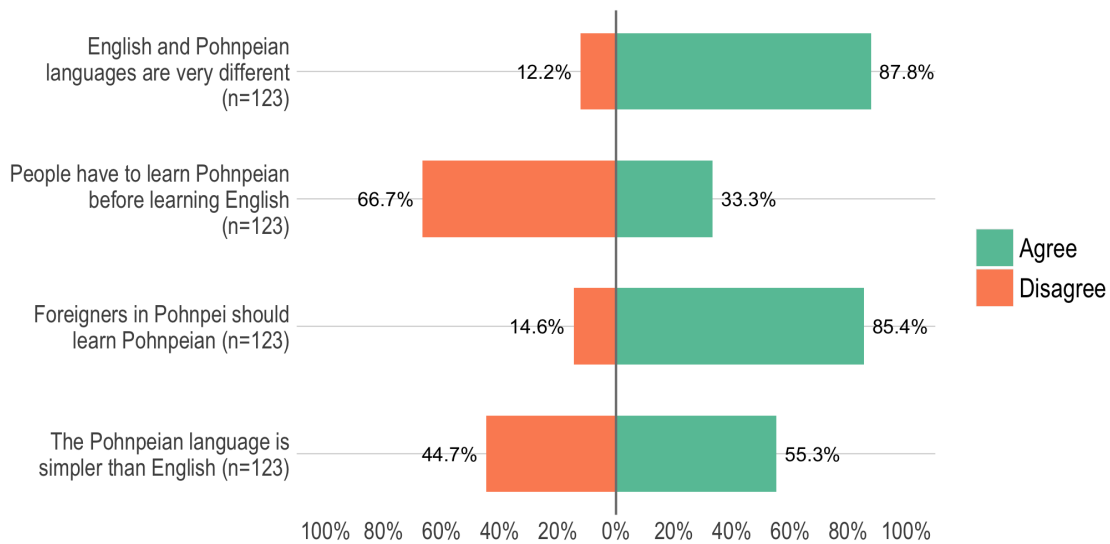


Figure 5.66. Agreement with statements about language and education for PAM cluster 1

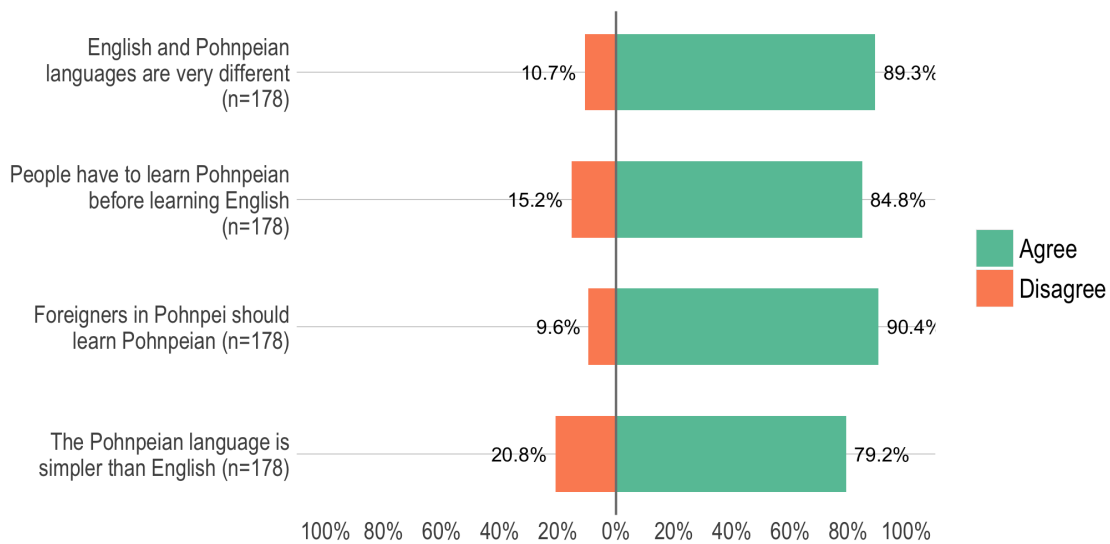


Figure 5.67. Agreement with statements about language and education for PAM cluster 2

Overall those in cluster 1 have a high level of agreement that English is good for jobs and that it is more valuable than Pohnpeian. However, they view Pohnpeian as less useful for getting jobs, especially abroad.

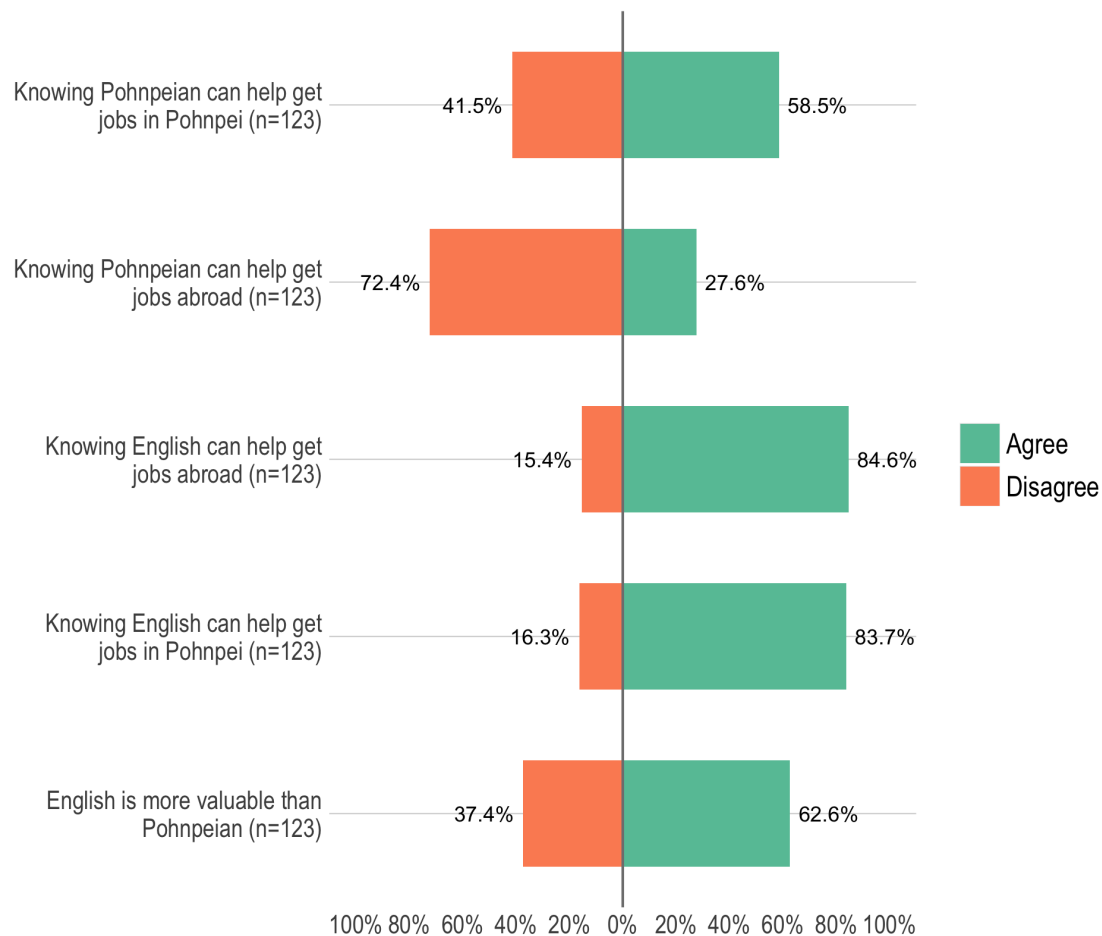


Figure 5.68. Agreement with statements about the utility of languages for PAM cluster 1

Those in cluster 2 likewise have a high level of agreement that English can help get jobs both on Pohnpei (80% agree) and abroad (84% agree). For Pohnpeian the results are more divided. 57% agree that Pohnpeian can help get job on Pohnpei but 73% disagree that it can help get jobs abroad. But, a 71% majority disagree that English is more valuable than Pohnpeian.

Overall, those in cluster 2 have a high level of agreement that English is good for jobs, but think that it is not more valuable than Pohnpeian. However, they view Pohnpeian as less useful for getting jobs, especially abroad.

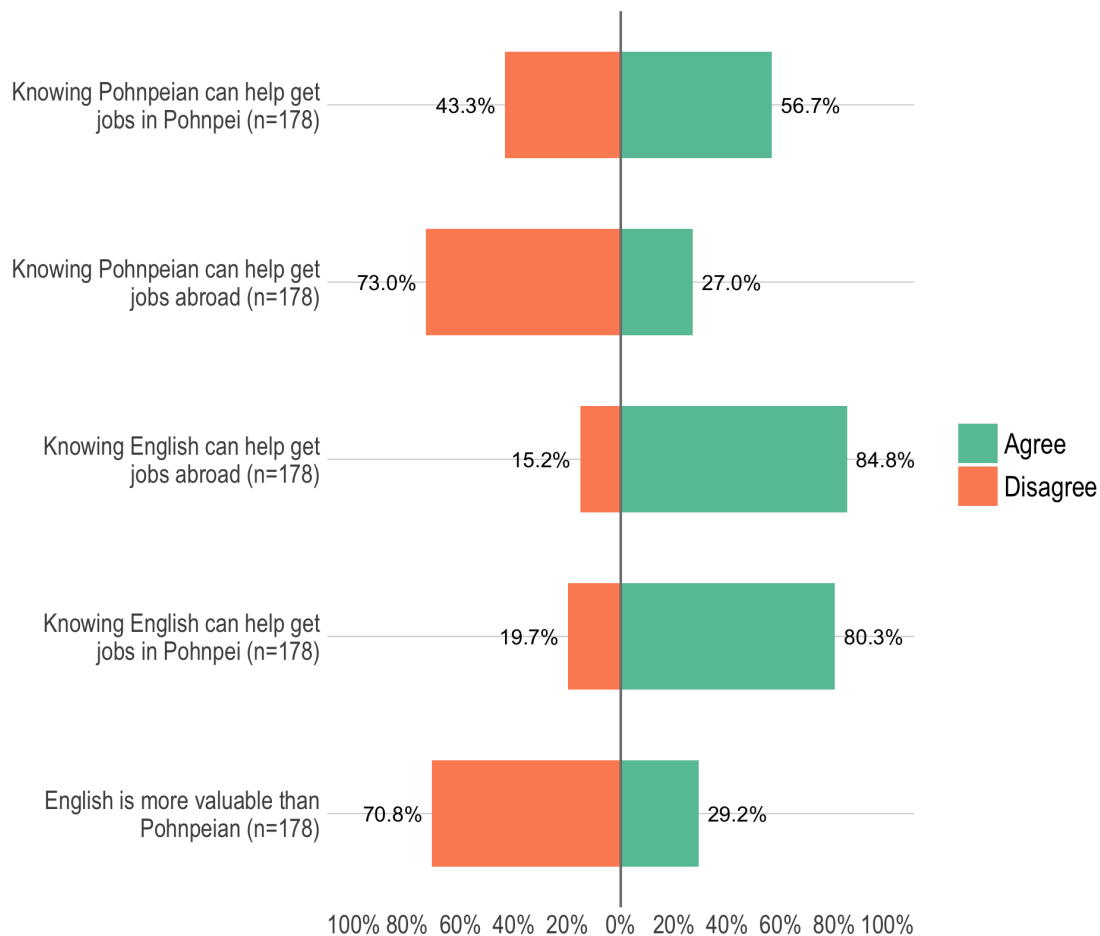


Figure 5.69. Agreement with statements about the utility of languages for PAM cluster 2

5.4.2.5 Summary

Both clusters have positive views of both Pohnpeian and English, as well as multilingualism. Cluster 1 overall tends to value English more than Pohnpeian and would choose it over Pohnpeian. Cluster 1, however, does not think that English makes one smarter and are sad when Pohnpeians both abroad and on Pohnpei cannot speak Pohnpeian or English. They also do not view Pohnpeian language abilities as an essential part of Pohnpeian identity. Cluster 2, on the other hand, generally prefers Pohnpeian over English, but still finds English to be valuable and important. They, however, view Pohnpeian language abilities as an essential part of Pohnpeian identity. Interestingly, they also view people who can speak English as being smarter and more strongly view the Pohnpeian language as

being simpler than English. They are also divided about the utility of Pohnpeian in helping to get a job on Pohnpei, but mostly believe it is not helpful abroad, but believe that English is helpful both abroad and on Pohnpei for jobs. Despite English's help with employment, they do not view it as more valuable than Pohnpeian.

5.4.2.6 Questions only in version 2

This section provides the results of the MDS+PAM for the statements about languages on Pohnpei that only exist in questionnaire version 2. For these statements two clusters were found using the silhouette method. Cluster 1 has 65 respondents and cluster 2 has 94. The results are visualized in Figure 5.70 where each point represents a respondent.

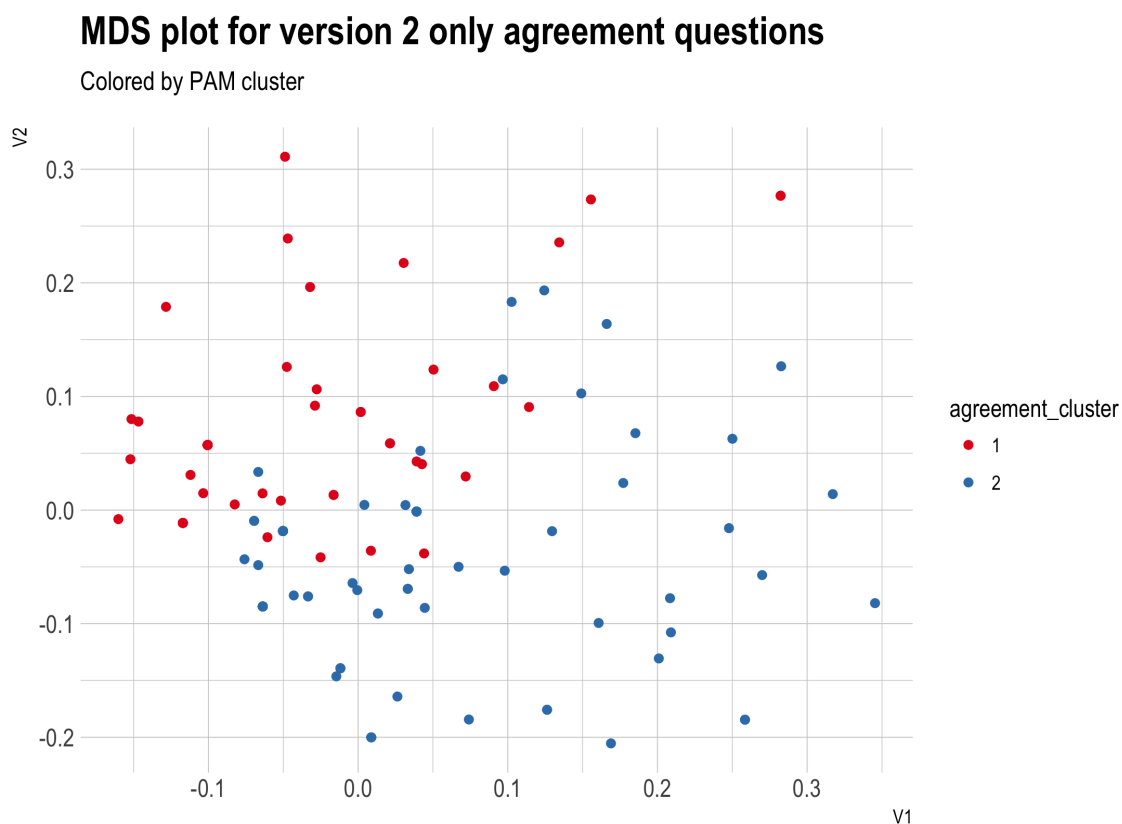


Figure 5.70. MDS of statements about languages on Pohnpei by PAM cluster (version 2)

The results for these statements are presented based on the statement's theme: identity (§5.4.2.6.1) and education (§5.4.2.6.2).

5.4.2.6.1 Identity

This section presents the results for the identity statements that only occur in questionnaire version 2. The results for cluster 1 are presented in Figures 5.71 and 5.72 and for cluster 2 in Figures 5.73 and 5.74.

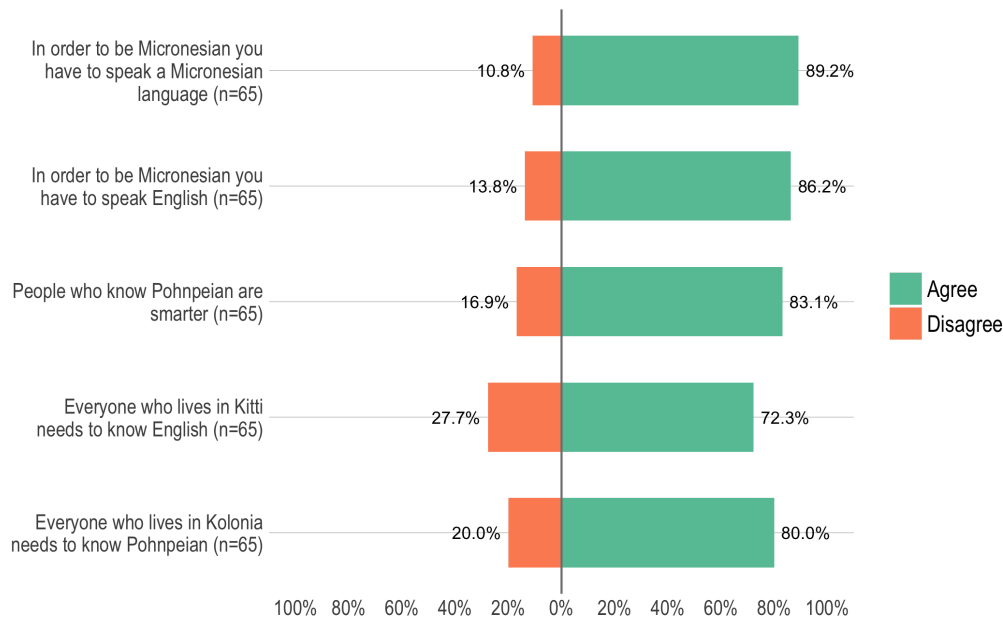


Figure 5.71. Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 1 (version 2 only) [part 1 of 2]

Those in cluster 1 agree that in order to be Micronesian you have to speak a Micronesian language (89% agree) and English (86% agree). They also agree that everyone who lives in Kolonia (80% agree) or Kitti (88% agree) needs to know Pohnpeian. 85% agree that all Micronesians living on Pohnpei should speak Pohnpeian and 92% agree that they want their children to speak Pohnpeian. However, 94% agree that English is important for Pohnpei, 92% want their children to speak English, and 73% agree that everyone in Kitti needs to know English. 83% agree that people who know Pohnpeian are smarter. All of the respondents also want their children to learn Meing (100%) and 100% agree that Meing is important for them.

Overall, those in cluster 1 agree that both English, Pohnpeian, and other Micronesian languages are important and they want their children to know them. They also view Pohnpeian as a sign of being smarter. All of them also agree that Meing is important for them and their children to know.

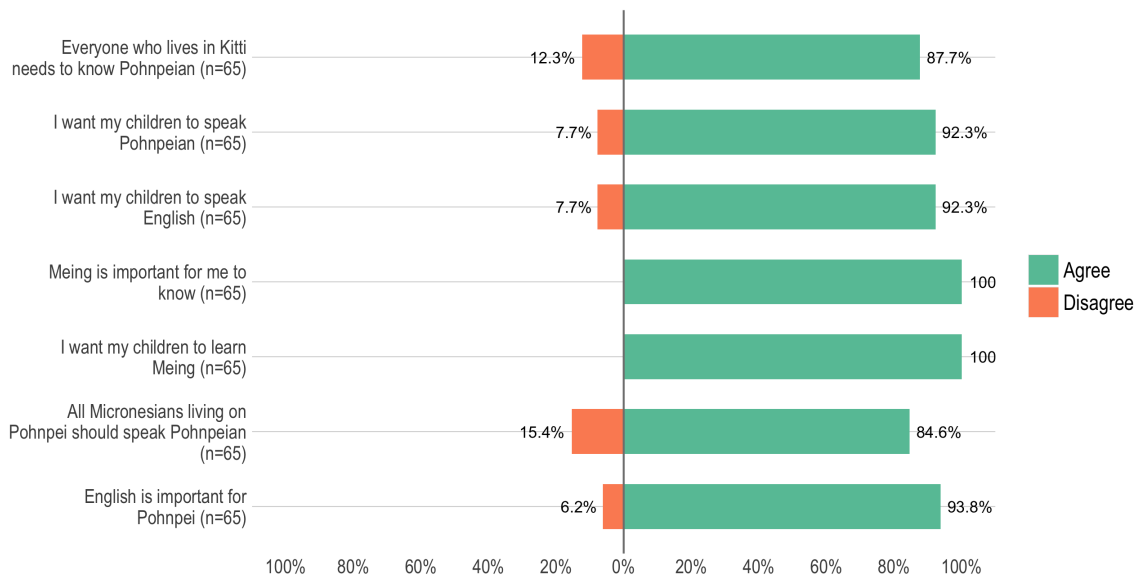


Figure 5.72. Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 1 (version 2 only) [part 2 of 2]

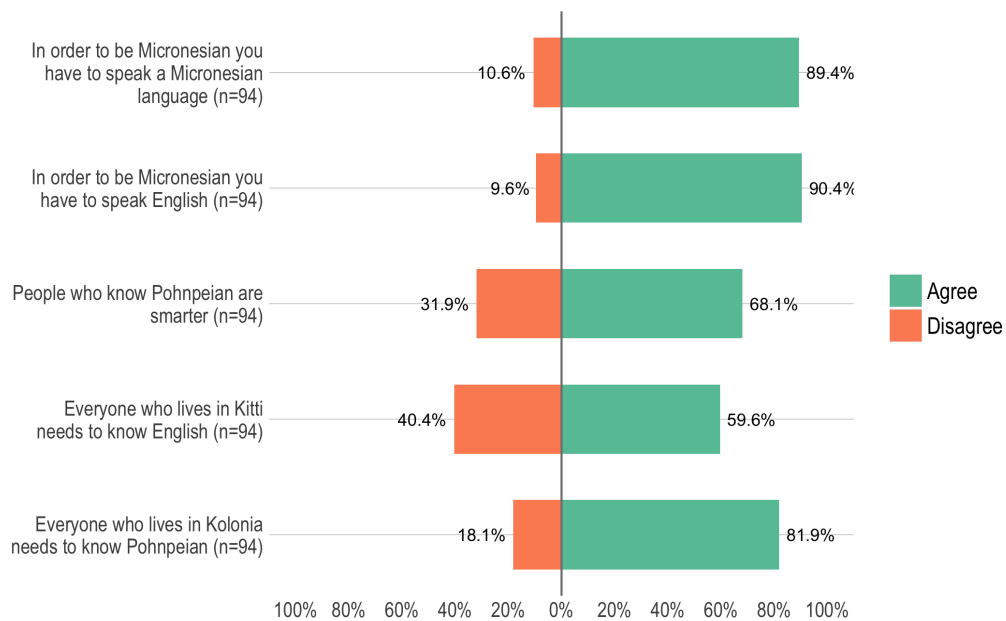


Figure 5.73. Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 2 (version 2 only) [part 1 of 2]

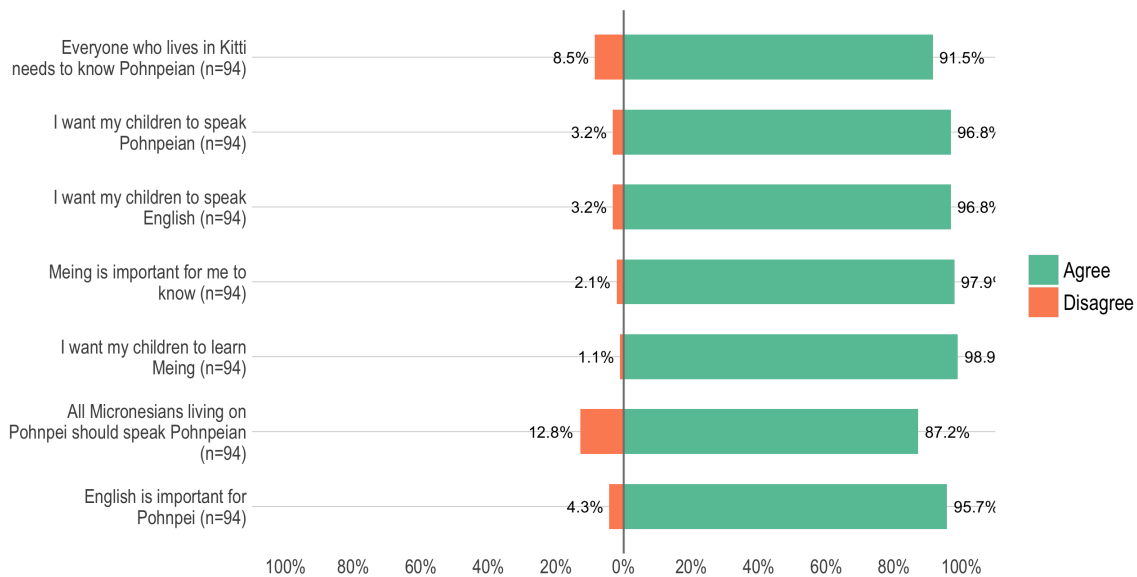


Figure 5.74. Agreement with statements about language and identity for PAM cluster 2 (version 2 only) [part 2 of 2]

Those in cluster 2 have very similar responses to cluster 1. The main differences are that support for the statements ‘People who know Pohnpeian are smart’ (68%) and ‘Everyone who lives in Kitti needs to know English’ (60%) are reduced from those in cluster 1. The responses otherwise are comparable. There is very little difference between the two clusters for the new identity statements.

5.4.2.6.2 Education

This section presents the results for the education statements that only occur in questionnaire version 2. The results for cluster 1 are presented in Figure 5.75 and cluster 2 in Figure 5.76.

All members of cluster 1 agree that the English language is simpler than Pohnpeian. 79% agree that Pohnpeian is more polite than English and 89% agree that schools on Pohnpei should teach classes in Pohnpeian.

Cluster 2 differs from cluster 1 for education in that all members of cluster 2 disagree that the English language is simpler than Pohnpeian. 74% also agree that Pohnpeian is more polite than English and 93% agree that schools on Pohnpei should teach classes in Pohnpeian.

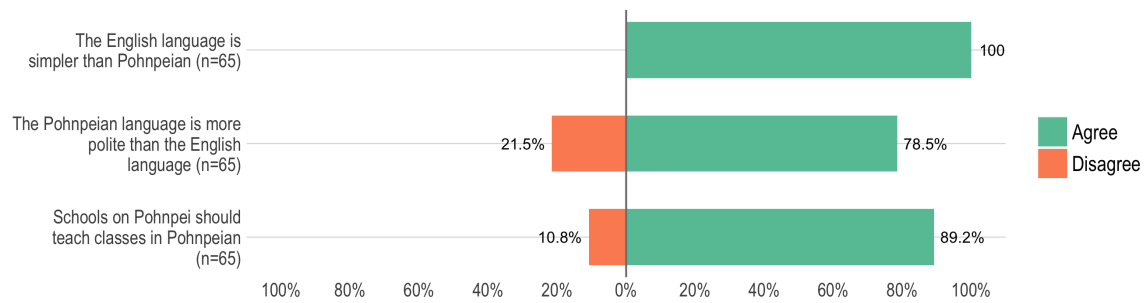


Figure 5.75. Agreement with statements about language and education for PAM cluster 1 (version 2 only)

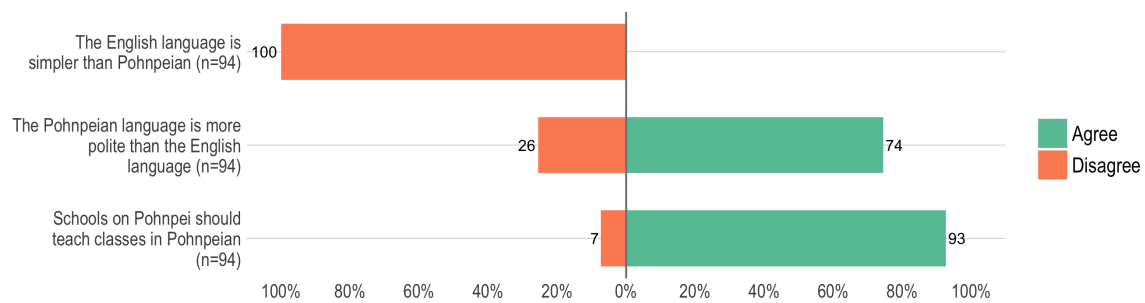


Figure 5.76. Agreement with statements about language and education for PAM cluster 2 (version 2 only)

5.4.2.6.3 Summary

The two clusters for the new questions in questionnaire version 2 are very similar to each other. The primary different is the cluster 1 views English as simpler than Pohnpei while cluster 2 does not. Otherwise there is a high level of agreement with all the other statements. These results again show a high level of support for both Pohnpeian and English, as well as support for the use of Pohnpeian in schools. There was also near unanimous support for the importance of Meing.

5.4.3 Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian

This section presents the results of the MDS+PAM analysis for the level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian. Using the silhouette method, two clusters were found in the data. Cluster 1 has 236 respondents and cluster 2 has 65. The large difference in cluster size indicates that the views in cluster 1 are more common than those in cluster 2. The two clusters are

visualized in Figure 5.77. It is not immediately clear what V1 and V2 of the MDS correspond to in terms of a clearly interpretable meaning.

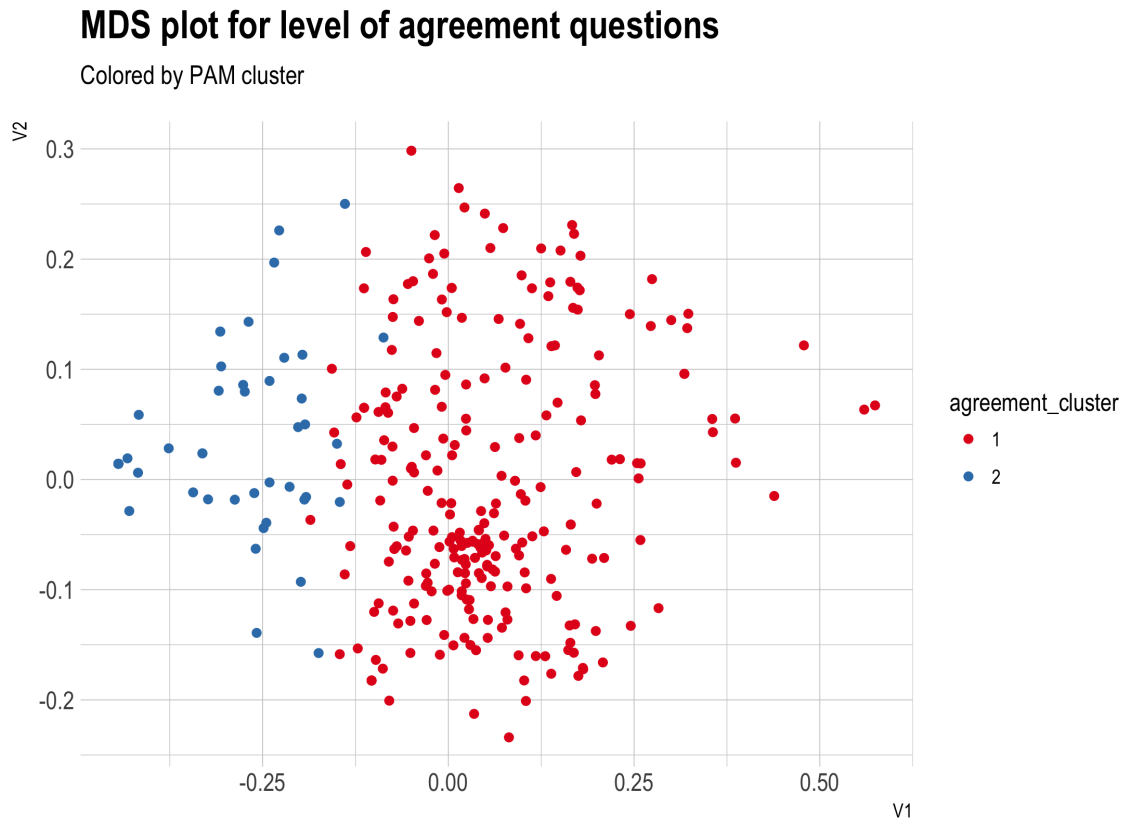


Figure 5.77. MDS of level of agreement of characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers by PAM cluster

The results are presented for each cluster separately and are also grouped by characteristic type: positive (§5.4.3.1), neutral (§5.4.3.2), and negative (§5.4.3.3).

5.4.3.1 Positive

This section presents the results for the positive PAM clusters. The results for cluster 1 are presented in Figures 5.78 and 5.79. The results for cluster 2 are presented in Figures 5.80 and 5.81.

The majority of those in cluster 1 agree with all of the positive characteristics, except for modern and rich. 53% disagree that Pohnpeian speakers are modern, while 72% disagree that Pohnpeian speakers are rich. Of the characteristics that cluster 1 mostly agreed with respectful, wise, cultured, humble, and generous have agreement levels of 80% or higher. These five characteristics correspond

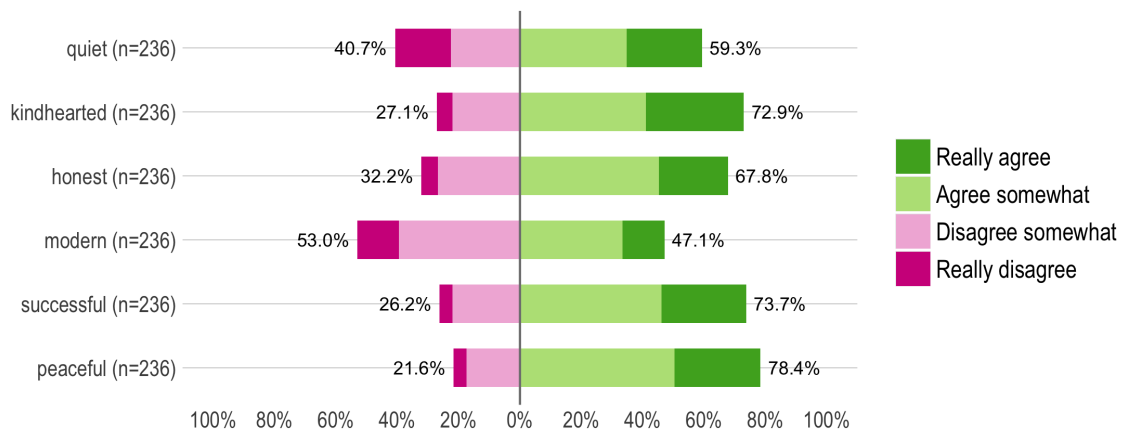


Figure 5.78. Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1 (part 1 of 2)

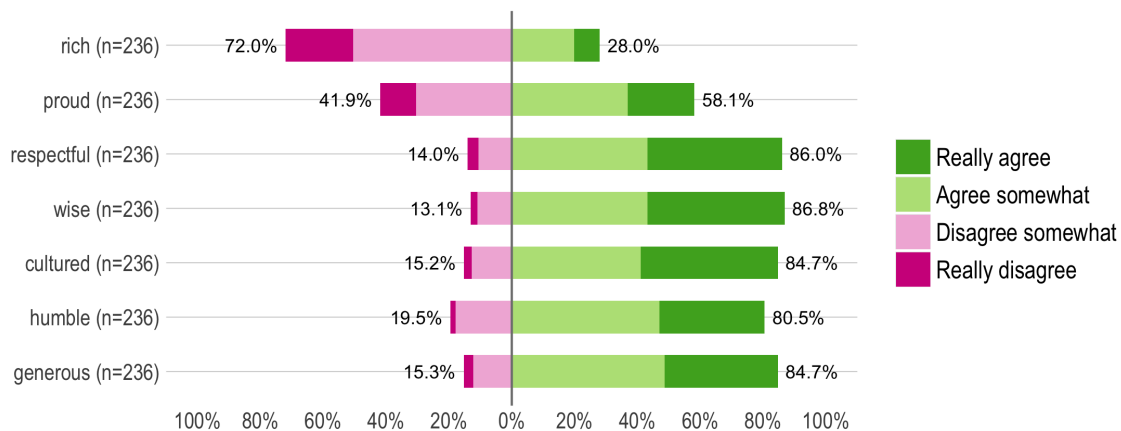


Figure 5.79. Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1 (part 2 of 2)

to values that are highly respected on Pohnpei. Three more of the characteristics have agreement levels between 70%–79%, which also indicate high levels of agreement: kind-hearted, successful, and peaceful. Honest has slightly less agreement (68%). Quiet and proud are more divided with only 59% and 58% agreement respectively.

Those in cluster 2 disagree with all of the positive characteristics, except for respectful and cultured, which are closely divided with 51% and 52% agreement respectively. Cluster 2 also has a very

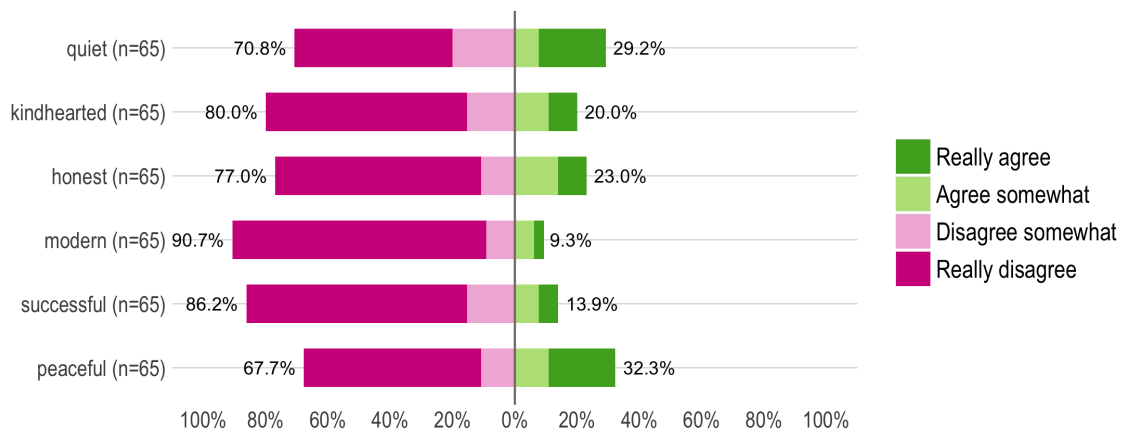


Figure 5.80. Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2 (part 1 of 2)

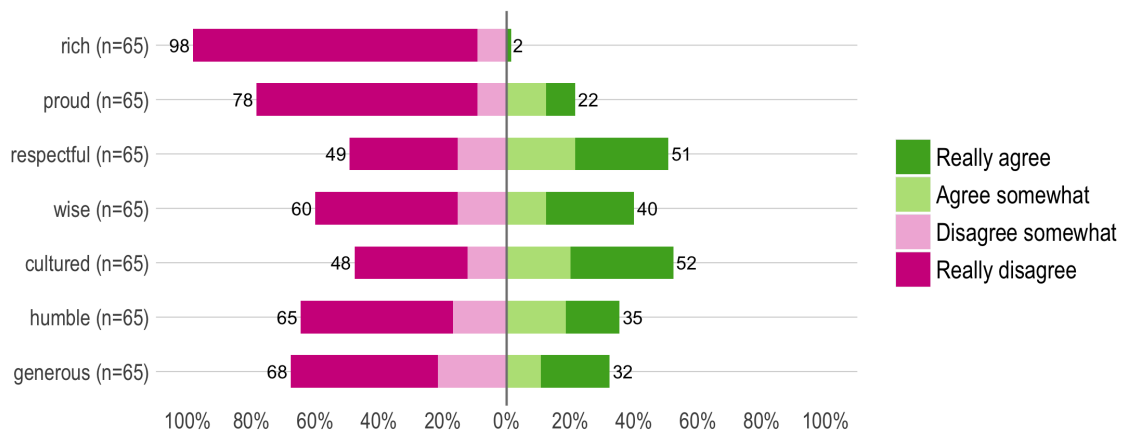


Figure 5.81. Level of agreement with positive characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2 (part 2 of 2)

high level of the ‘Really disagree’ response. Of the characteristics they disagree with, modern and rich have the highest levels, 91% and 98% respectively. Successful and kind-hearted have at least 80% disagreement and proud, quiet, and honest have disagreements of at least 70%. Peaceful, wise, and generous have at least 60% disagreement.

Overall, cluster 1 has a mostly positive view of Pohnpeian speakers with high levels of agreement for all the positive characteristics, except for modern and rich. Cluster 2, however, disagrees with

these positive statements, except for respectful and cultured, which it is evenly divided about. Both clusters agree that Pohnpeian speakers are not rich or modern.

5.4.3.2 Neutral

This section presents the results for the neutral PAM clusters. The results for cluster 1 are presented in Figure 5.82 and for cluster 2 in Figure 5.83.

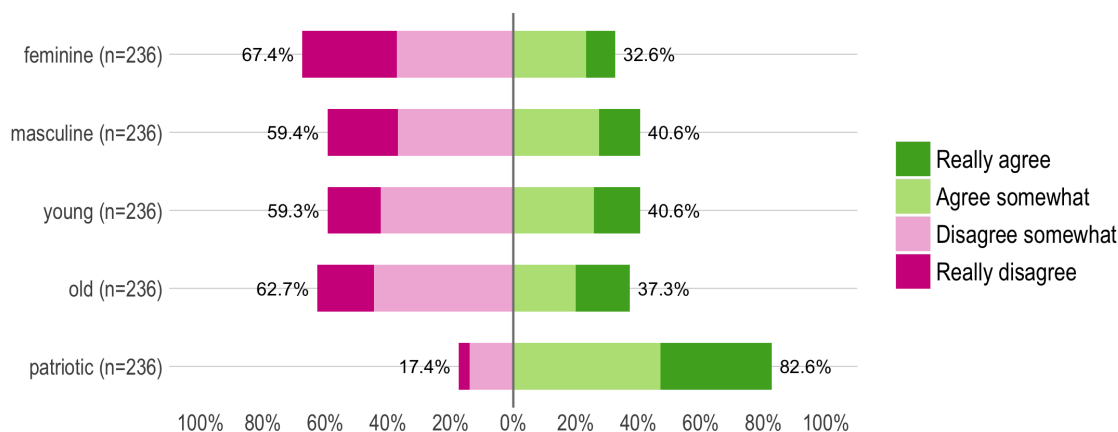


Figure 5.82. Level of agreement with neutral characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1

Those in cluster 1 mostly disagree with all the neutral characteristics, except for patriotic, which they strongly agree with (83% agreement). The neutral characteristics that they disagree with are between 59% and 67%, indicating a large divide in the responses. Feminine has the most disagreement responses of the neutral characteristics at 67% and young has the least at 59%. Overall those in cluster 1 view Pohnpeian speakers as patriotic, but disagree (with much division) for feminine, masculine, young, and old. The most common responses overall are ‘Disagree somewhat’ and ‘Agree somewhat’, which relatively few ‘Really disagree’ and ‘Really agree’.

Those in cluster 2 also disagree with all the neutral characteristics, except for patriotic, which they are about equally divided about (54% agree). The disagreement in cluster 2 is must stronger though than that in cluster 1, since the most common response is ‘Really disagree’. All of the statements that they disagree with have disagreement levels between 88% and 98%. Feminine has the highest disagreement rate of 98%, followed by old (95%), young (89%), and masculine (88%). Overall cluster 2 strongly disagrees with all of the neutral characteristics, except that they are equally divided about patriotic.

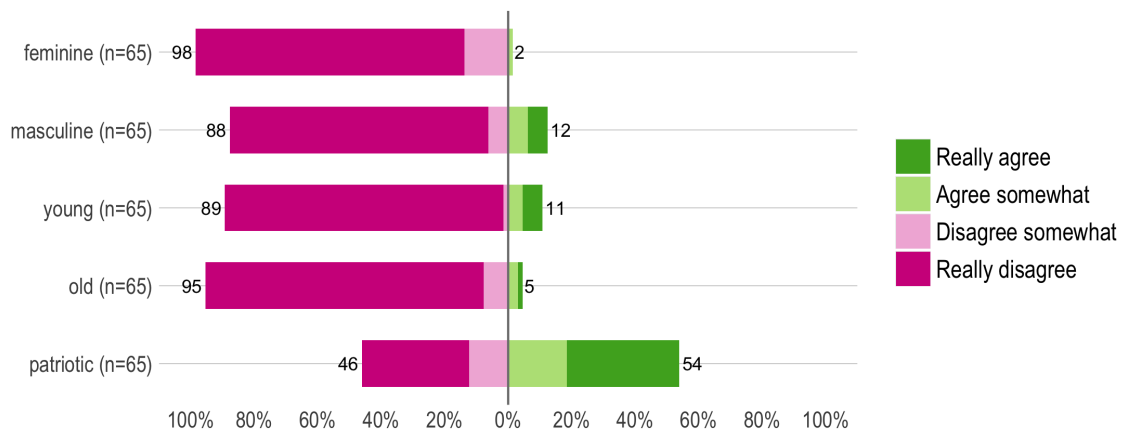


Figure 5.83. Level of agreement with neutral characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2

Both clusters 1 and 2 disagree with all the neutral characteristics, except patriotic. Cluster 2, however, has much higher levels of disagreement and many more ‘Really disagree’ responses. Cluster 1 views Pohnpeian speakers as patriotic, but cluster 2 is almost evenly divided.

5.4.3.3 Negative

This section gives the results for the negative PAM clusters. The results for cluster 1 are shown in Figure 5.84 and those for cluster 2 in Figure 5.85.

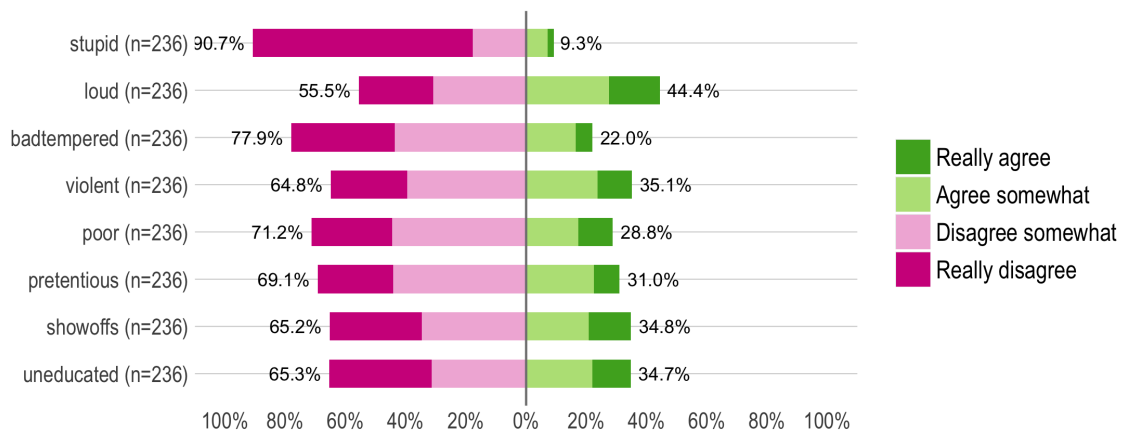


Figure 5.84. Level of agreement with negative characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1

Those in cluster 1 disagree with all of the negative characteristics. The most frequent response overall is ‘Disagree somewhat’, followed by ‘Really disagree’ and ‘Agree somewhat’. The vast majority in the cluster disagree that Pohnpeian speakers are stupid (91%), which also has the highest number of ‘Really disagree’. Bad-tempered and poor both have disagreements between 70% and 79%. Violent, pretentious, show-offs, and uneducated all have disagreements between 64%–69%. Loud has the lowest number of disagreements with 56%. Overall, those in cluster 1 disagree with all the negative characteristics, but especially stupid. The cluster is most divided about loud.

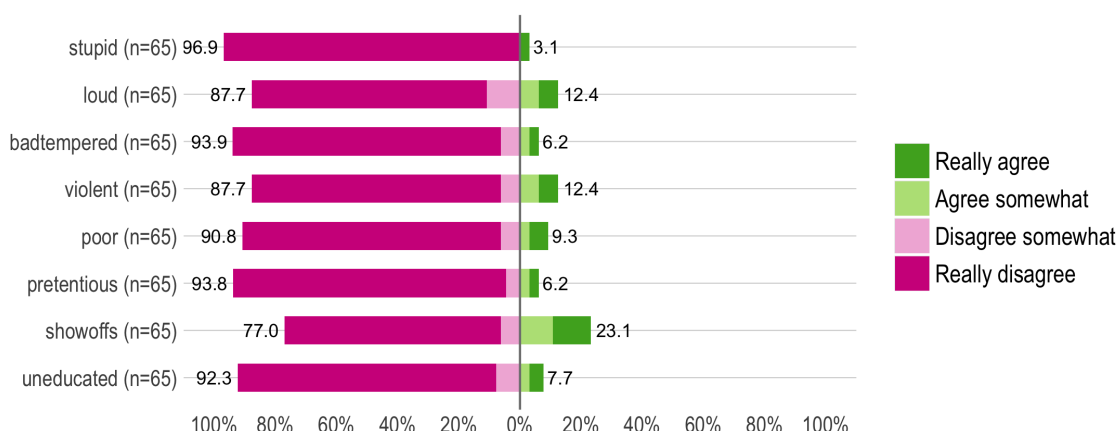


Figure 5.85. Level of agreement with negative characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2

Those in cluster 2 likewise disagree with all of the negative characteristics. But, cluster 2 has much higher levels of disagreement (77%–97%). Its most common select is also ‘Really disagree’. Stupid, bad-tempered, poor, pretentious, and uneducated has the highest levels of disagree (90%+). Loud and violent have disagreement levels of 88% and show-offs has the lowest at 77%. Overall those in cluster 2 strongly disagree will all of the negative characteristics.

Both clusters disagree with the negative characteristics, but cluster 2 does so much more. Cluster 2 also has many more ‘Really disagree’ responses than cluster 1.

5.4.3.4 Summary

Overall cluster 1 agrees with most of the positive characteristics, one of the neutral characteristics, and none of the negative ones. Cluster 2, however, disagrees with all but two of the positive characteristics, all but one of the neutral characteristics, and all of the negative ones. Cluster 2 has many more ‘Really disagree’ responses than does cluster 1.

Cluster 1 overall views Pohnpeian speakers in positive light, but does not associate them as rich or poor, old or young, modern, feminine or masculine, or any of the negative characteristics. Cluster 2, on the other hand, views Pohnpeian speakers overall as slightly respectful, cultured, and patriotic, but not any of the other characteristics. The views held by cluster 1 represent a much larger percentage of the respondents, than does cluster 2.

5.4.3.5 Questions only in version 2

This section presents the MDS+PAM results for the level of agreement about characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers questions that are only found in questionnaire version 2. Based on the silhouette method, 2 clusters were found in the data. 60 respondents are in cluster 1 and 99 in cluster 2. The MDS and clusters are visualized in Figure 5.86. The results are presented in one group, since there are only four new characteristics, though separated by cluster. The responses for cluster 1 are visualized in Figure 5.87 and for cluster 2 in Figure 5.88.

Those in cluster 1 for the new characteristics disagree with all of them. Ugly has the most disagreement with 95%, followed by greedy (78%), smart (75%), and educated (62%). Because there are only four characteristics for this cluster analysis, the resulting clusters like this one may not match an ideological category, but rather a group of those who most disagreed to these four questions.

Those in cluster 2 agreed to two characteristics and disagreed with the other two. The two agreement characteristics are the positive ones—smart and educated—that have high ‘Really agree’ levels (92% and 96% agreement respectively). Ugly and greedy, the two negative characteristics, have high levels of disagreement (78% and 63% respectively).

Overall cluster 1 disagrees with all the four characteristics, while cluster 2 agrees with the positive characteristics and disagrees with negative ones. Unlike the previous MDS and PAM analyses, this only has a small number of questions, which limit the patterns than can emerge, since there is not enough diversity of questions and responses to make many meaningful groups.

5.5 Correspondence analysis

This section presents the results of the correspondence analysis (CA). Like MDS and PAM, CA allows groups to emerge from the data. Unlike MDS and PAM, CA does not look for ways to group the respondents, rather it groups the questions together based on their responses, with the help of hierarchical clustering. Three different CA were completed. The first one was done on the reported language use questions (questions 2.9–2.17) (§5.5.1). The second one was done with the domain-based language importance questions (§5.5.2). The final one was done with the level of agreement with characteris-

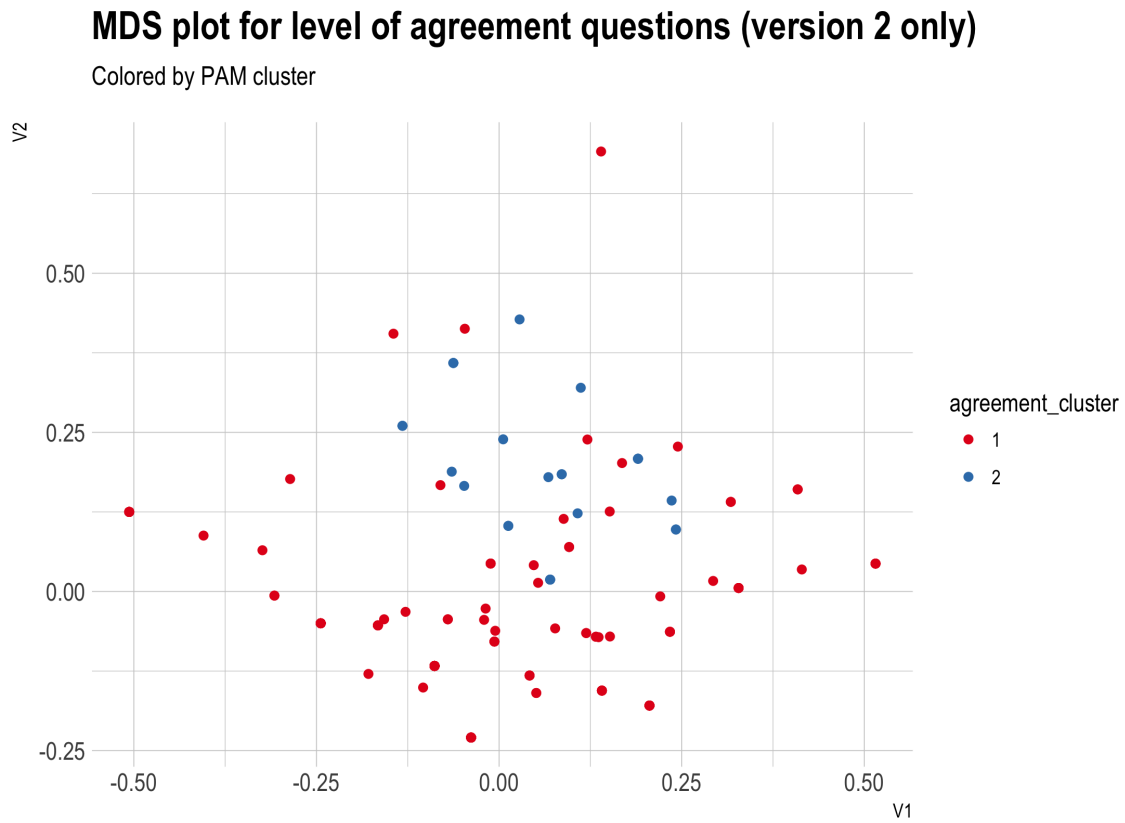


Figure 5.86. MDS of level of agreement of characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers by PAM cluster (version 2)

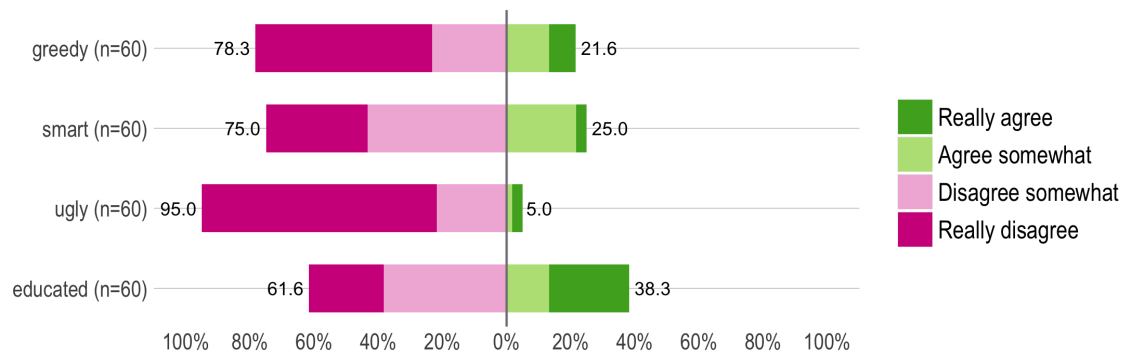


Figure 5.87. Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 1 (version 2 only)

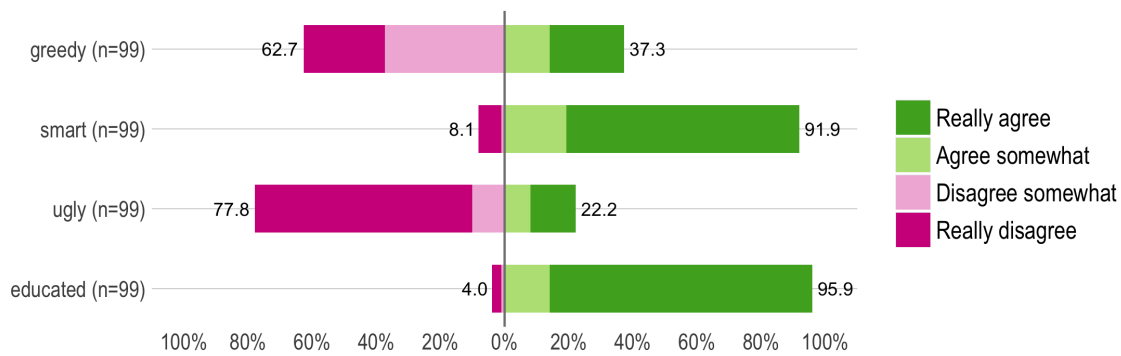


Figure 5.88. Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian for PAM cluster 2 (version 2 only)

tics of Pohnpeian speakers questions (§5.5.3). The agreement with statements about the languages on Pohnpei were not included, because the CA model would not converge, since the statements only had two possible answers: ‘agree’ or ‘disagree’.

5.5.1 Reported language use

This section presents the results of the CA done with the reported language use by domains questions (questions 2.9–2.17, see also §4.2.2.1.2 and §5.1.1). These questions had open responses so many different languages were selected. The CA of these questions was added to compare how the actual reported language use with open responses compares to the language importance questions where the respondents had to only pick one language, which is discussed in §5.5.2.

For the CA analysis, two dimensions were kept. But, dimension 1 accounts for 80% of the variation, compared to only 8% in dimension 2, so only the first dimension is needed for the interpretation. The first two dimensions of the CA for reported language use are plotted in Figure 5.89. The languages selected are in red and the domains are in blue. The plot shows how the domains and languages are related to each other.

In the CA plot, English and Pohnpeian appear on opposite sides of dimension 1. It appears that negative values of dimension 1 correspond to more English selections, while positive values correspond to more Pohnpeian selections. This interpretation is supported by Figure 5.90 that shows that the two main languages that contributed to the construction of dimension 1 are English and Pohnpeian.

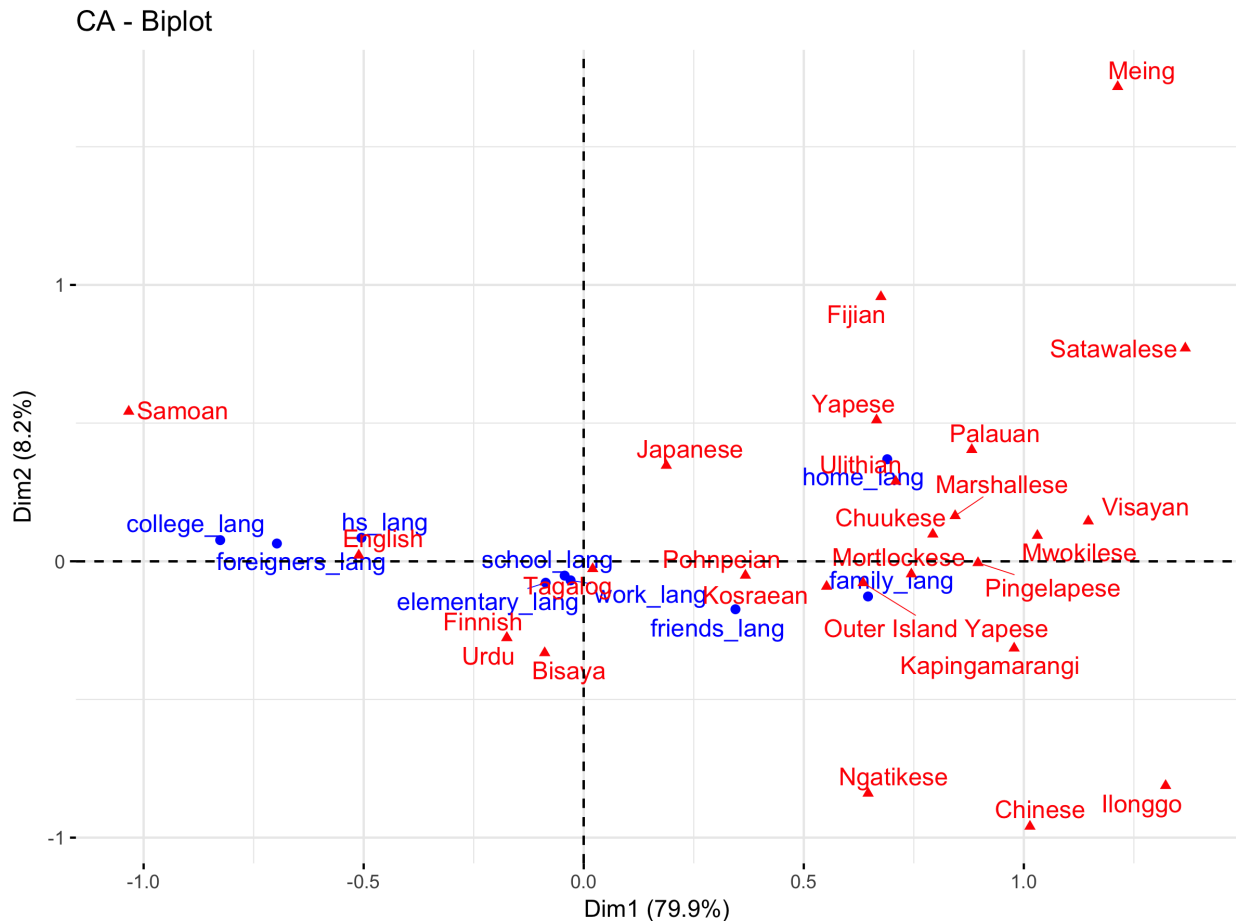


Figure 5.89. CA plot of dimensions 1 and 2 for reported language use

Based on this interpretation of dimension 1 for language selection, one can see which languages often co-occur. English is relatively isolated with immigrant languages nearby, such as Finnish, Urdu, Bisaya, Tagalog, and Samoan. Pohnpeian, however, has many languages closer to it. Pohnpeian occurs closely with other languages of the FSM such as Kosraean, Mortlockese, and Chuukese. These pattern indicate that those who selected other so-called ‘Micronesian’ languages tended to also select high levels of Pohnpeian, while those who selected many immigrant languages also chose many English. However, some language like Japanese and Chinese also have high levels of Pohnpeian, because those who selected those tended to be Pohnpeians who learned them as second languages.

For the domains, language spoken by college teachers on the far left (close to English) and family and home language are on the far right (close to Pohnpeian). Figure 5.91 shows that language spoken by college teachers, family language, home language, and language spoken with foreigners contribute the most to dimension 1. Language spoken by college teachers, language spoken with foreigners, and

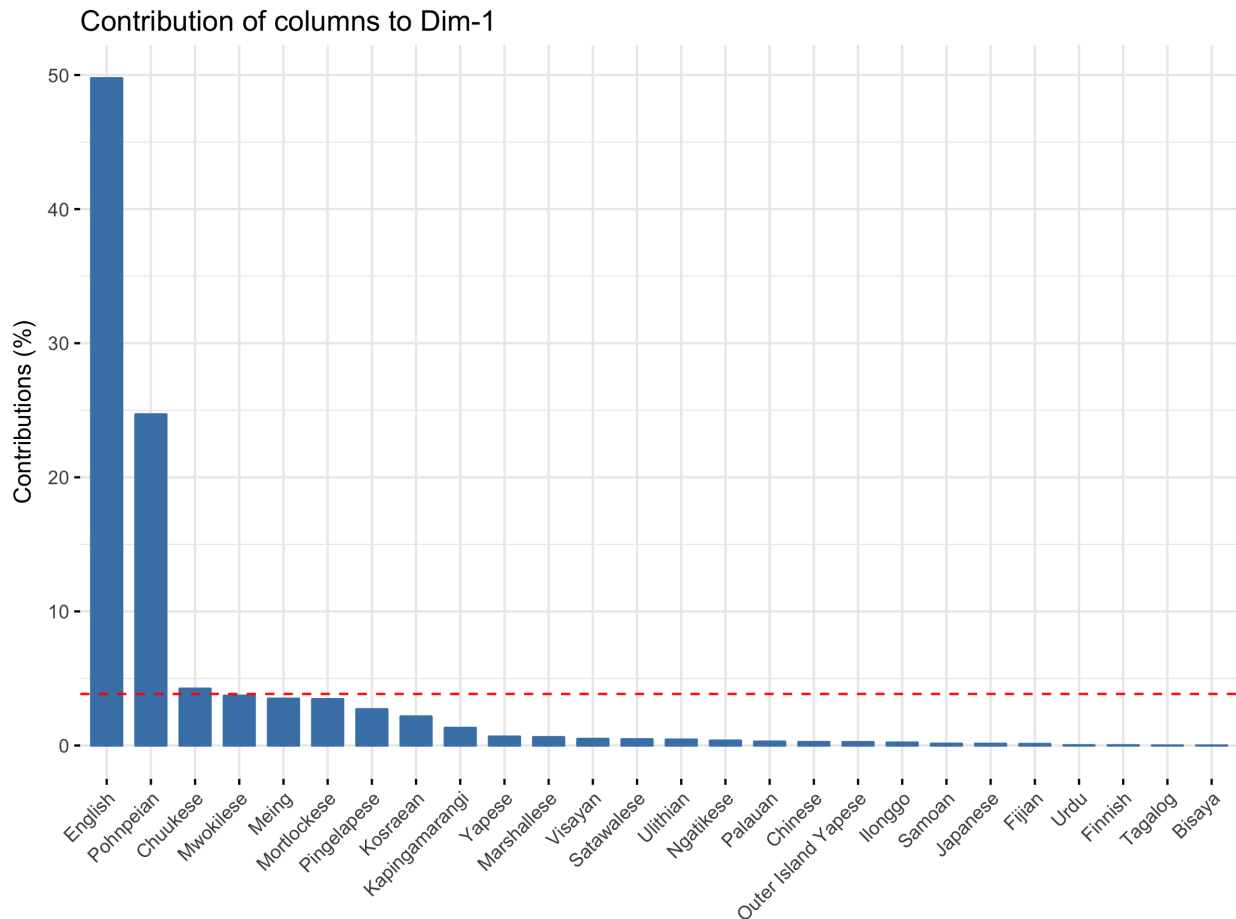


Figure 5.90. Languages than contributed to dimension 1 of the reported language use CA

language of high school teachers occur very closely with English. Given the few other languages near it, they also have higher levels of monolingualism. Toward the middle (0.0 on dimension 1), languages spoken in school, language of elementary school teachers, and language spoken at work occur, which indicates a split between English and Pohnpeian (and other languages). These domains have high levels of bilingualism with English and Pohnpeian. Languages spoken with friends occurs slightly to the right, which indicates some English but most Pohnpeian responses. Language spoken with family and at home occur furthest to the right, which indicates high levels of Pohnpeian and little English. They also occur near many other languages, which shows a high level of multilingualism.

To formalize the groupings of the domains, a hierarchical clustering analysis was applied to the CA data. The results show 3 clusters in the domains. The clusters are visualized in Figure 5.92.

Cluster 1 includes the domains language spoken by college teachers, language spoken with foreigners, and language spoken by high school teachers. This cluster represents domains with very

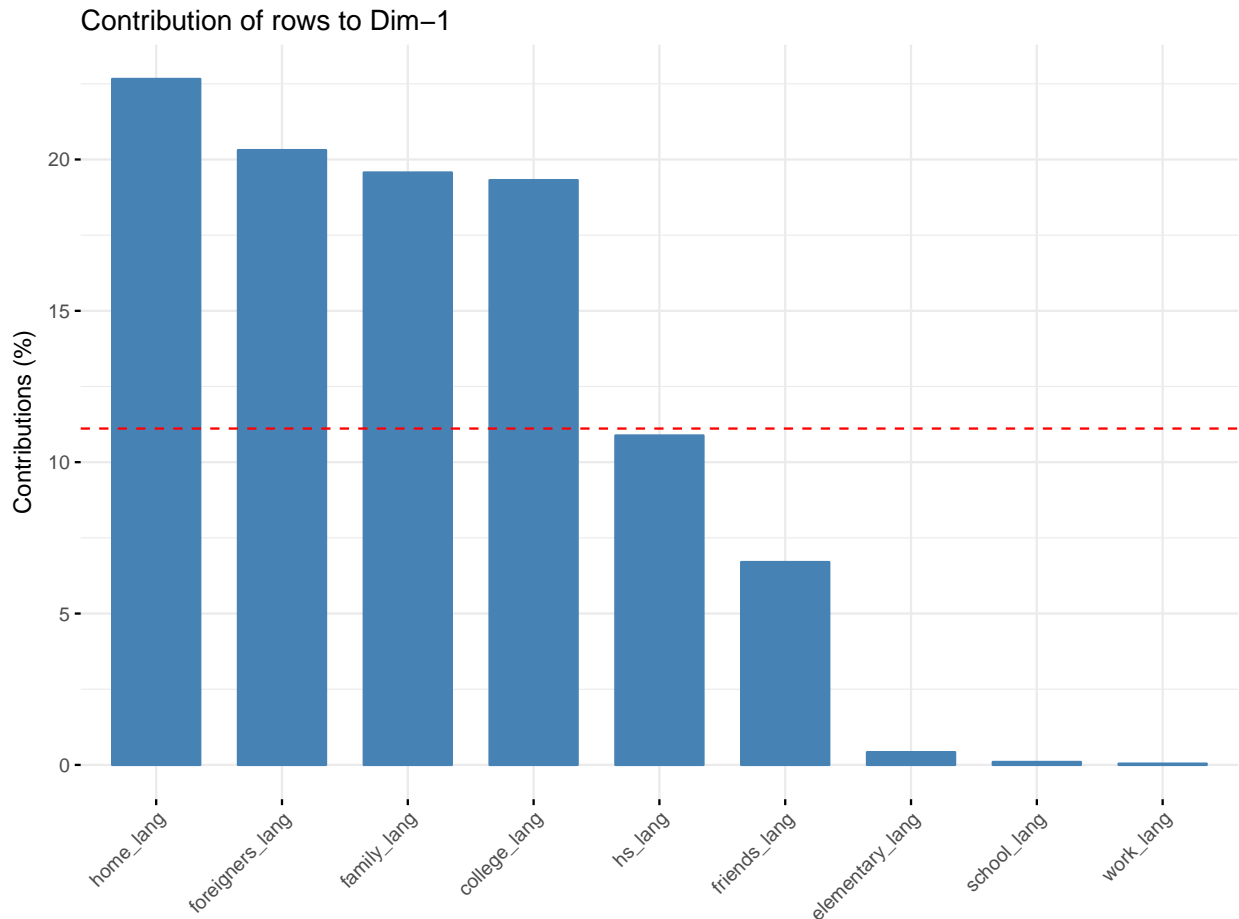


Figure 5.91. Domains than contributed to dimension 1 of the reported language use CA

high levels of English and low levels of other languages. These domains are most monolingual of all the domains, especially the college domain.

Cluster 2 includes the domains language spoken by elementary teachers, language spoken at school, and language spoken at work. These domains are closer to 0 on dimension 1, which indicates a divide between English and Pohnpeian. Since they all have negative dimension 1 values, there is a slightly greater preference for English than Pohnpeian, though still fairly evenly divided.

Cluster 3 includes the domains languages spoken at home, language spoken with family, and languages spoken with friends. These domains all have positive values on dimension 1, which indicate higher levels of Pohnpeian and lower levels of English. This domain also has the highest levels of multilingualism since they also occurred with many other of the languages found on Pohnpei.

Overall cluster 1 represents areas with a strong outside focus, in that the norms for those areas are not centered or controlled by entirely by Pohnpeians. Colleges and high schools in the FSM

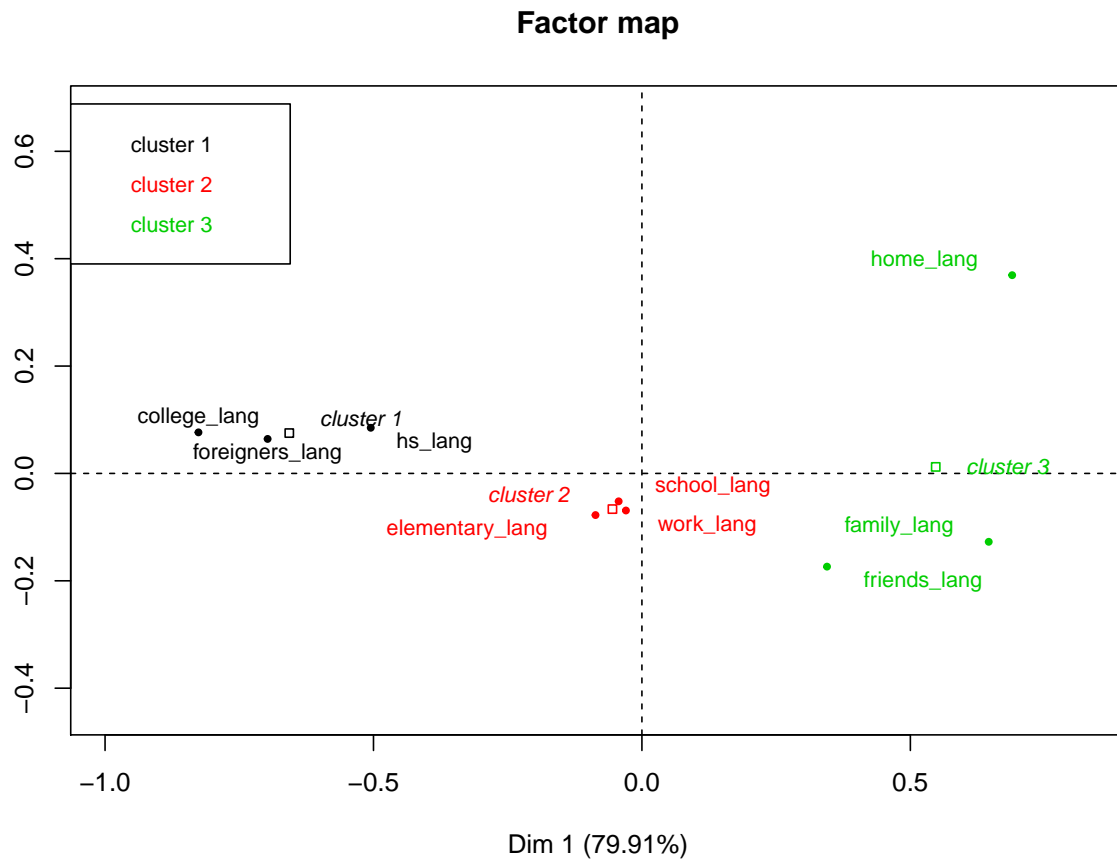


Figure 5.92. Domain clusters for the reported language use CA

are heavily influenced by the U.S. educational system and are very English-centric places. Cluster 2 represents those places where there is more Pohnpeian control, but there is still a need to use English. Elementary education on Pohnpei involves much more Pohnpeian and other local languages that are not used as much in high school or college for instruction. Many occupations on Pohnpei also require people to interact with non-Pohnpeian speakers, though many still use Pohnpeian with co-workers who can also speak it. Cluster 3 represents those domains that the respondents have the most control over. Because of this control, there is a lot more diversity present in this cluster than in the other two.

5.5.2 Language importance by domain

This section presents the results of the CA done with the language importance by domain questions (questions 3.1.1–3.3.7). These questions only had one answer each and only eight language choices: Pohnpeian, Pingelapese, Mwokilese, Chuukese, Kosraean, Mortlockese, or Other. These questions

look at what single language each respondent views as most important for each domain. These questions differ from those in §5.5.1 in that they seek not the actual use, but what languages are indexed by each domain.

For the CA analysis, two dimensions were kept. However, dimension 1 accounts for 85% of the data's variance and dimension 2 only accounts for 9.7%, so only dimension 1 needs to be analyzed, though dimension 2 will be discussed briefly. The CA results of plotted in Figure 5.93.

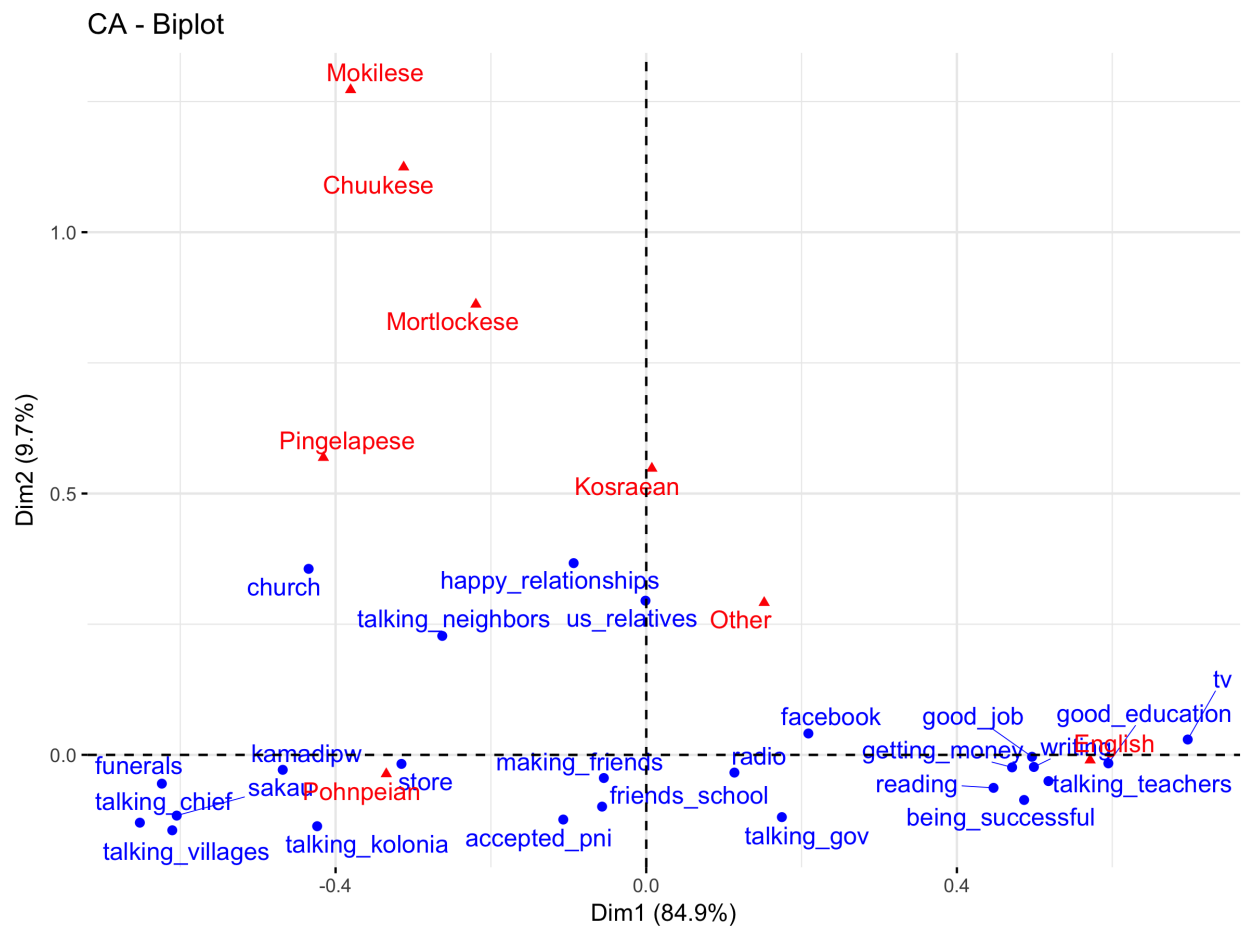


Figure 5.93. CA plot of dimensions 1 and 2 for language importance by domain

In the CA plot, English and Pohnpeian appear on opposite sides of dimension 1, with Pohnpeian being on the negative side (left) and English on the positive side (right). Most of the other languages are also on the negative side with Pohnpeian, which indicate that they have a high level of co-occurrence with Pohnpeian and less so with English. Dimension 1 is then interpreted as having more English selections (positive values) or more Pohnpeian selections (negative values). This interpretation is supported by Figure 5.94, where English and Pohnpeian are the two languages that

contributed the most the creation of dimension 1. Dimension 2 corresponds to selections other than English or Pohnpeian. Since there are relatively few of these selections, dimension 2 only represents a small percentage of the total variation in the data. For these languages, Other has a positive value for dimension 1 so it occurs more often other English responses. Kosraean has a dimension 1 value near 0 so it is evenly divided between Pohnpeian and English. Pingelapese, Mwokilese, Chuukese, and Mortlockese have the greatest negative values for dimension 1, which means they co-occur most often with Pohnpeian, rather than English. Of all the other languages, Mwokilese has the highest dimension 2 value, which indicates that it has the most selections out of the other languages.

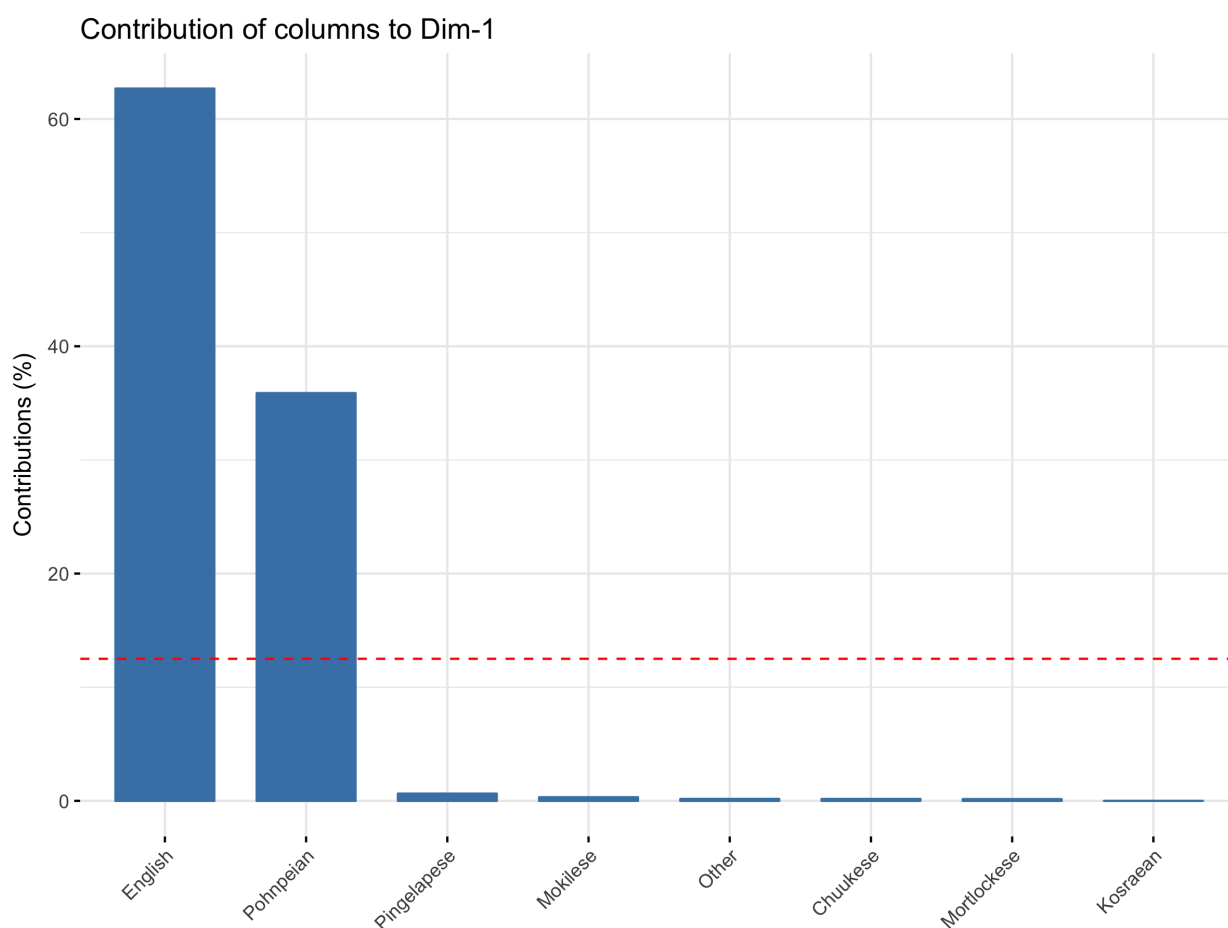


Figure 5.94. Languages that contributed to dimension 1 for the language importance by domain CA

There is a wide spread of the domains along dimension 1. TV and getting a good education have the highest positive values, indicating more English, while funerals and talking with kaunen kousapw have the greatest negative values, indicating more Pohnpeian. Some domains like church, talking with neighbors, being happy in your relationships, and talking with relatives in the U.S. have the

highest dimension 2 values, which indicate they have the highest number of selections for languages other than English and Pohnpeian. These domains also have negative values on dimension 1, which indicates that they also have higher levels of Pohnpeian than English. Figure 5.95 shows the domains that contributed the most to the construction of dimension 1.

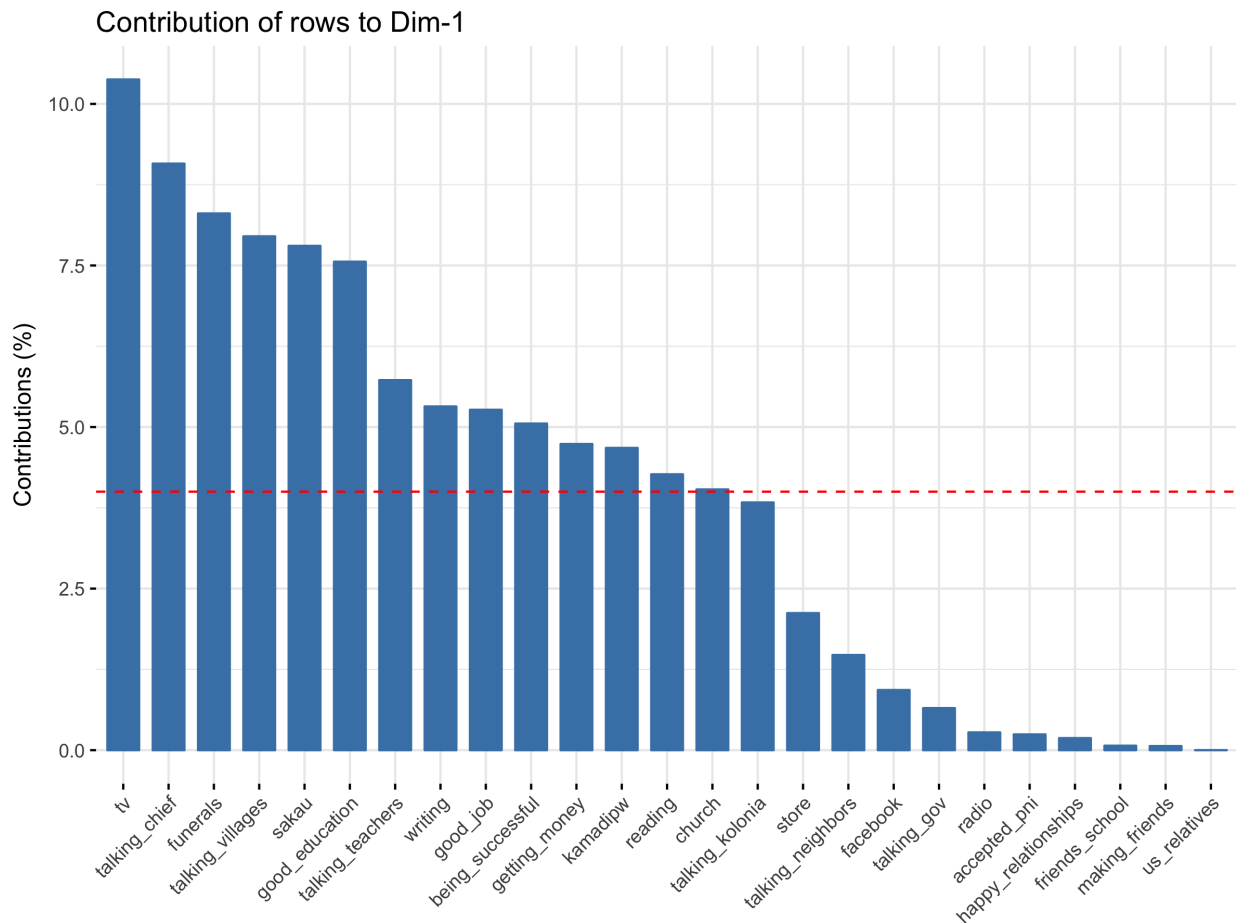


Figure 5.95. Domains that contributed to dimension 1 for the language importance by domain CA

Because there are many domains, it is useful to cluster them together using hierarchical clustering to see how they pattern together in a more formal way. The results show three clusters in the domains that are depicted in Figure 5.96.

Cluster 1 includes eight domains: church, kamadipw, store, funerals, drinking sakau, talking to people in Kolonia, talking with kaunen kousapw, and talking with people in the sections (villages) of Pohnpei. These domains have the lowest dimension 1 values that indicate very high levels of Pohnpeian selections. Except for church, they all have lower levels of other languages. Church, however, has both high levels of Pohnpeian and other languages. This cluster corresponds to domains

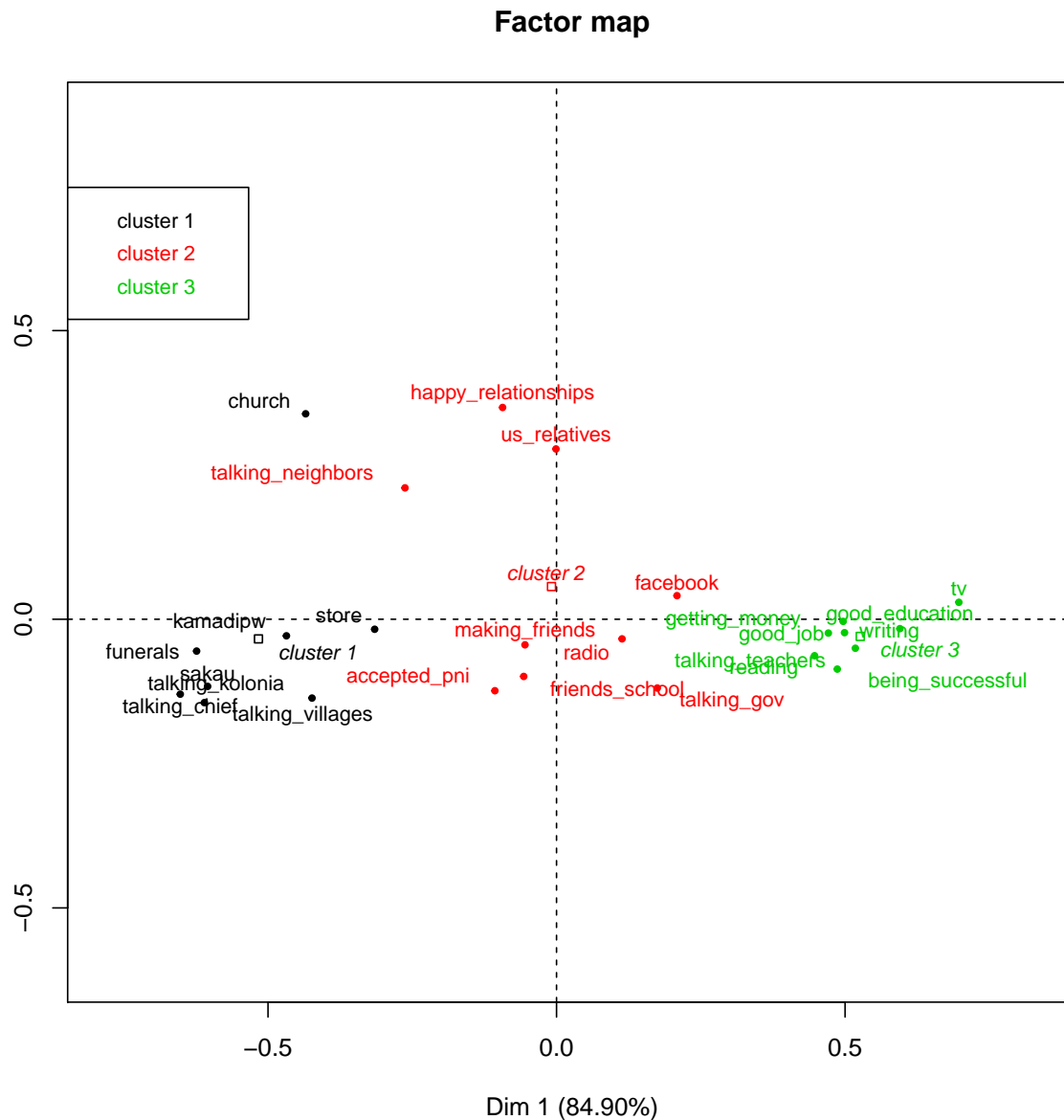


Figure 5.96. Plot of hierarchical clusters for language importance by domain CA

that are controlled by Pohnpeians typically, except for church, since there are churches for many other communities (such as Kosraeans, English-speakers, and Pingelapese).

Cluster 2 includes ten domains: talking with neighbors, being happy in your relationship, talking with U.S. relatives, being accepted in Pohnpei, making friends, using Facebook, listening to the radio, talking with friends from school, and talking with government officials. These domains tend to be centered close to 0 on dimension 1, which indicates a more even divide between Pohnpeian and

English. Some of these domains, such as being happy in your relationships, have a high dimension 2 value that corresponds to higher levels of other languages. Overall the domains in cluster 2 fall into one of two general categories: domains open to everyone (such as talking with neighbors and making friends) and domains run by Pohnpeians but with outside influence (such as radio and talking with friends from school). The domains that are open to everyone have the most diversity and are only limited by the languages spoken by the people one interacts with on a daily basis. These domains are perhaps less regulated or controlled by outside influences. The other set of domains, the ones run by Pohnpeians but with outside influence, have significant levels of Pohnpeian, but have higher English selections because of the outside influences. These domains correspond to things like the radio, where the radio stations are often run by residents of Pohnpei and can broadcast in Pohnpeian, but also play music and some of the programs in English. Likewise, most of the years one spends in school on Pohnpei will be done in English, so it makes sense that one may use English to speak to school friends since, they may be accustomed to speaking English with them or their friends may be from a different island and may not speak Pohnpeian. It is interesting to note that being accepted in Pohnpei is in this cluster. Its value, while negative, still indicates a high percentage of English selections. By having this value, it indicates that many view Pohnpeian and English as being important for being accepted in Pohnpei.

Cluster 3 includes eight domains: getting money, getting a good job, talking with teachers, reading, writing, getting a good education, being successful, and watching TV. This cluster has the highest dimension 1 values of the three clusters, which means that its domains have the highest percentage of English selections. These domains generally correspond to domains or ideas that are controlled by outside forces. For example, getting money or a good job are determined by the whims of outside economic interests or having to travel abroad, which may require English use. There are few books written in Pohnpeian or other local languages, so most people may read things in English. The same goes for writing. Unlike radio, there are few producers of TV programs on Pohnpei and those that do so, often make programs in English for larger audiences. Most of the TV programs that one watches on Pohnpei are in English or other major languages such as Korean, Tagalog, or Japanese. Because the primary language for most of education on Pohnpei is English, it makes sense that people associate English with talking with teachers. There are also many teachers from the U.S. and other English speaking countries on Pohnpei.

Overall, the three clusters represent Pohnpei majority (and mostly monolingual) domains where Pohnpeians have the most control, domains where there are many other language and a divide between English and Pohnpei, and domains where English is the majority (and mostly monolingual) where Pohnpeians have the least control.

5.5.3 Level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian

This section presents the results of the CA done with the level of agreement with characteristics of people who can speak Pohnpeian questions (questions 3.5.1–3.5.30). The responses to these characteristics were only ‘Really disagree’, ‘Disagree somewhat’, ‘Agree somewhat’, or ‘Really agree’. The results for the characteristics that occurred in both versions are presented first and are followed by a separate CA for those only in version 2 in §5.5.3.1.

For the CA analysis, two dimensions were kept. Dimension 1 accounts for 87% of the variance in the data while dimension two accounts for 11%. Since dimension 1 accounts for most of the variance, it will be the primary discussion of the analysis. The CA results are shown in Figure 5.97.

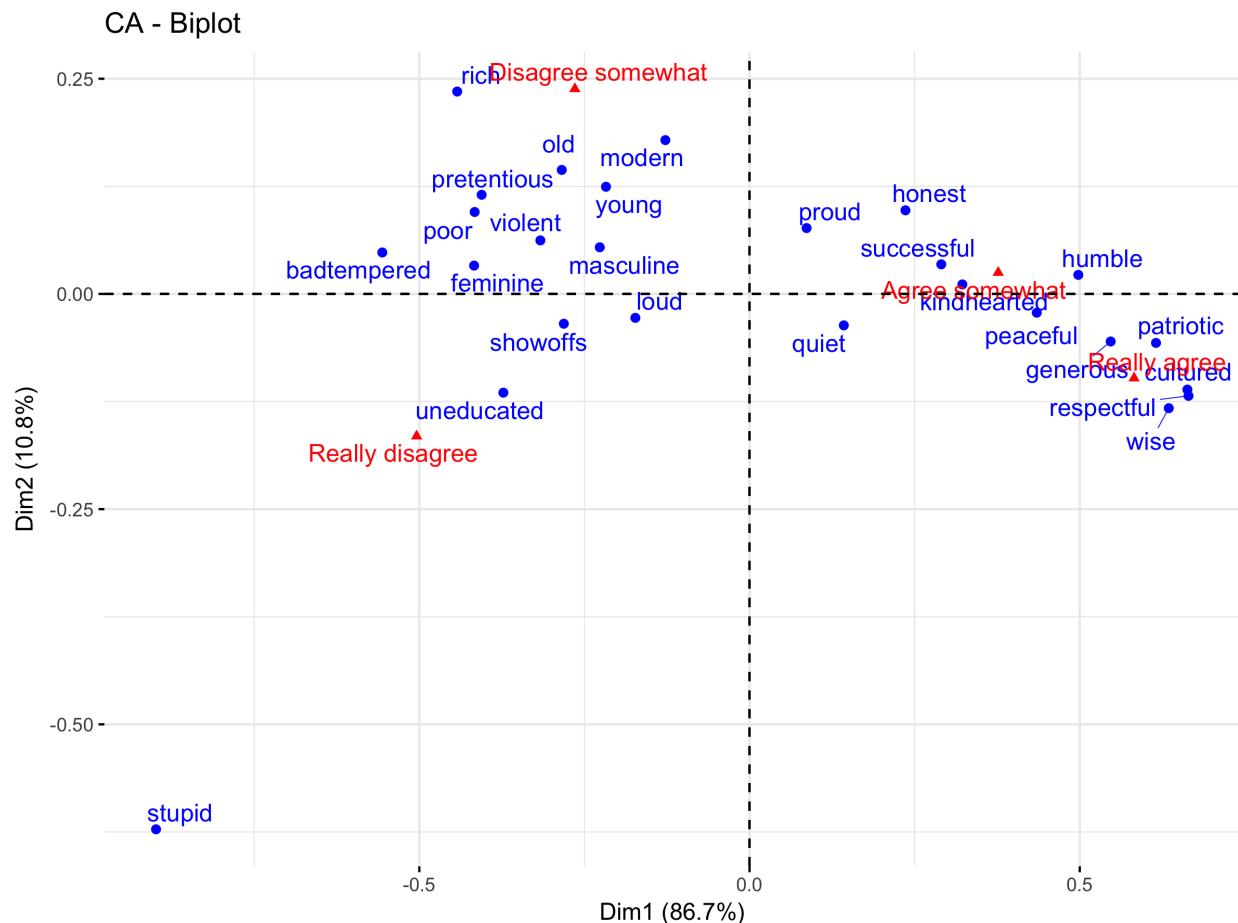


Figure 5.97. CA plot of dimensions 1 and 2 for level of agreement of characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers

In the CA plot, really disagree and really agree appear on opposite sides of dimension 1. Really disagree corresponds to negative dimension 1 values, while really agree corresponds to positive values.

This view is supported by Figure 5.98 that shows that really disagree and really agree contributed the most to the construction of dimension 1. Positive values of dimension 2 correspond with greater percentages of Disagree somewhat and agree somewhat responses. The four responses are spaced about evenly apart on dimension with really disagree furthest left, then disagree somewhat (negative dimension 1 value), then agree somewhat (positive dimension 1 value), and really agree at the far right. Disagree somewhat and agree somewhat both have positive dimension 2 values, while really disagree and really agree have negative values.

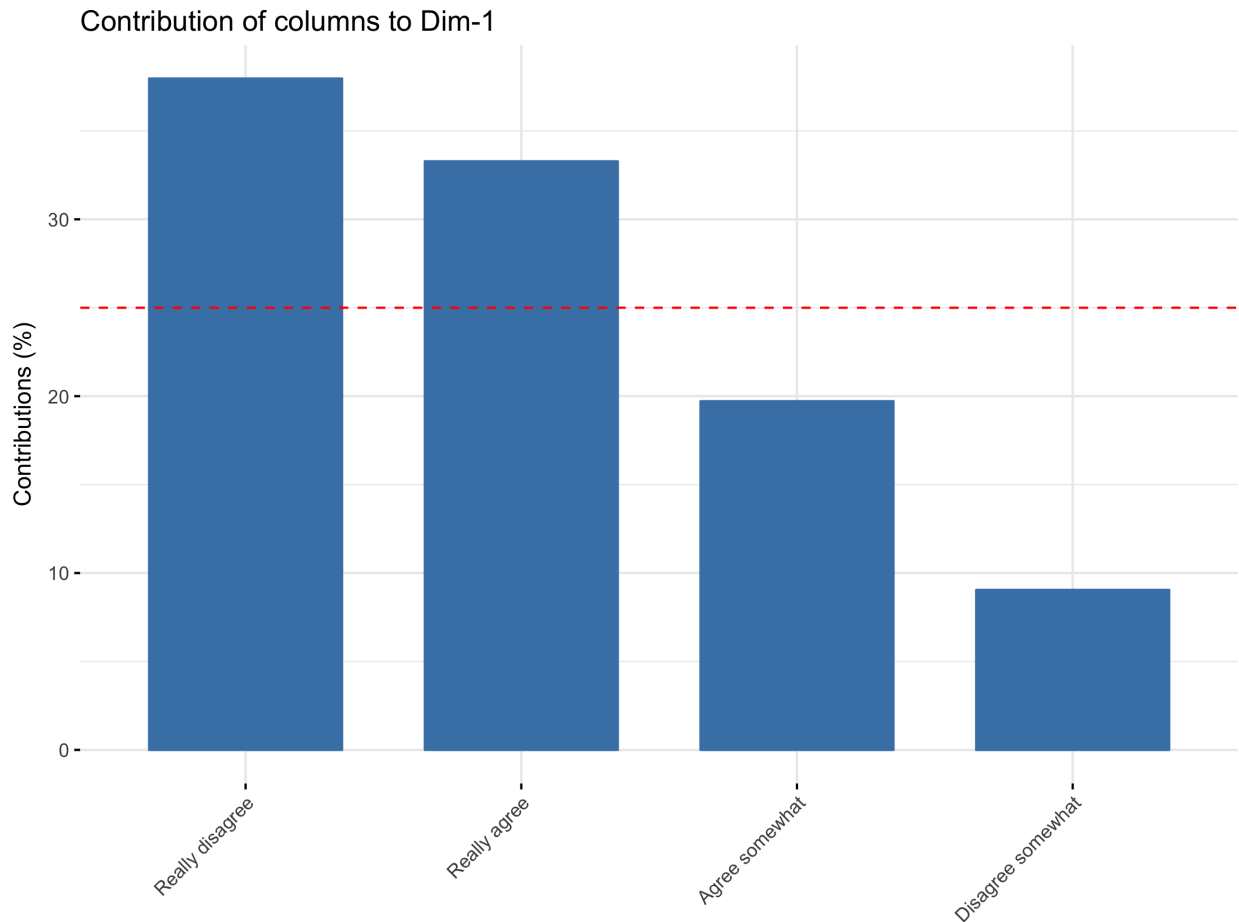


Figure 5.98. Responses that contributed to dimension 1 for the level of agreement with characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA

For the characteristics, stupid has the lowest dimension 1 value, which shows that it has high levels of really disagree responses. On the opposite side, respectful has the highest positive dimension 1 value which corresponds to high levels of really agree. Rich has the highest dimension 2 value, which means the most somewhat disagree/agree responses. Stupid has the lowest dimension 2 value, which

indicates very little somewhat disagree/agree responses. Figure 5.99 shows which characteristics contributed the most to the creation of dimension 1.

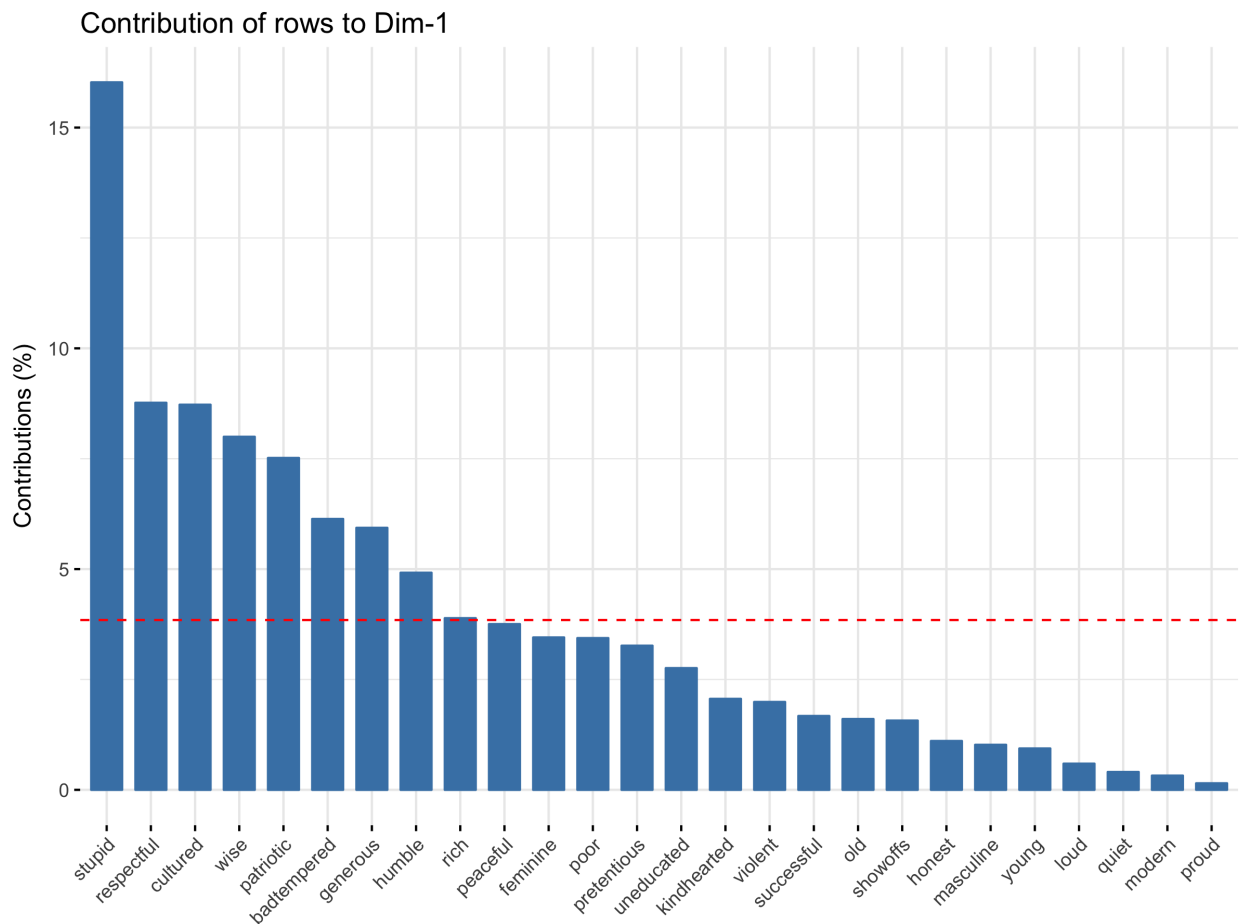


Figure 5.99. Characteristics that contributed to dimension 1 for the level of agreement with characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA

To better understand how the characteristics group together, a hierarchical clustering analysis was applied to the CA data. The clustering analysis generated four clusters among the characteristics, which are displayed in Figure 5.100.

Cluster 1 includes only one characteristic: stupid. Stupid has the lowest values for both dimensions 1 and 2, which means that a very high percentage of its responses are really disagree. Based on the cluster and the CA analysis, stupid is an outlier among the characteristics. It is also a negative characteristic and most people disagreed with it.

Cluster 2 includes 13 characteristics: rich, pretentious, bad-tempered, poor, feminine, old, violent, modern, young, masculine, loud, show-offs, and uneducated. All of these characteristics have high levels of really disagree and many also have high levels of disagree somewhat. One of the 13

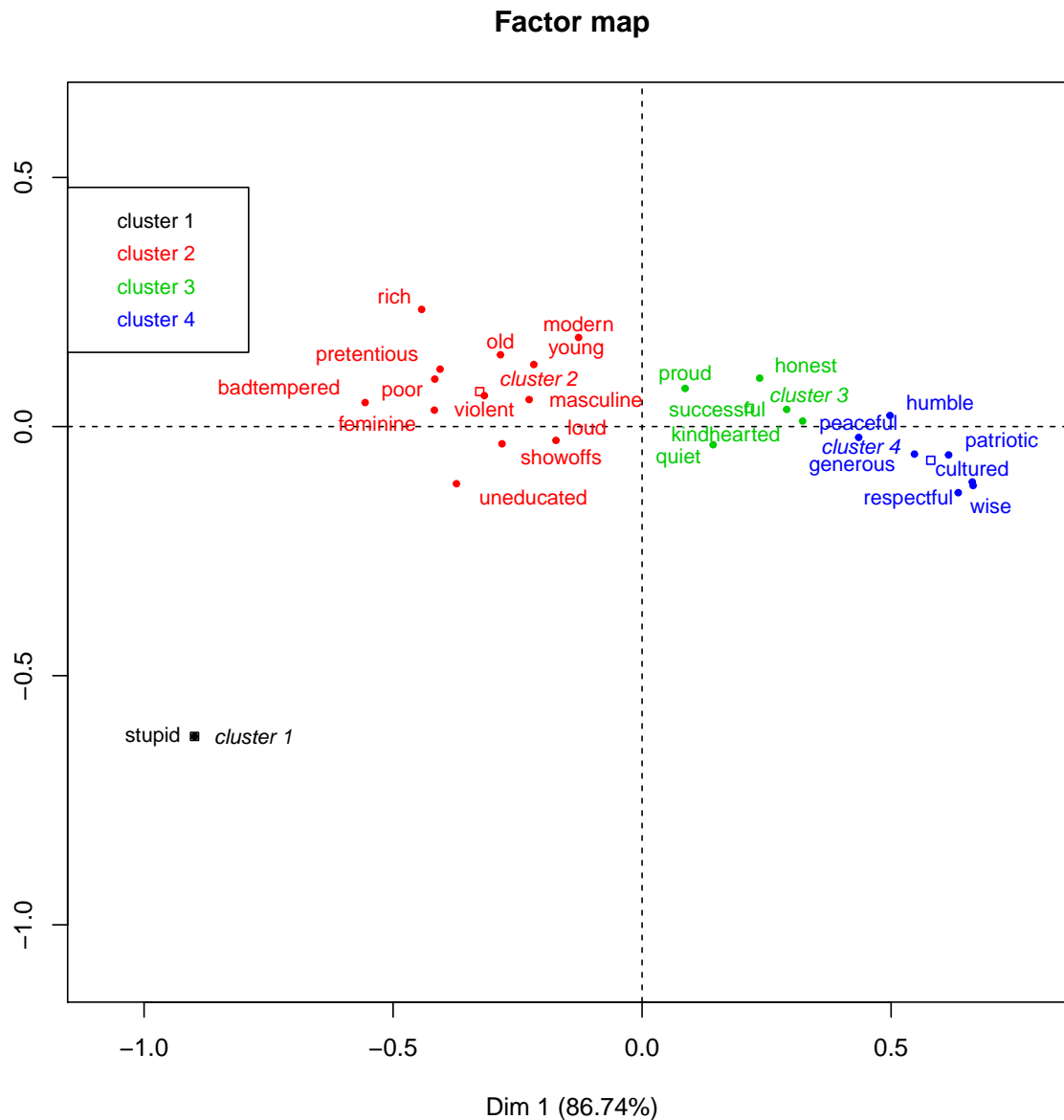


Figure 5.100. Plot of hierarchical clusters for characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA

characteristics, rich, is a positive characteristics. Five of them are neutral: feminine, masculine, old, young, and modern. Seven are negative: pretentious, bad-tempered, poor, violent, loud, show-offs, and uneducated.

Cluster 3 includes five characteristics: proud, successful, kind-hearted, honest, and quiet. These characteristics all have high levels of really agree and agree somewhat. All of these characteristics are positive characteristics, except for quiet, which is a neutral one.

Cluster 4 includes seven characteristics: humble, peaceful, generous, respectful, cultured, patriotic, and wise. The characteristics in this cluster all have the highest level of really agree responses. All of these characteristics are positive characteristics, except for patriotic, which is neutral.

Overall, the clusters show that positive characteristics mostly cluster together as do the neutral and negative characteristics. Clusters 1 and 2 overall represent all the negative and most most of the neutral characteristics, which all have most disagreement responses. Clusters 3 and 4 include all but one of the positive characteristics (except rich), and two of the neutral characteristics. These two clusters have high levels of agreement. The difference between clusters 3 and 4 in terms of the characteristics is that those in cluster 4 have higher levels of really agree. Those in cluster 4 may also correspond to salient values that are widely held on Pohnpei.

5.5.3.1 Version 2 only

This section presents the CA results for the characteristics that occurred only in version 2 of the questionnaire. There are only four new characteristics in this section: smart, greedy, ugly, and education. The CA for these characteristics, like the previous one, maintained two dimensions that are plotted in Figure 5.101. Dimension 1 accounts for 86% of the variance in the data and dimension 2 accounts for 12%.

Like the CA for the other characteristics, the responses are mapped out in the same way for dimension 1. Negative values of dimension 1 correspond with really disagree and positive values really agree. Positive values of dimension 2 correspond to more disagree somewhat or agree somewhat, while negative values correspond with fewer of the ‘somewhat’ responses. Figure 5.102 shows that really disagree and really agree contributed the most to the construction of dimension 1.

Since there are only four characteristics, it is easy to see how they map relative to the responses. Ugly has the lowest dimension 1 value, which corresponds with the highest levels really disagree. On the opposite side, educated has the highest dimension 1 value, which is closest to really agree. Greedy is mapped closely to disagree somewhat and smart is between agree somewhat and really agree. The contribution of each characteristic to dimension 1 is shown in Figure 5.103.

These four characteristics can also be clustered via the hierarchical clustering algorithm, though it is less helpful since so few characteristics. The cluster analysis created 3 clusters that are displayed in Figure 5.104.

Cluster 1 includes only ugly, which has many really disagree values. Cluster 2 contains only greedy, which has many disagree somewhat responses. Cluster 3 contains both smart and education, which have many really agree and somewhat agree responses. Overall, clusters 1 and 2 contain the two negative characteristics, while cluster 3 contains the positives ones.

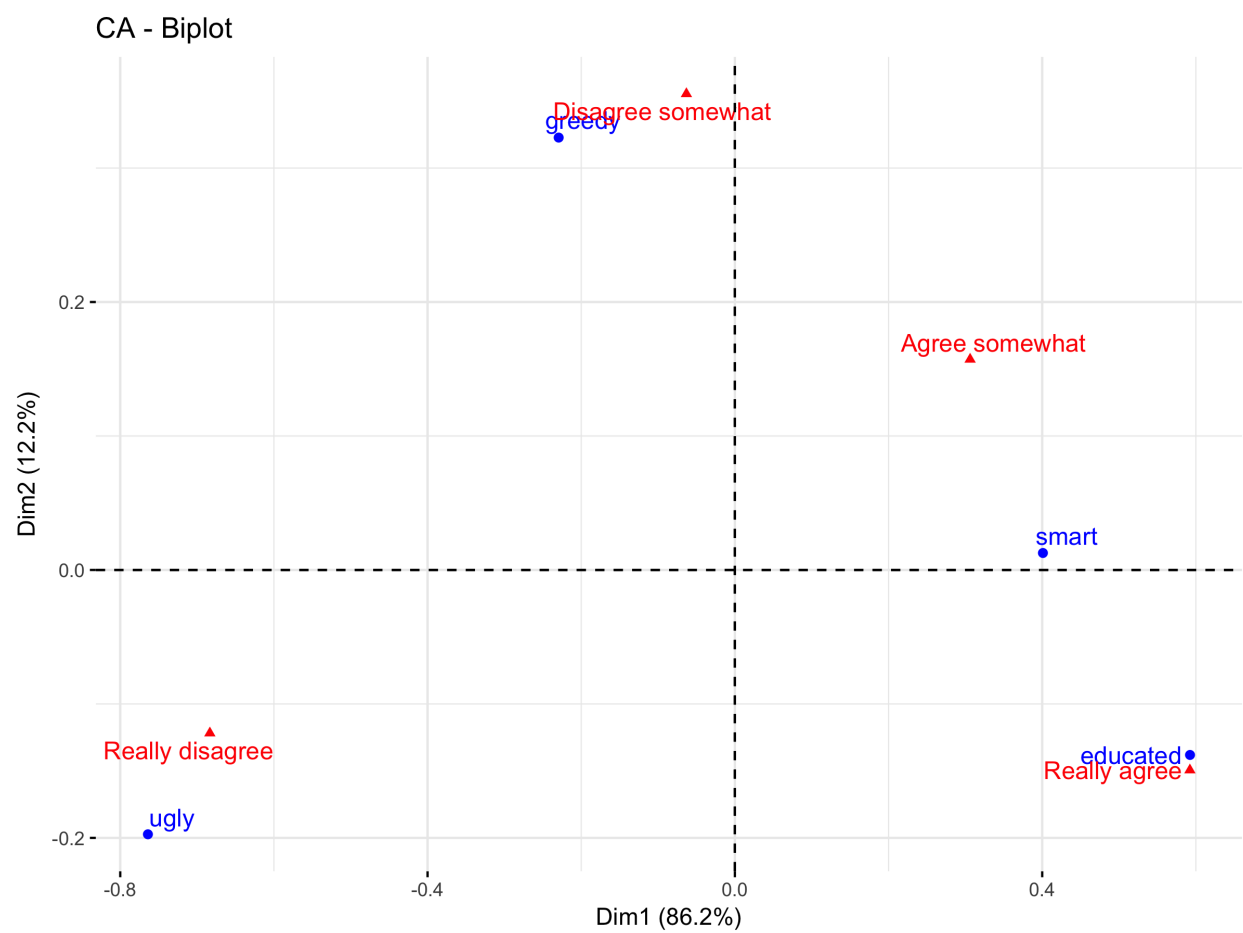


Figure 5.101. CA plot of dimensions 1 and 2 for level of agreement of characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers (version 2 only)

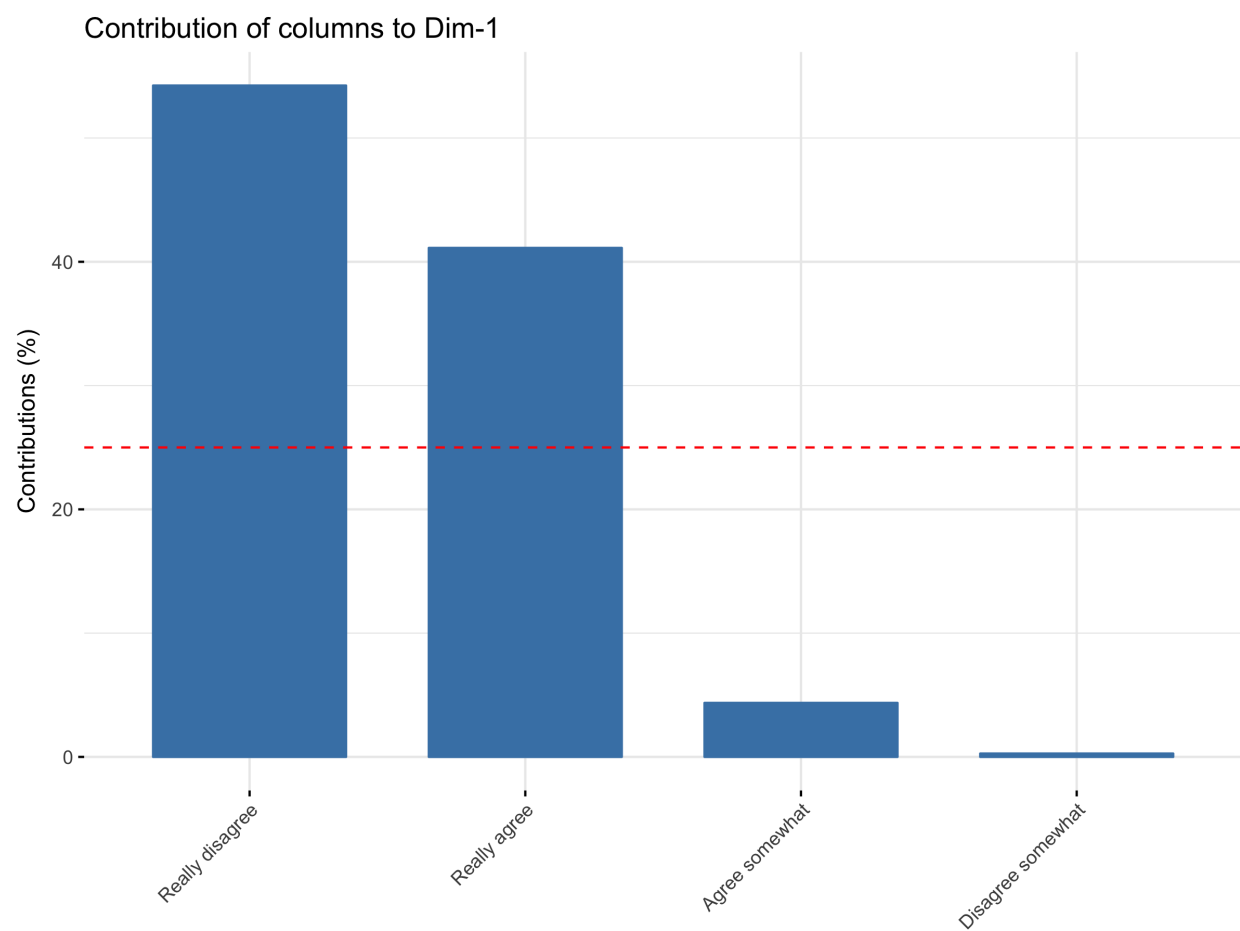


Figure 5.102. Responses that contributed to dimension 1 for the level of agreement with characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA (version 2 only)

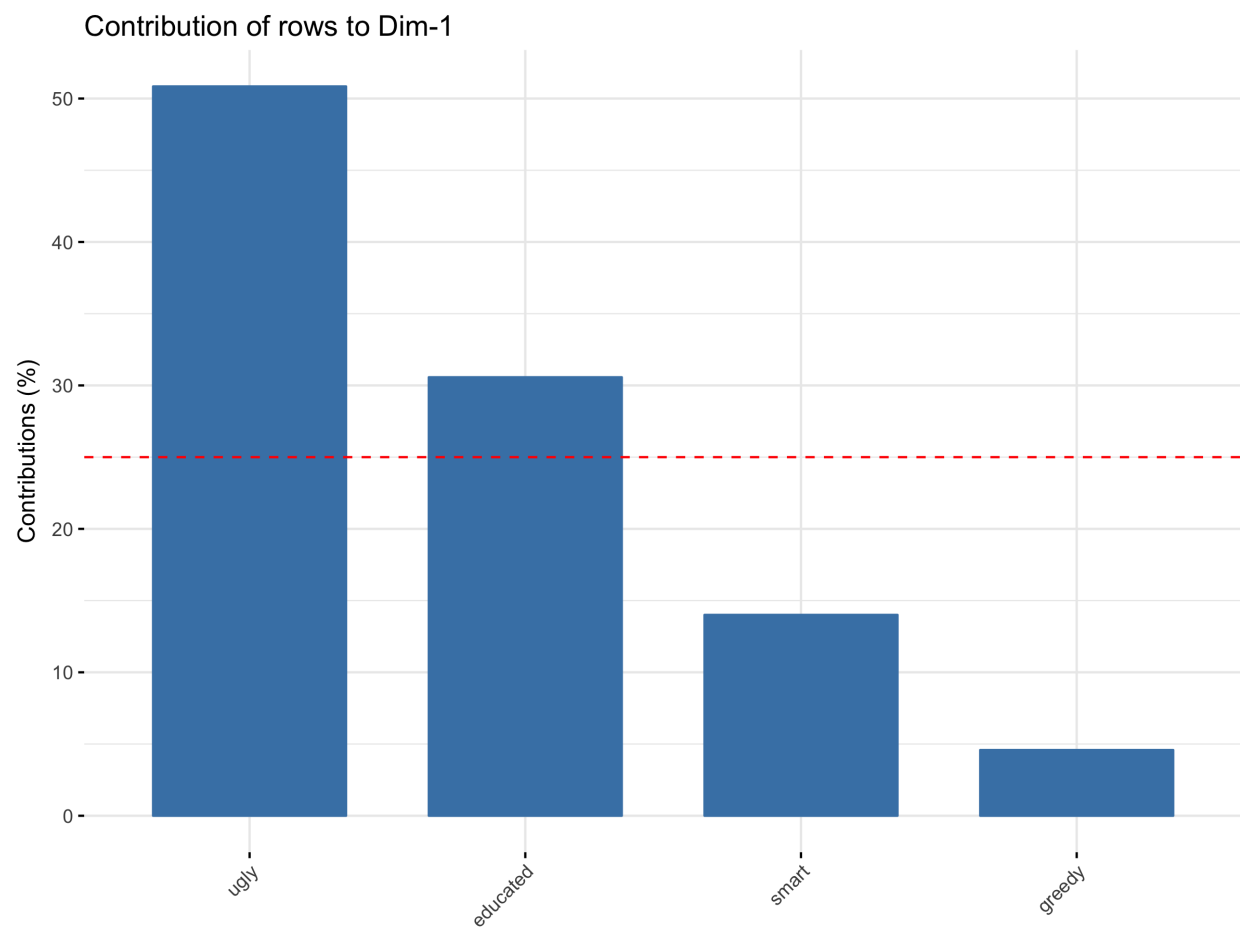


Figure 5.103. Characteristics that contributed to dimension 1 for the level of agreement with characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA (version 2 only)

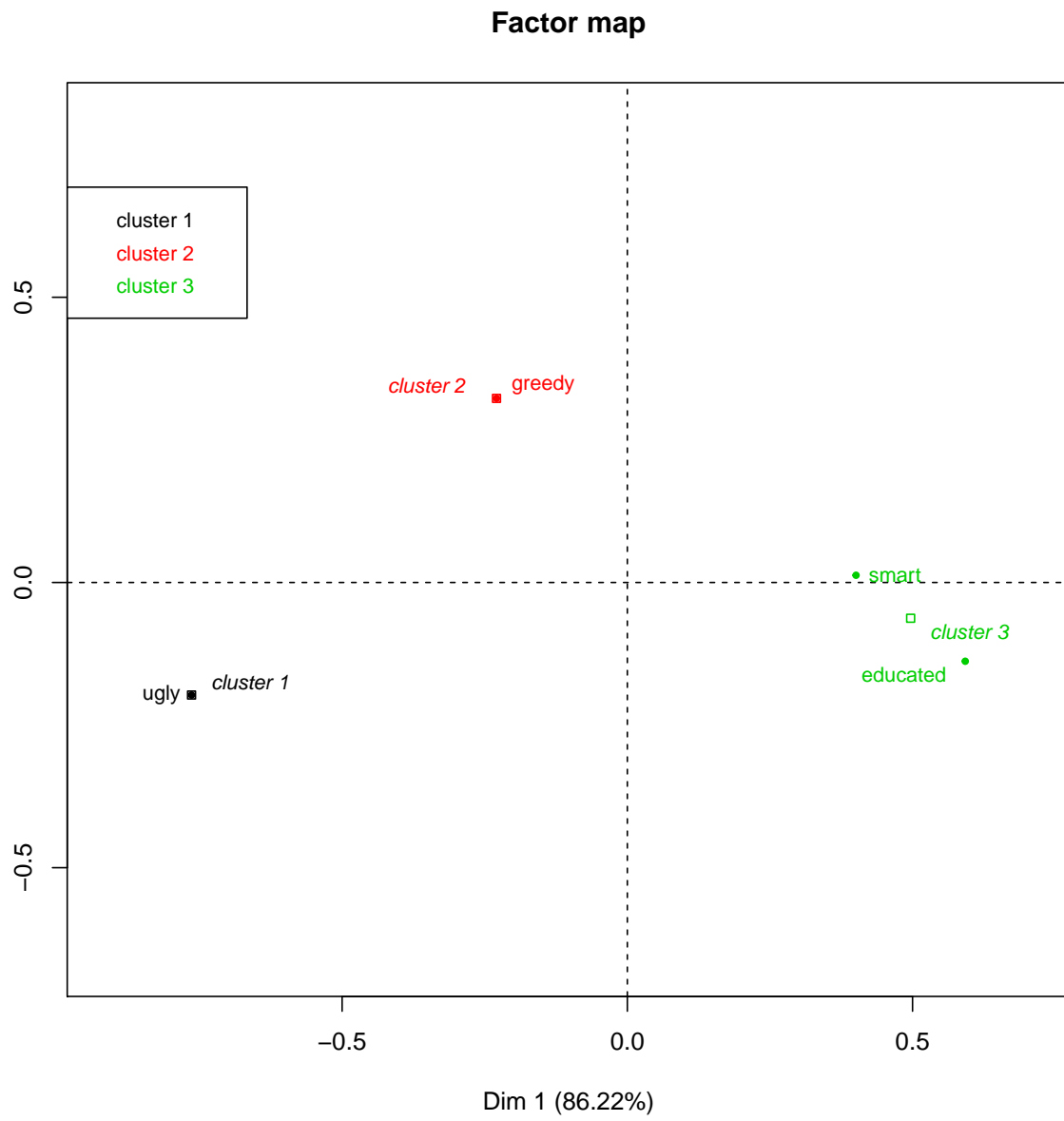


Figure 5.104. Plot of hierarchical clusters for characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers CA (version 2 only)

Chapter 6

Interview results

This chapter presents the results from the interviews conducted on Pohnpei during July–August 2016 and July–August 2017. §6.1 gives a list of the interviewees and a summary of their background information. The following section, §6.2, provides results from the interviews grouped by the relevant domain. In the same section the results are further analyzed based on the relevant referenced scales (see §2.1.7 for a discussion of sociolinguistic scale). §6.3 concludes the chapter with a short summary of the interview results. The transcription system used for the interviews is given in Appendix A. The data presented in this chapter complement those in the previous chapter by providing how people on Pohnpei actually talk about and rationalize their language attitudes. This information provides more depth and explanatory power to the discussion about language attitudes on Pohnpei.

6.1 Interview participants

This chapter discusses the attitudes of eight interview participants. The names of all participants are changed for their privacy. The participants are referred to by a two letter abbreviation. Since I was the interviewer, I refer to myself by my name, Brad. Table 6.1 summarizes basic information for each participant. The recording code in the table corresponds to the archived file name in the Kaipuleohone archive. The eight participants in this chapter represent a much more limited sample than those in the previous chapter. Geographically, these participants only come from three of the five municipalities on the island of Pohnpei. All of them have completed high school and have at least some college experience. They also represent a limited age range of 18–54, and all of them speak English fluently. While a much more limited sample demographically, these eight participants still represent some of the diversity of language attitudes on Pohnpei and add insight into the analysis of those attitudes.

DE is a 54 year-old Pohnpeian man who grew up on Pohnpei. He attended Xavier High School in Chuuk as well as the Community College of Micronesia. He is currently a deacon in the Catholic

Table 6.1. Summary information of interview participants

Name	Gender	Age	Education level	Occupation	Current Residence	Recording code
DE	M	54	Bachelor's	Catholic Deacon	Kolonia	BR1-21
PR	F	40s	Master's	Professor at COM-FSM	Sokehs	BR1-22
TK	M	45	Associate's	Public school teacher	Kitti	BR1-23
MK	F	37	Bachelor's	NGO employee	Kolonia	BR1-25
RK	M	28	Some college	College student	Kitti	BR1-26
CE	F	18	High school diploma	College student	Kolonia	BR1-27
DI	F	18	High school diploma	Student at COM-FSM	Kitti	BR1-28
JN	M	26	Some college	College student	Kolonia	BR1-29

Church and is the pastor of a parish on Pohnpei. He speaks English, Pohnpeian, and some Chuukese. See Appendix E for the full transcript.

PR is a Pingelapese woman in her 40s who grew up on Pohnpei in Sokehs. She currently teaches at the College of Micronesia–FSM National Campus (COM-FSM) in Palikir. She lived in the U.S. for several years where she completed her bachelor's and master's. She then moved back to Pohnpei after graduating and has lived on Pohnpei since. PR speaks English, Pingelapese, Pohnpeian, and can understand Mwokilese. The full transcript is in Appendix F.

TK is a 45 year-old Pohnpeian man who grew up on Pohnpei in Kitti. He is currently a public school teacher in Kitti. He speaks English and Pohnpeian. The full transcript is in Appendix G.

MK is a Pohnpeian woman who is 37 who grew up both on Pohnpei and in the U.S.. Her mother is American. She currently works for an NGO in Kolonia. She speaks English, Pohnpeian, as well as some Kosraean, Chuukese, and Marshallese. The full transcript is in Appendix H.

RK is 28 year-old Pohnpeian man who grew up in Kitti on Pohnpei. At the time of the interview he was working for an NGO in Kolonia while also attending college. He speaks Pohnpeian and English. The full transcript is in Appendix I.

CE is a Pohnpeian woman who is 18 and who grew up on Pohnpei in Kolonia. Her father is from New Zealand. She is currently a college student who moved abroad with her family shortly after the interview. She attended both a private elementary and high school on Pohnpei. She speaks English and some Pohnpeian. The full transcript is in Appendix J.

DI is a Pohnpeian woman who is 18 and who grew up on Pohnpei in Kitti. Her father is Japanese. She is currently a student at COM-FSM. She speaks English, Pohnpeian, and some Japanese. The full transcript is in Appendix K.

JN is a Pohnpeian man who is 26 who grew up in Pohnpei in Kolonia until he was 18. He attended private schools on Pohnpei and is a member of an economically advantaged family that owns several businesses on the island. After he graduated from high school, he moved to the U.S. for college. He

has also lived in the Netherlands for a couple of years. He was back visiting family on Pohnpei at the time of the interview. JN speaks Pohnpeian, English, Dutch, and some Japanese. The full transcript is in Appendix L.

6.2 Domain-based attitudes

In this section, the interview results are first grouped roughly by the domain (spatial-temporal place) reference. The attitudes expressed for that domain are then presented using the sociolinguistic scales that are explicitly present for the given domain. Grouping the results this way helps make sense of the complexity of daily interactions on Pohnpei. The domains and scales are discussed in separate sections, purely for the sake of clarity. In reality, the domains and scales are interconnected and overlapping. This ambiguity will be shown wherever possible.

The sections below will discuss each of the scales as they emerge in the interviews. The main scales discussed are local/community, Pohnpei, FSM, and translocal (global).

The domains discussed are family (§6.2.1), education (§6.2.2), work (§6.2.3), church (§6.2.4), around Pohnpei (§6.2.5), media (§6.2.6), languages for the FSM (§6.2.7), and the Future of Pohnpeian (§6.2.8).

6.2.1 Family

Family is the most local of the domains and the most diverse linguistically. Virtually all languages used on Pohnpei are spoken with family. Pohnpei's complex history of immigration, colonization, and now globalization has complicated what family is. Each of the interview participants has different family experiences and represents a piece of this diversity.

When PR was growing up, she would speak Pingelapese with her family on Pohnpei (Excerpt 6.1, ln. 2). When her family moved to the U.S., she continued to speak Pingelapese with them when they were at home (Excerpt 6.2, ln. 10). However, after she moved back to Pohnpei and many members of her family stayed in the U.S., their language use changed. While she still uses Pingelapese with them, they use English with her (ln. 12–14). Her family in the U.S. can understand Pingelapese but does not prefer to speak it. This loss was further exemplified when her youngest brother came back to visit her in Pohnpei. Her brother could understand Pingelapese (Excerpt 6.3, ln. 9) but was not able to speak it. PR says that her brother “was envying his other cousins for knowing Pingelapese” (ln. 13) and that “he felt that he was at a loss” (ln. 16). “He felt like he was out of the loop because his other cousins were speaking Pingelapese and he was the only one speaking English” (ln. 20). For PR, Pingelapese is the language of family, and she portrays her family as having lost a part of their identity, when they cannot speak it. In terms of scale, PR's importance of Pingelapese for her family indexically links her

family identity to her Pingelapese identity. But, for PR's family in the U.S., there is a shift in this scale. Family identity is not as strongly linked to Pingelapese and the practicality of English, as a higher scaled language in the U.S., outranks the importance of Pingelapese at home. See Excerpt 6.1

Excerpt 6.1. [BR1-22 00:03:46.4–00:03:54.6]

- 1 Brad: so i- in with your family you would speak (.) uh as a kid Pingelapese.
2 PR: In Pingelapese.

Excerpt 6.2. [BR1-22 00:52:29.6–00:53:21.9]

- 1 Brad: Um, when you were living in the U.S. for school and other things, um, how often would you be able to use Pingelapese? Like did you have family staying with you when you were at school?
2 PR: It was mostly at home.
3 Brad: Mmm.
4 PR: Because my whole family moved to the U.S.. I'm the only one who came back to this day.
5 Brad: Oh, OK.
6 PR: But all my siblings, my nieces, my nephews, most of my nieces and nephews have been born and raised there.
7 Brad: Mmm, OK.
8 PR: So I'm the only one with my kids back home again.
9 Brad: OK.
10 PR: Yeah, so when I was there it was all Pingelapese when we were at home.
11 Brad: Mmm.
12 PR: But now when I call they are speaking English.
13 Brad: @
14 PR: @ I spoke Pingelapese and they'd speak back in English, but they understand.
15 Brad: Mmm.
16 PR: They understand Pingelapese.

Excerpt 6.3. [BR1-22 00:49:43.2–00:50:50.3]

- 1 PR: You know, last year my brother, my younger, actually was the youngest when we moved abroad.
- 2 Brad: Mmm.
- 3 Brad: Mmm.
- 4 Brad: @
- 5 PR: He was, he was two when we moved away, but when he came to visit me last year he conversed all in English.
- 6 Brad: Mm-Mmm.
- 7 Brad: @
- 8 Brad: Mmm. Mmm.
- 9 PR: He was able to understand Pingelapese, but he had lost this, you know, his ability to speak Pingelapese.
- 10 Brad: Mmm.
- 11 Brad: Mm-Mmm.
- 12 Brad: Mmm.
- 13 PR: And he, he was, he was, he was envying his other cousins for knowing Pingelapese but ... @
- 14 Brad: Mmm.
- 15 Brad: Mmm. Mmm.
- 16 PR: So I think when he came back he felt that he was at a loss.
- 17 Brad: Mmm.
- 18 PR: You know, if, if all Pohnpeians, Pingelapese eventually would feel that, I think they need to because he came back and he realized that he have that other identity.
- 19 Brad: Mmm.
- 20 PR: And he didn't feel fit, you know, he felt like he was out of the loop because his other cousins were speaking Pingelapese and he was the only one speaking English so.
- 21 Brad: Mmm.
- 22 PR: He felt out of place.

DI likewise grew up on Pohnpei, but has a Pohnpeian mother and a Japanese father. For her, Pohnpeian was the primary language at home when she was growing up (Excerpt 6.4, ln. 2). However,

since her father was Japanese, she would also speak a little Japanese with him (ln. 6). Even though her father speaks Japanese and English (ln. 10), they still mostly speak in Pohnpeian (ln. 8) at home, since he is able to. For DI's family, Pohnpeian is the most important language at home, even though they have access to higher scaled languages like English and Japanese.

Excerpt 6.4. [BR1-28 00:00:59.3–00:01:34.4]

- 1 Brad: Nice. Um (.) So (.) Did you grow up speaking Pohnpeian, or what languages did you speak as a kid?
- 2 DI: Uh, I grew up speaking in the Pohnpeian language, but when I went to school, I spoke mostly in English.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 DI: Cause I went to a private school. Calgary Christian Academy school.
- 5 Brad: Oh, OK.
- 6 DI: Uh, but sometimes, I speak Japanese with my dad.
- 7 Brad: OK.
- 8 DI: But he knows how to speak in Pohnpeian language, so we speak mostly in Pohnpeian.
- 9 Brad: Oh, OK. Can he also speak in English, or (.)
- 10 DI: Yeah, he speaks in English.

DE also spoke Pohnpeian with family while growing up (Excerpt 6.5, ln. 2). The conversation with him did not go into more depth about his own family experiences.

Excerpt 6.5. [BR1-21 00:01:57.9–00:02:06.0]

- 1 Brad: So, when you were growing up, um, what language did you speak at home with your family?
- 2 DE: Pohnpeian.

For MK, the language of family is Pohnpeian. Despite English technically being the first language she learned to speak (Excerpt 6.6, ln. 2), MK views Pohnpeian as her actual first language (ln. 4), since she moved to Pohnpei when she was two. She demonstrates this fact by how her American mother would speak English to her and she would not understand what she was saying. Her own mother would have to speak Pohnpeian so that MK would understand. In MK's experience, the Pohnpeian language was the most important for her family, even though her mother also spoke English. This

shift in language from English in the U.S. to Pohnpeian in Pohnpei demonstrates that language of place had a strong effect on her language choices and identity.

When asked about her own children's linguistic future in Excerpt 6.7, MK responds that it is important for them to be multilingual and in particular to speak Pohnpeian, English, and Kosraean (ln. 4) because of her child's ethnic background. For her, it is important to speak the language of one's ethnic communities. She exemplifies this by saying "I think it's important that he also knows his other language [Kosraean]" (ln. 6), even though he currently is not able to speak Kosraean. One then has a right and an obligation to speak the languages of one's ethnic heritages.

Excerpt 6.6. [BR1-25 00:01:55.5–00:02:40.4]

- 1 Brad: So when did you start learning Pohnpeian or speaking it? Did you learn it as a child?
- 2 MK: Um, I learned it as a child. English was actually, I guess, my first language, um, but that was 'cause we were living in the states, and then when I was two years old we moved to Pohnpei and I totally forgot English and I only spoke Pohnpeian. And then I started learning, um, English when I was going to school. My mother's, my mother is American, um, so she would speak English to me, but I never understood what she was saying, so it forced her, um, learn how to speak Pohnpeian. So that we could communicate.
- 3 Brad: OK
- 4 MK: Um, but, yeah. So I actually say Pohnpeian is my, um, first language. Then, yeah, learned English along the way.

Excerpt 6.7. [BR1-25 00:11:46.5–00:12:25.3]

- 1 Brad: OK. Uh, do you have any kids at all? Or-
- 2 MK: I have one.
- 3 Brad: OK. Um, do you want that, your kid to be multilingual at all? Or-

- 4 MK: Yeah. I think it's important 'cause I'm Pohnpeian and I'm also American. Um, so I believe it's very important for him to learn Pohnpeian, know Pohnpeian. Speak it, write it, um, and same as English. He's also Kosraean. Um, so, hopefully, um, his Kosraean family will be able to teach him Kosraean. Um (.)
- 5 Brad: OK.
- 6 MK: Or speak to him more in Kosraean 'cause I think it's important that he also knows his other language.

CE speaks Pohnpeian at home as well as English, especially because her father is from New Zealand. When interacting with her older relatives CE speaks Pohnpeian with them (Excerpt 6.8, ln. 2).

Excerpt 6.8. [BR1-27 00:16:48.1–00:17:35.1]

- 1 Brad: So when would you use English, or Pohnpeian?
- 2 CE: Mmm. I use Pohnpeian mostly at home, along with English. Um (.) I speak English mostly in school. And (.) When I'm at parties for my grandfather, uh, I will mostly speak Pohnpeian, when I do servings. Like, um, serving wine, or, to the guests that come. And, yeah. Those, those are the only thing, I, yeah @.

Unlike the other respondents with two Pohnpeian parents, JN grew up speaking both Pohnpeian and English at home (Excerpt 6.9, ln. 2). Once he started learning English in school, his parents spoke both English and Pohnpeian to him (ln. 4).

Excerpt 6.9. [BR1-29 00:02:23.5–00:02:54.8]

- 1 Brad: OK, um yeah. So, what was the first language that you spoke at home?
- 2 JN: Pohnpeian, yeah, but it was also English, as well. Like they (.) they mixed them both.
- 3 Brad: OK. So you grew up speaking English? Like was there like a time when it started or was it always (.)

- 4 JN: Yeah there was certainly a time when I started, I think it was when I started school, that's when I started to learn English. And then my parents started speaking English to me. I don't (.) I don't really remember an exact time when I just was thinking, oh yeah they're speaking English to me, but it just came, yeah. I think it was both.

Each of these participants has a different linguistic experience with family. PR uses mostly Pinge-lapese, DI, MK, DE use mostly Pohnpeian, while CE and JN use both English and Pohnpeian. For all of them, Pohnpeian or Pingelapese was a language linked to this most local scale. For some, such as CE and JN, English, a translocal language, is also linked to family or to specific family members such as a parent.

6.2.2 Education

Education plays an important role in language acquisition, identity formation, and thus language attitudes. Each level of education on Pohnpei, primary, secondary, and tertiary, are very different in terms of language policies, standards, and funding. Because of these differences they are discussed separately, when done so by the interviewees. Public and private schools are also discussed separately for primary and secondary education because of their different policies.

PR attended a public elementary school in Sokehs and a public high school. Since the school was located in a part of Sokehs with many Mwokilese and Pingelapese (Excerpt 6.10, ln. 4) most of the students spoke Mwokilese and Pingelapese (ln. 10). However, the teachers mostly spoken in Pohnpeian (ln. 8) but could understand the students, because they too were Pingelapese and Mwokilese (ln. 17). The public elementary school for PR was where she first had to learn Pohnpeian. Even though the teachers were Pingelapese and Mwokilese like the students, they still taught in Pohnpeian, which invokes a higher scale, that of the larger Pohnpei State community. For PR, her primary education experience is where she was first exposed to a Pohnpeian identity.

Excerpt 6.10. [BR1-22 00:02:31.3–00:03:43.2]

- 1 Brad: Was there any English in elementary school? or #disla
2 PR: From what I can recall it was mostly the spe– the teacher spoke Pohnpeian, but the responses that students gave were Pinge-lapese Mwokilese because the elementary school was a combi-nation of, uh children that came from Mokil

- 3 Brad: mmm
- 4 PR: because on that side of Sokehs, that was where (.) the Mwokilese and the Pingelapese were relocated.
- 5 Brad: mmm
- 6 PR: as a result of the major typhoons in 18 hundr– I mean nineteen oh five nineteen oh six.
- 7 Brad: mmm
- 8 PR: so, the teacher spoke in Pohnpeian,
- 9 Brad: mmm
- 10 PR: but responses by students were Mwokilese and Pingelapese.
- 11 Brad: ok.
- 12 Brad: um, did you have a hard time understanding the teacher at all?
- 13 PR: no.
- 14 Brad: ok.
- 15 PR: because I think there is a mutual understanding between the languages of, the Pohnpeian language, Pingelapese, (.) and the Mwokilese languages.
- 16 Brad: ok.
- 17 PR: so even even when the teacher spoke in Mwokilese or spoke in Pohnpeian, both the Mwokilese students and the Pingelapese students could understand. But the teachers were Pingelapese and Mwokilese.

The role of public elementary schools in creating a Pohnpeian identity is further seen in Excerpt 6.11, where PR describes how she learned how to distinguish between Pingelapese and Pohnpeian culture in elementary school. She had to learn about the Pohnpeian political structure and how that was different from the Pingelapese system (ln. 10). She was also required to learn Meing (ln. 16) and how to write in Pohnpeian (ln. 4).

Excerpt 6.11. [BR1-22 00:23:36.8–00:25:26.1]

- 1 Brad: OK. That's good. Um, did you (.) You said (.) this is kind of going back a little bit. Um, you had education like the elementary school in Pohnpei and Pingelapese kind of thing.
- 2 PR: Yes.

- 3 Brad: Um, were, did you ever (.) As part of that, was there formal training in how to write Pingelapese or Pohnpeian using the standard orthography or how to understand local grammar and things like that?
- 4 PR: Yes. Uh, this was when, uh, I was from seventh grade to eighth grade, that's when we were actually, um, required to write in Pohnpeian.
- 5 Brad: Mmm.
- 6 PR: Although we learned about it early on in basic education, I recall that the writing was actually towards the end.
- 7 Brad: Mmm.
- 8 PR: And that this was in seventh grade and eighth grade.
- 9 Brad: OK.
- 10 PR: And this is where we had to learn because there (.) because of the political structure, the difference that is in the Pohnpeian society. And this was Pohnpeian, not Pingelapese.
- 11 Brad: OK.
- 12 PR: All children will go to both, all public schools in Pohnpeian must learn about the Pohnpeian, so although I learned about it I didn't speak it.
- 13 Brad: OK.
- 14 PR: Back in elementary school, but the writing was where we had to learn about the different levels of language, like if you are talking to a Pohn-, uh, a Pohnpeian with rank (.)
- 15 Brad: Mmm.
- 16 PR: You would use a different set of, uh, words, just as if you're talking to a commoner, you know, there is a way that you also communicate with that person.
- 17 Brad: Mmm.
- 18 PR: And that's what we learned, the different ways in which you converse with people of different status.

PR's children have a different experience in school since they attend a private elementary school. The children's schooling is only in English (Extract 12, ln. 11). Because English is their primary lan-

guage in elementary school, she finds herself speaking more and more English with them at home instead of Pingelapese or Pohnpeian (ln. 9). PR thinks that formal education is good because it allows her children to learn English, which she calls a “universal language” (ln. 17) that is necessary to know going to other places, but she is scared that her children will not have access to Pingelapese and Pohnpeian (ln. 15). She gives an example how her children do not know the days of the week (ln. 21), numbers, and other important things (ln. 23) in Pingelapese or Pohnpeian, but only know them in English. She sees not knowing these things in Pingelapese and Pohnpeian as losing culture and identity (ln. 17, 25). PR clearly values Pingelapese, Pohnpeian, and English, but for different reasons. Pingelapese, and Pohnpeian give her and her children a sense of local identity while English connects her to the outside world since English is universal for her. She is sad because she sees English replacing her children’s local identities vis-à-vis language (ln 15). Because of this sense of loss, she makes sure that when her children learn something in English at school, such as days of week, they also learn it in Pingelapese at home (ln. 27). She feels it is her duty as a parent to preserve their local identity (ln. 29).

Excerpt 6.12. [BR1-22 00:04:30.4–00:07:07.0]

- 1 Brad: and where would you speak English in daily life? you said
with your colleagues: from Yap.
- 2 PR: Here at work.
- 3 Brad: at work. OK.
- 4 PR: yes.
- 5 Brad: um, would you speak it at all: outside of work?
- 6 Brad:
- 7 PR: sometimes with my children.
- 8 Brad: mmm.
- 9 PR: because they:- they’ve been- they- when they started pre-
school and now basic education, I put them in private schools.
and sometimes I find them speaking more English. than Pin-
gelapese. so sometimes I find @ myself self speaking English
when they speak English to me.
- 10 Brad: Mmm. mmm
- 11 PR: yeah, so now my kids I see that they use more English than
Pingelapese. and I think part of it is because, they’ve been
brought up in private schools where (.) it’s all English.

- 12 Brad: mmm.
- 13 PR: yeah.
- 14 Brad: what do you think about that?
- 15 PR: I'm scared. @ it's a scary feeling because that is already an evidence that we're losing much of our cul- culture.
- 16 Brad: yeah? why?
- 17 PR: although the fact that we've been introduced to formal education which is good, you know you know I think there's a negative to everything. and the negative to this is (.) you know, although it's good that they're learn- learning English which is: a universal language, that we have to know when go: to other places, it's negative in the sense that, you know, our young children, and the future generation will eventually lose language which is part of our identity.
- 18 Brad: mmm.
- 19 PR: #ok. You know like the experience that I have with my kids when I tell them to list the days:, in Pohnpeian,
- 20 Brad: mmm huh.
- 21 PR: or in Pingelapese which is the same, uh same for Pohnpeians and Pingelapese, you know they say:, they would say Monday. in Pohnpeian and Pingelapese. But then they forget, how we say Tuesday Wednesday, but if you tell them to list them in English, no it's not a problem.
- 22 Brad: mmm.
- 23 PR: and the same goes for numbers and naming objects events in Pingelapese and Pohnpeian
- 24 Brad: mmm.
- 25 PR: #now #and that's part of their identity right there.
- 26 Brad: mmm.
- 27 PR: so, when they bring their homework, say a listing of words. What I tr- try to do is as they learn about it in English I also @ make sure that they know it in Pingelapese.
- 28 Brad: mmm.

- 29 PR: you know and I think, that's one thing that especially parents,
can do to help preserve that.
- 30 Brad: mmm.
- 31 PR: but it's it's a scary feeling.

Because of her view about the importance of local languages and English, PR thinks that the elementary school system should be changed (Excerpt 6.13, ln. 1). The current elementary system in public schools is that children are taught in local languages up through fourth grade, but after that education switches to English only. She thinks that the public schools should teach both English and Pohnpeian as early as possible (ln. 11) and maintains that children are able to be bilingual in that environment, which she uses her own children as an example of (ln. 13, 15). She adds a caveat that parents need to make sure that their children maintain their Pohnpeian and Pingelapese (or other language) abilities while learning English (ln. 17). In terms of private schools where they only teach in English, she thinks that they should also add 'vernacular' language classes (ln. 23), because it is sad that children in private school do not know the words for colors in local languages (ln. 25). She maintains that both the private and public school curricula need to be reevaluated to prevent language loss (ln. 31).

Excerpt 6.13. [BR1-22 00:16:01.1–00:18:16.0]

- 1 PR: And honestly I think the curriculum in every elementary
school should be changed.
- 2 Brad: Mmm. How so? I was just gonna ask that question.
- 3 PR: @
- 4 Brad: @ So what, what is it currently, and what should it be like?
- 5 PR: Currently from preschool what is known as early childhood
education, from preschool to fourth grade they learn in, um,
in their local language.
- 6 Brad: Mmm.
- 7 PR: They have to speak Pohnpeian and or learn Pohnpeian. And
then from grade five and on, that's when they start using En-
glish, but I think it should be reversed.
- 8 Brad: Mmm. @
- 9 PR: @ Or if not, both, especially at, at the basic level.
- 10 Brad: Mmm.

- 11 PR: I think children should be exposed to English and Pohnpeian as early as, early childhood education.
- 12 Brad: OK.
- 13 PR: And I can use my children as examples. @
- 14 Brad: @
- 15 PR: My children are speaking English fine. They're speaking Pingelapese fine.
- 16 Brad: Mm-Mmm.
- 17 PR: You know, as a parent, we just have to take on more to assure that, you know, they're keeping their ability to speak Pohnpeian and Pingelapese as they're learning English.
- 18 Brad: Mm-Mmm.
- 19 PR: You know, I don't see any problem with that.
- 20 Brad: OK. Um, so you would find it, take issue with some of the private schools that teach only English from K-5 through high school, um, that don't have any classes in any of the local languages?
- 21 PR: I think they should also teach (.)
- 22 Brad: Mmm.
- 23 PR: In one of those grades should teach the children, you know, vernacular.
- 24 Brad: Mmm.
- 25 PR: Teaching the vernacular because it's sad that when you ask a, you know, a child from private school about the colors in the local language they won't know.
- 26 Brad: Mm-Mmm.
- 27 PR: Most of them won't know.
- 28 Brad: Really?
- 29 PR: Yes.
- 30 Brad: Mmm.
- 31 PR: So, so we are concerned, like I am that we are losing our language. I think the education system, both the private and the public need to reevaluate the curriculum.
- 32 Brad: Mmm.

- 33 PR: I think there's a need to (.)
34 Brad: Mmm.
35 PR: Evaluate that.

At COM-FSM, where she works, PR does not use Pingelapese or Pohnpeian officially in the classroom (Excerpt 6.14, ln. 6 and 8). However, Pingelapese is important for her to form relationships with the students, since “a Pingelapese student who has a different major, has a different advisor, advisor, comes to me because she wants to share a concern, and she feels more comfortable sharing it in Pingelapese” (ln. 4). Pingelapese is useful way of connecting to other Pingelapese, but not useful for her in the classroom.

Excerpt 6.14. [BR1-22 00:18:55.3–00:20:11.5]

- 1 Brad: At the, the college level, here at COM, wh-what's, how does, how do the local languages fit into the curriculum here at all, if at all? Or is it only in English?
- 2 PR: Again, based on my own observations, I have found that sometimes when a student is uncomfortable speaking English and especially sharing concerns or if they have questions over, uh, matters that relate to a subject, I found that they are more comfortable speaking to another instructor who speaks the same local language as they do.
- 3 Brad: Mmm.
- 4 PR: That's where their local language would be more important. Like I have found myself in situations where a Pingelapese student who has a different major, has a different advisor, advisor, comes to me because she wants to share a concern, and she feels more comfortable sharing it in Pingelapese.
- 5 Brad: Mmm. Do you ever use Pingelapese or Pohnpei when you teach in like an actual class setting?
- 6 PR: Not, not in the classroom.
- 7 Brad: Mm-Mmm.
- 8 PR: Never in the classroom.

TK, similar to PR, disagrees with the current public school curriculum. He thinks that Pohnpeian should be used in the schools all the way through college instead of stopping at third grade (Excerpt 6.15, ln. 7). He holds this view because for him, English is having a strong impact on Pohnpeian because of its use in education (ln. 1). By having Pohnpeian as the language of instruction in school, TK believes that students would retain more of their own languages and not lose them to English (ln. 9).

Excerpt 6.15. [BR1-23 00:09:16.3–00:10:36.1]

- 1 TK: Yes. That's, mm, one of the great impact on this language. Because, in Pohnpei, the education, uh, curriculum and framework, we have to teach English, o-, vernacular, or Pohnpeian language from first grade to third grade. And from third grade all the way to university we have to learn English. And we have limited years to learn our language. So, while we are learning English, and it's, it's, English is over-powering our very own language.
- 2 Brad: Mm-hmm (affirmative).
- 3 TK: We begin to learn more of the English language than our very own.
- 4 Brad: Mmm. So do you think (.) schools should teach Pohnpeian longer, past third grade?
- 5 TK: Yes.
- 6 Brad: Uh-
- 7 TK: All the way through college.
- 8 Brad: Mmm.
- 9 TK: Since we have, uh, our COM here, we can integrate courses in (.) the four languages of the FSM. So, through elementary, high school, and college, the students can keep learning their language, so it won't fade away.

MK attended private elementary schools on Pohnpei as a child. Because of that, her education was in English (Excerpt 6.16, ln. 2), though she still spoke Pohnpeian with friends at school. She values that the private schools teach students how to properly speak and write in English (ln. 4), because English is important for school abroad and working in the government (ln. 8). But, MK criticizes the schools,

because she thinks that they need to also teach local languages (ln. 4). If a school is on Pohnpei, it should teach Pohnpeian, and if in Chuuk, then Chuukese. She finds it important that schools teach the ‘proper’ form of language, both for English and for local languages, which includes the ability to read and write. She gives an example of how many private school children after graduating 8th grade are able to read and write English well, but are unable to read and write in their own language (ln. 4). Many of these children end up teaching themselves how to read and write in their languages, but they do it improperly in her view (ln. 6).

Excerpt 6.16. [BR1-25 00:02:40.3–00:04:28.4]

- 1 Brad: OK. Did you ever use Pohnpeian in the schools here?
- 2 MK: Um, with my friends. I went to a private school, so it was only English, though, we were taught in English. Um, teachers were Americans, principal was American. We only had two teachers that were Pohnpeians at the time. Um, so it was mostly English. Yeah.
- 3 Brad: OK. Um, what do you think of that? Of schools that only teach in English here?
- 4 MK: Um, private schools (.) I think there is also, I mean, it’s, it’s great that they teach the kids English and how to speak it properly, how to write it properly, correctly. But, then, um, I still think that they need to also teach the Pohnpeian language. Um, well, depending on what island you’re from. Uh, like if you’re from, or this school is in Pohnpei, the Pohnpeian language. If the school is in Chuuk, Chuukese language. They need to teach that Micronesian island’s language, um, because a lot of the students are from that island and when they’re done with eighth grade, um, some of them don’t even know how to, um, write. They know how to speak their own language, but they don’t know how to read it or write it themselves.
- 5 Brad: Mmm.
- 6 MK: So they end up trying to teach their, themselves how to read and write and usually that’s wrong.
- 7 Brad: OK.

- 8 MK: Because, yeah, they write it incorrectly. Um, so, yeah. I think it's great for kids, especially if they're looking at going to school in the states or working in the government, national government or anything, to learn, to learn English right away, but it's also very important to also teach them their local language, as well.

In her discussion of language and education, MK frames Pohnpeian and Chuukese as important languages for specific places, i.e., Pohnpei and Chuuk respectively (ln. 4). She also frames these and other local languages as the student's 'own language' (ln. 4, 8). By doing so, she assigns these languages and people to a specific scale (Pohnpei or Chuuk). She then juxtaposes these local languages that belong to the students with English, which is an outside language that belongs to the American teachers and principals (ln. 6). She also links English in ln. 8 a translocal scale by saying that English is useful for "going to school in the states or working in the government, national government". For her, local languages are then important at a smaller scale (Pohnpeian in Pohnpei and Chuukese in Chuuk, but not vice versa), while English is important at a much greater scale. She also criticizes the current education system for valuing only the translocal (English) and undervaluing the local (Pohnpeian), which has been too restricted in education.

In contrast with the other two interviewees above, JN attended a private elementary school and high school on Pohnpei. Both of the schools required the use of English (Excerpt 6.17, ln. 2). For him, having schools teach in English is very important because it "opens a lot of doors" (ln. 12) and changes one's behavior or "mindset" as JN puts it. JN associates certain behaviors with monolingual Pohnpeians, such as a lack of flexibility and cultural adaptability. Knowing English for him brings with it certain kinds of positive behaviors that are beneficial both in Pohnpei, such as better employability (ln. 16), and in the U.S., such as the ability to adapt more easily (ln. 12). However, JN contradicts his view that English speakers are more flexible, by asserting that English speakers "listen to management a little more" (ln. 16), which implies that English speakers have more arbitrary hierarchical obedience to employers that monolingual Pohnpeian speakers do not have. For him then, flexibility means accepting the rigidity of arbitrary rules place by employers or other capitalistic systems. The 'rigidity' of Pohnpeian speakers is then not following these arbitrary rules.

These views show that for JN, scale is not only marked by language, but by particular mindsets and actions. Because of this, he links Pohnpeian with a local scale that does not extend to employment. Instead employment is linked to a higher translocal scale where English and its accompanying behaviors are more appropriate. JN views the local scale as less important and more rigid than the

higher translocal scale.

Excerpt 6.17. [BR1-29 00:03:26.5–00:06:00.7]

- 1 Brad: OK. And so you (.) so in school then, did you use mostly English, or Pohnpeian, or?
- 2 JN: Oh yeah, all the schools I went to were private schools so we (.) they were required to speaking English.
- 3 Brad: OK. And how (.) how did the teachers enforce that?
- 4 JN: The teachers, um, well they would always speak English, for one. And uh, I don't have the recollection of somebody actually speaking Pohnpeian and them (.) and then the teacher correcting them to speak English. But I think English was just a default and all the kids just knew it so they just spoke in English.
- 5 Brad: OK.
- 6 JN: Yeah. But I don't remember (.) I don't know exactly how the teachers would enforce it 'cause everything was just in English and nobody (.) there wasn't anything (.) uh, nobody spoke Pohnpeian.
- 7 Brad: OK.
- 8 JN: From what I remember.
- 9 Brad: OK, and what do you think about that? Having education in English, like and your experience with it?
- 10 JN: Uh, in terms of what? Like uh (.)
- 11 Brad: Well in terms of it (.) or in terms of it not being in Pohnpeian, or another language?

- 12 JN: I think for Pohnpeians, and Micronesians, just in general, I think learning the English language is really important. I think it opens a lot of doors and I think all (.) I was actually thinking about this a long time ago. I think uh, it also kind of changes your (.) kind of gives your mind a little bit of flexibility. Like, I notice that a lot of Pohnpeians that (.) that have a good command of the English language, have um, I don't want to say Americanized, but I (.) I see that they're (.) they're the kind of people that would go to the States and they adapt really easily and uh they just have different mindsets than the local people. So, I think in that sense, I really think it's really important (.)
- 13 Brad: OK.
- 14 JN: (.) to learn the language.
- 15 Brad: OK. It (.) how do you see those mindsets being different? Besides like being almost like Americanized, but like can you give me like a concrete example of that?
- 16 JN: Yeah, um, so for example, the employees that my father uh, hire, um I notice that some of the most uh disengaged employees, uh, people that are really hard to motivate, are the ones that don't really have a good command of the English language. I don't know if that's correlated to having a really great education or anything. But I notice that the ones that do uh have a good command of the language are more flexible in their mindset and they (.) they uh, yeah they don't uh (.) they listen to management a little more, from my experience anyway. That's what I've seen, yeah.

Despite having views that English is more beneficial than Pohnpeian in Excerpt 6.17, JN later expresses the importance of “preserving culture” (Excerpt 6.18, ln. 16). Pohnpeian culture and language is an important thing for him to preserve. He references a Micronesian identity (ln. 16) that is predicated on having specific features that is linked to languages such as Pohnpeian. This identity, in his view, is threatened by westernization and it is thus important to protect it from this westernization process. In particular, he wants to preserve Meing, the honorific form of Pohnpeian. He associates the ability to speak Meing with older Pohnpeians (ln. 18), people living in a ‘typical local place’ (ln. 16),

rural areas (ln. 20), and people with high status (ln. 20). Because Meing and Pohnpeian culture are being threatened, JN believes that Pohnpeian and Meing in particular should be integrated into the education system more (ln. 24), though perhaps only as a separate class (ln. 26) and not the primary language of instruction.

JN holds views that English is very important in education because it improves one's opportunities and increases one's flexibility. Pohnpeian, especially cultural features, such as Meing, that are very different from 'western culture' should be preserved because of their uniqueness, rather than their utility. This means that the local scale is important for JN for its uniqueness and the translocal is important for its utility.

JN also feels more comfortable talking about English and feels he understands it better than Pohnpeian, because all of his formal education was in English, which included learning English grammar (Excerpt 6.18, ln. 8). He never had an opportunity to formally learn about Pohnpeian.

Excerpt 6.18. [BR1-29 00:08:51.8–00:13:56.2]

- 1 Brad: Um, is there a place where you definitely use English?
- 2 JN: Definitely use English? Um, actually on the island, uh I can't think of any place. @ No, I cannot think of any place #
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 JN: 'Cause I'm not in school anymore, so.
- 5 Brad: OK. So, in school is the place where you would mostly speak English before?
- 6 JN: Yeah. There are certain situations where I do speak English because it kind of seems silly, but I speak (.) I dream in English.
- 7 Brad: OK.
- 8 JN: I speak English more (.) better than I actually do than my mother tongue. I don't know (.) I think it's just because um I never had the opportunity to learn my language as much as I did uh in, in different aspects as I did (.) as I did with the English language. You know there's no school for Pohnpeian, and the (.) I studied the (.) basically English grammar since yeah, til like two years into college and everything, so.
- 9 Brad: OK.

- 10 JN: Yeah. I don't know why, but there are certain situations where I uh, actually speak English as a default because I just express myself better in that way. And I can ask questions better, as well.
- 11 Brad: OK.
- 12 JN: Yeah.
- 13 Brad: Do you think that there should be that kind of education in Pohnpeian, then?
- 14 JN: I (.) I (.) I do. Yeah.
- 15 Brad: OK.
- 16 JN: Uh, just because I think, preserving culture, I think that's really important for (.) for us, as Micronesians. Especially when uh, uh, you know certain things are westernized. It's always important to keep certain parts of your culture, and I think @ language (.) language is something that I think is also dying. It's the first thing (.) I think it's one of the most wonderful thing that goes away when, you know, after colonization and stuff like that. Yeah. I think it (.) I think it should, should be in school. Especially since, do you know Meing? They (.) that's only passed down by uh (.) that's only passed down by people uh when you live in a typical local place, and I think it'd be cool for Micronesians to learn how to speak how they would if they were politicians, or if they wanted to (.) it's basically another language. And I don't know how to speak that, so. Yeah I think that's (.) that would be nice.
- 17 Brad: Can your parents speak it?
- 18 JN: Uh, they know phrases. That's the thing, that's what I mean by it's like dying out. Um, my grandfather speaks it very well, and my grandmother as well. Um, but they're from an older generation, so, yeah.
- 19 Brad: Do you know any of your peers, here, that would speak it?

- 20 JN: Ooh. Uh, if they would speak it, it would be because (.) yeah I know people who are my like (.) who are my peers, that spoke it, but they were also people who were, I don't know how to say it, they were just like (.) they lived in the rural areas, and they (.) either that or they knew somebody who was kind of culturally well-known, or has high status. So, they would always be in like uh certain gatherings and local (.) local traditional things. So they would have to know how to speak.
- 21 Brad: OK. So going back to your thing about Pohnpeian education. What would that look like, in terms of education? So, would it be school should be mostly in (.) in Pohnpeian, with a class in English? Or should it be mostly English with a class in Pohnpeian? Or (.) what is your like ideal?
- 22 JN: What is my ideal? Can you repeat the first part?
- 23 Brad: Yeah. So (.) before you said it's important to teach Pohnpeian right? To have classes on it. So how (.) how should schools be structured to teach it? Like what is your ideal model of education for that?
- 24 JN: Uh, that's a good question. Um, I think (.) I think it should be integrated into regular (.) regular school.
- 25 Brad: OK.
- 26 JN: Because, also with, uh I know from my experience, uh in elementary school they also teach social studies and history and uh (.) the certain things that kind of correlate with the culture in general, like art history. And so I think it's (.) it'd be very handy to, yeah, to integrate uh, Pohnpeian as an actual class. Um, but I would have to think more about it, actually how it would be structured because I kind of see like uh a teacher teaching Pohnpeian to you know certain (.) to Pohnpeian's who speak the language fluently, I cannot really see, like really clearly, how that's going to go.
- 27 Brad: OK.

- 28 JN: But I do think, uh maybe just, maybe the Meing, lokaiahn
Meing, the higher language, that should definitely be spoken.
'Cause I know for sure that a lot of (.) a lot of the students
wouldn't be able to speak it.
- 29 Brad: OK. Do you think there's an interest for that?
- 30 JN: I think there can be an interest in it.
- 31 Brad: OK.
- 32 JN: Yeah.

DI is a recent private high school graduate. She also attended a public elementary school. DI maintains a clear distinction between public and private schools. Public elementary schools teach in Pohnpeian during the lower grades and transition to English later (Excerpt 6.19, ln. 2). Private schools, on the other hand, should not be taught in Pohnpeian (ln. 4) but rather should focus on English (ln. 6). For DI, Pohnpeians already have access to Pohnpeian on a daily basis so education in Pohnpeian would not add anything (ln. 8). However, since Pohnpeians do not have that same level of access to English on a daily basis, private schools provide the necessary environment to learn English (ln. 8). Although, DI does agree that learning formal Pohnpeian and how to write in Pohnpeian are also important in school (ln. 12). For DI, school is about providing knowledge that is not readily available in one's normal environment.

Excerpt 6.19. [BR1-28 00:09:12.3–00:10:29.2]

- 1 Brad: OK. And then, so, in school, what language do you think they
should teach people in- in, here in Pohnpei?
- 2 DI: English, and also, Pohnpeian. Well, mostly, uh, the public
schools here in Pohnpei, they already teach, uh, Pohnpeian,
ever since they're like young, so, in the high schools, they use
English most of the time. Mostly.
- 3 Brad: OK. Do you think private schools should teach Pohnpeian?
- 4 DI: No.
- 5 Brad: Why not?
- 6 DI: 'Cause (.) They should focus more on the English language.
- 7 Brad: Mmm.
- 8 DI: 'Cause the Pohnpeians, they live in Pohnpei, they can speak
Pohnpeian language any time, but English, not that much.

- 9 Brad: OK.
- 10 DI: Yeah.
- 11 Brad: Do you think it's important to learn, then like, how to write in Pohnpeian, like- like aca- school Pohnpeian, you know, like for government to write like in the formal way. And, is- is that an important thing to learn in school, or is that a thing that you should learn uh somewhere else?
- 12 DI: It's important in school, yeah.

DI reinforces her views about education in Excerpt 6.20 where she discusses her own high school experiences at Our Lady of Mercy Catholic High School (OLM) in Kolonia. DI would speak in Pohnpeian with her friends at school (ln. 2 and 4), but would speak only in English during class (ln. 8). The teacher enforced the English only policy by scolding students (ln. 12) and giving them demerits (ln. 14) or detention (ln. 16) when they did not use English. DI agreed that such practices were a good idea (ln. 18) because the purpose of the school was to create an environment where students can adequately learn English (ln. 19) and not Pohnpeian. When asked if this would have a detrimental effect on the students by causing some to stop speaking Pohnpeian altogether, she responded that “that’s impossible” (ln. 22). Her reasoning for that is that people obviously need to speak Pohnpeian and that one cannot decide to stop speaking it, since it would be too hard (ln. 24).

Excerpt 6.20. [BR1-28 00:14:06.1–00:15:42.4]

- 1 Brad: OK. At school, what language do- did you use at OLM?
- 2 DI: Mostly Pohnpeian language @.
- 3 Brad: @.
- 4 DI: 'Cause all of them know how to speak.
- 5 Brad: Mmm.
- 6 DI: So (.)
- 7 Brad: But in the class, you would use-
- 8 DI: In the class, we would use English, in the class.
- 9 Brad: OK, and did the teachers like it when you'd speak Pohnpeian?
- 10 DI: No.
- 11 Brad: And what'd they do?
- 12 DI: We'd often get scolded.
- 13 Brad: What would they say?

- 14 DI: We'd get demerits.
- 15 Brad: Really.
- 16 DI: Or, we'd go to (.) We'd have detention.
- 17 Brad: OK, what do you think of that?
- 18 DI: Uh (.) I think it's good. It's a good idea we get.
- 19 Brad: Why?
- 20 DI: 'Cause the main purpose we go to school at (.) like there, on OLM is so that we can learn English, improve our English skills, not Pohnpeian. Yeah.
- 21 Brad: OK. Do you think there are people that would go to school there, and they'd learn English, and then, decide, since, you know, these people say speaking Pohnpeian is bad, maybe then, I'm not gonna speak Pohnpeian anymore? Do you think that'll happen?
- 22 DI: Uh, no. I think that's impossible.
- 23 Brad: OK, why's it impossible?
- 24 DI: 'Cause if you go to school, and then, there (.) You cannot just easily throw away (.) Like, decide to stop talking Pohnpeian that much. You're obviously gonna talk in English, speak in English, and then, after just a little while, and you start talking Pohnpeian language again. It's gonna be hard.

CE attended both a private high school and elementary school on Pohnpei. As such, she was only allowed to speak English during class (Excerpt 6.21, ln. 2). She found that experience to be sad because speaking Pohnpeian is fun for her (ln. 6). In her schools, speaking Pohnpeian was considered disrespectful to the teachers (ln. 6). CE states that it can be disrespectful since many of the teachers did not know Pohnpeian and some students would take advantage of that and say inappropriate things (ln. 18). She also maintains that even a non-offensive conversation in Pohnpeian by students in class is inappropriate, since speaking in Pohnpeian is not relevant to the topic at hand (ln. 24). However, outside of class but still at school, a conversation in Pohnpeian would not be inappropriate for CE as long as the topic is not offensive (ln. 42).

CE views English as the language of instruction in school as a positive thing (ln. 58), because it allows one to communicate with many people around the world (ln. 60). She also agrees that teaching Pohnpeian and other local languages in schools would also be good (ln. 62), because local languages

help one communicate better on Pohnpei (ln. 64).

Excerpt 6.21. [BR1-27 00:05:13.2–00:13:54.2]

- 1 Brad: OK. And then (.) What languages, uh, did you speak any other languages then? Like did you ever use Pohnpeian in school?
- 2 CE: Well, we weren't really @, we weren't really allowed to speak Pohnpeian that much. Like, in, during classes, in front of teachers, they wouldn't really allow us to speak Pohnpeian, so.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 CE: Yeah.
- 5 Brad: How did that make you feel?
- 6 CE: Uh, um (.) Sometimes it would be, um (.) Sad, 'cause I find speaking Pohnpeian kind of fun @, so, um, whenever we, whenever we got caught speaking Pohnpeian they would just be like "No!", or, "Don't speak Pohnpeian 'cause we're speaking in English". @ And (.) @ Uh, well (.) I think it's mostly 'cause when the teachers, um, speak, when, no. When they hear us speak Pohnpeian they might find it either disrespectful, or it's just not related to what they're teaching.
- 7 Brad: OK.
- 8 CE: Yeah, 'cause when they speak English, um (.) Uh (.) That's like, what they do. They teach, but they use English, to, you know. And when we speak Pohnpeian, for them, how do I say it? Uh (.) Let's just say, it's not the right time to speak Pohnpeian. In their class, but we can always speak Pohnpeian outside of class, when we're done, like having break times, or with your friends. But for now, we just have to learn like, these certain things that these teachers are teaching us, through their language, which is English @.
- 9 Brad: @OK.
- 10 CE: Yeah, it's kind of weird @.
- 11 Brad: OK. So, you said that it was disrespectful. Potentially.
- 12 CE: Sometimes it is.
- 13 Brad: Sometimes.

- 14 CE: @
- 15 Brad: So ex-, explain that to me, so like why would it be, why are, I mean, how would it be disrespectful?
- 16 CE: For some students, they would, um, say certain words in Pohnpeian that, um (.) Mean (.) Mean, like (.) They're really bad, in, you know, bad ways, in Pohnpeian.
- 17 Brad: Mmm .
- 18 CE: So it would be disrespectful for the teacher, in a way that they wouldn't know what they're saying, if they didn't know Pohnpeian. But, uh, it would also be disrespectful in class, 'cause (.) Um (.) I don't know, I (.) All I know is, some, some students use it as an advantage to say certain things that teachers may not know of. And like hurt them in a way, so, I find it, I find that part disrespectful. Other than, many others ways to speak Pohnpeian in front of, you know, um (.) Old people @.
- 19 Brad: @ And so what if they were just, it's, uh, so like if they're saying bad words in Pohnpeian, that's disrespectful.
- 20 CE: Yeah.
- 21 Brad: But what if they're just having a conversation with their friend, in Pohnpeian, is that disrespectful?
- 22 CE: In class, or (.)
- 23 Brad: In class.
- 24 CE: In class. Well (.) Um (.) Let me say (.)OK. Um (.) I would make literature class, um, an example. So, here I am sitting and my teacher is teaching, while speaking English, and there are these two students having a conversation in Pohnpeian. And (.) I know that the teacher would find it not, um, what do you call it, not (.) Not the right time. Or, it's not the right time and place, 'cause, you know, they're, they're (.) At a, they're, it's at a certain time where they're teaching. So, literature, for them, they have to teach in English, and (.) Um (.) Uh, I, I don't know how to say it. All I can say is it, it's the, not really the right time.
- 25 Brad: OK.

26 CE: For them to have a conversation in Pohnpeian while the teacher is, you know (.)

27 Brad: OK.

28 CE: Teaching in English.

29 Brad: What if they were having that exact same conversation, that same time, but in English, would it be any different?

30 CE: Uh (.)

31 Brad: Or would it be the same?

32 CE: Well (.) You know how you talk in class while the teacher's teaching, and then the teacher like stops you? @

33 Brad: Yeah.

34 CE: Yeah, it's something like that. Either way, if it's like that, then the teacher will have to stop you and continue teaching.

35 Brad: OK. What if you're, like on recess or something (.)

36 CE: Mmm.

37 Brad: Or between classes talking in Pohnpeian?

38 CE: Yeah.

39 Brad: Is that disrespectful?

40 CE: Um (.) Outside of class?

41 Brad: Outside of class.

42 CE: Um, not, not really. Depending on what you're, you know @, what you're talking about, or, yeah.

43 Brad: OK. Now, I'm gonna, let's flip this, and say (.) Is it disrespectful that the teacher doesn't speak Pohnpeian? They're using English instead?

44 CE: Is it (.)

45 Brad: Is that disrespectful to the students?

46 CE: That the (.)

47 Brad: Not using their language.

48 CE: I don't think so.

49 Brad: OK, why not?

- 50 CE: Well (.) Doesn't really m-, uh, it doesn't really matter. Um (.) To me, as long as you're well communicated with your students, and if y-, the students are well communicated with the teacher, then it would, it would be OK. But (.) If, so, can you explain the question again? @
- 51 Brad: @ Yeah, so would it be disrespectful for the teacher to use English to the students?
- 52 CE: To the students?
- 53 Brad: Yeah, if the students' language is Pohnpeian.
- 54 CE: If the students' language is Pohnpeian. Hmm @. Well (.) I (.) I, I think I'll pass that question.
- 55 Brad: OK.
- 56 CE: Yeah.
- 57 Brad: OK, fair enough. Um (.)OK, so (.) Do you think that schools, or what do you think about schools teaching in English, in general? Is that a good thing, is it a bad thing, is it neutral? And the (.)
- 58 CE: I think it's (.) I think it's good.
- 59 Brad: OK, why is it good?
- 60 CE: Well, for a lot of people around this world, um, most of us know English. But then it's good at the same time to learn other languages as well. That way we can all be, you know, well communicated with, you know, other communic-, all, other communities around the world, so, yeah.
- 61 Brad: OK. Should schools teach Pohnpeian or other local languages?
- 62 CE: Um (.) I think, I think it would be good if, uh, schools could teach Pohnpeian and local languages, 'cause nowadays, most, most, um (.) Of the generations, you know, growing, they don't really, um (.) What do you call it? They don't really focus much on their, you know, local way of speaking, or, but it's real-, it's good to know these languages. Yeah.
- 63 Brad: So, why is it good?

- 64 CE: Mmm (.) I would say in a way that you get to explore more.
Uh, you, you can, you can communicate with other peoples
you, other people you never know you can never communicate
with, if you learn these languages, you never know, like, what,
what you'll get when you learn, learn 'em. So. Yeah, I would
say like that.

At school, CE mostly uses English with her friends outside of class (Excerpt 6.22) because she feels the most comfortable using that, given her lower level of Pohnpeian proficiency. However, she also enjoys speaking Pohnpeian with her school friends, because they would correct her and help her learn the right words (ln. 10, 12).

Excerpt 6.22. [BR1-27 00:18:37.5–00:19:30.4]

- 1 Brad: OK. So what about with your friends from school?
2 CE: Mmm.
3 Brad: What languages do you use with them?
4 CE: @ Both.
5 Brad: Both?
6 CE: Yeah, well mostly English.
7 Brad: OK.
8 CE: Yeah.
9 Brad: Why mostly English?
10 CE: Well, it's 'cause, um, I guess I'm (.) used to speaking English
in school and with my friends, but when it comes to like fun
times, I would just speak Pohnpeian. And they would, they
would make fun of me 'cause sometimes I wouldn't really
know how to form the words right @.
11 Brad: @
12 CE: So, I find it fun, speaking Pohnpeian with them, 'cause they
would correct me, and laugh @. But, yeah, I mean (.) Um, I
find English more comfortable, so that, you know, I wouldn't
make a mistake speaking Pohnpeian @.

CE summarizes her views of Pohnpeian and English in Excerpts 23 and 24. English is important for Pohnpeians because it helps them in school and allows them to communicate with people abroad

(Excerpt 6.23, ln. 4 and Excerpt 6.24, ln. 1). On the other hand, Pohnpeian helps connect her to friends and family on Pohnpei (Excerpt 6.23, ln. 2 and Excerpt 6.24, ln. 1). CE enjoys learning Pohnpeian because it helps connect her to others at the local level and gives her a sense of belonging. She believes that English connects her to the wider world and more knowledge via education.

Excerpt 6.23. [BR1-27 00:23:09.3–00:24:54.4]

- 1 Brad: @ OK, so do you think the Pohnpeian language is important for Pohnpei? Overall?
- 2 CE: Yeah, I think it is important for Pohnpeians. To know, and to learn, and (.) Um, it's also helpful so that you can ex-, you can respect, uh, elderlies who are from Pohnpei. It's good to know these languages so that, um (.) Yeah, so you can better, so you can know these things. There are certain things that Pohnpeian language can help you with, uh, when you go to parties, or kamadipw where, you know, there are old people, and you have to know that you, you should pay respects in Pohnpeian. But, yeah, those are my only reasons @, why it's important.
- 3 Brad: OK. Is English important for Pohnpei?
- 4 CE: Um (.) Yes, it is Eng-, it is important for Pohnpeians. Well, for communication. And (.) So that they can learn, 'cause schools nowadays, they, sch-, some schools nowadays speak English more, and if they learn English, they can, you know, um (.) Build up their knowledge, and maybe decide to, um, go abroad, or, yeah.

Excerpt 6.24. [BR1-27 00:47:13.8–00:48:01.3]

- 1 CE: For English, uh, it's helped me learn things in school through, through my teachers, who speak English and teach in English, and (.) It's given me good knowledge and education, and also communication with other people. And Pohnpeian, it's helped me communicate with my family, my friends, and (.) It's (.) Served me great with a lot of Pohnpeians here, and even living here, at the same time, it's been fun and enjoyable learning Pohnpeian, as I grew up.

Scaled language use has generated the linguistic system around CE, which influences the languages used by the people and institutions she interacts with. For CE, this scaled use of language is less based on domains per se, but rather for affective reasons: her desire to connect, fit in, and have fun with friends and family.

DE's elementary school experience was mostly in Pohnpeian with some English "but not really" (Excerpt 6.25, ln. 2). During elementary school, he was taught how to read in Pohnpeian as well as Pohnpeian history and customs (Excerpt 6.26, ln. 2).

Excerpt 6.25. [BR1-21 00:02:06.5–00:05:16.3]

- 1 Brad: Um, and then at school, like elementary school?
- 2 DE: Elementary school the same, Pohnpeian. Um, we were thinking like taking, uh, English, but not really. But like, what do they call that? (.)
- 3 Brad: Mmm.
- 4 DE: And then when I went to high school, then that's when, uh, we really-
- 5 Brad: Okay.
- 6 DE: Yeah.
- 7 Brad: And so at Xavier was it only English there, or-
- 8 DE: Yes, we were not supposed to speak our own languages. We were not allowed. In fact, if, uh, they find speaking our own language, then we, they give us, uh, they reprimand us and today we take like, we work in the afternoon, and then also, uh, take laps around the field if we speak our own languages. We were not allowed to speak, uh, so we're only English, Chuukese, we were, we were (.) it was like uh, we took Chuukese for how many. Our first year. We were supposed to learn the Chuukese language. Then as part of the program we go out into the communities and live with parents and you know, these Chuukese people so we, we can learn the language.
- ...
- 9 Brad: Okay, okay. Um, what did you think of the English-only at Xavier part? Like when you were a student.

- 10 DE: Yeah, it was, it was uh, at least for us, it was good because we wanted to learn the language. Especially grammar and also uh, English literature. As part of the literature program we were always writing essays and term papers, like this. So uh, it was, you know (.) for somebody to survive and to learn something at Xavier, we really need to speak English.

Excerpt 6.26. [BR1-21 00:26:19.3–00:27:46.7]

- 1 Brad: Okay. Um (.) did you ever um, learn as part of schooling how to write Pohnpeian using the like, official government writing way? Official orthography?
- 2 DE: During our time when we were still in elementary we were, we were taught only like uh (.) not writing. Yeah I think it's not writing. It's also like, or a part of the (.) hist- history or Pohnpei and also the customs, and you know, the customs and their cultures that we should learn. The, the way to speak or so to speak to people. Uh and what else? There was this program on (.) was it on (.) reading. Reading Pohnpeian. But I cannot remember if we were taught how to write um (.)
- 3 Brad: Okay.
- 4 DE: Mmm.

His high school experience was very different, since he attended Xavier High School, a private Catholic boarding school in Chuuk. At Xavier High School, he was not allowed to speak Pohnpeian, which was enforced by physical punishment such as running laps (Excerpt 6.25, ln. 8). Chuukese was allowed when interacting with the neighboring community (ln. 8). DE expresses a positive view of the English-only enforcement, since all the classes were taught in English and without sufficient English abilities one would not be able to pass the classes (ln. 10).

In DE's experiences with primary and secondary education, elementary school focused primarily on developing a Pohnpeian identity through teaching the Pohnpeian language and Pohnpei-focused subjects. His high school experience aimed create a broader Micronesian/translocal identity through the enforced use of English.

Despite DE's positive view of his own education experience in English at Xavier High School, he is critical of younger generations who he sees as speaking a mixed language of Pohnpeian and

English (Excerpt 6.27, ln. 2). He views this mixing as a loss of Pohnpeian culture (ln. 2). He blames this mixing in part on elementary and secondary schools on Pohnpei that do not teach the Pohnpeian language (ln. 6, Excerpt 6.28, ln. 11). He believes the school should teach more Pohnpeian (ln. 14) as well as families (ln. 10). DE sees this generational change all over the island and not just limited to Kolonia (Excerpt 6.28, ln. 7). He is also critical of families who speak English to their children instead of Pohnpeian because they think that speaking only English will make it easier for them in their education (ln. 13). As a result of this generational change, he says that it is easier for him to conduct meetings and workshops in English rather than Pohnpeian (ln. 3) because it is easier for younger generations to speak in English than Pohnpeian (ln. 1).

Excerpt 6.27. [BR1-21 00:09:32.5–00:12:57.9]

- 1 Brad: Um, is Pohnpeian important or a good thing? Bad thing? For the island (.)
- 2 DE: Uh, it should be. It should be pohn- at least as a Pohnpeian, as a Pohnpeian I would say that it is, it's really important and I (.) I may be wrong but I think the younger generation, they're losing some of the languages sadly. Some of the Pohnpeian (.) some are mixing together english and Pohnpeian. It's like this uh, when, when, when they say, "Hey, turn on the lights." They speak Pohnpeian but they turn on the lights so (.) so it's uh, it's really important and I think we should do something about it. About the losing some of the important culture and this uh, this uh (.) especially language in Pohnpei.
- 3 Brad: Well what are somethings in specific that the young people are losing with Pohnpeian?
- 4 DE: Well, when they go out to school or to, to work, to work outside the FSM or Pohnpei and when they come back they (.) when they speak they, it seems that some of the, they, they completely forgot the language. Uh, or they're mixing the languages so (.) I would say that uh especially, maybe after 20 years we might not be speaking Pohnpeian anymore.
- 5 Brad: Okay. Um (.) how do you think you can change that? And if you could fix it, how would you fix it?

- 6 DE: Yeah. Uh (.) I, it's hard to (.) but I think, I personally think that the, the schools. The schools in Pohnpei specifically the elementary schools or the secondary schools they, they should incorporate something with the curriculum.
- 7 Brad: Mmm.
- 8 DE: And, and uh, not only the culture or custom of Pohnpei but, and the language also.
- 9 Brad: Mmm.
- 10 DE: The language side so that students will learn, not only learn english but also learn their own language so that they can uh (.) so that's, I think uh, it should start within the family. The immediate, their immediate family and then extend to the schools there.
- 11 Brad: Okay.
- 12 DE: That's my personal feeling, yeah.
- 13 Brad: So the school should be teaching the language?
- 14 DE: Yeah.

Excerpt 6.28. [BR1-21 00:22:35.3–00:24:11.7]

- 1 DE: As I said, for the younger generation- generation, it is easier for them to speak English than Pohnpeian.
- 2 Brad: Mmm. Okay.
- 3 DE: Yeah, so it's uh, it's easier to conduct uh, the meeting or workshop (.) anything, in English than Pohnpeian.
- 4 Brad: Okay, okay. Um, so you said, like, again that the, the young people uh, you know, have this mixed language.
- 5 DE: Yeah.
- 6 Brad: Is that only in young kids living in Kolonia? Or do you think that's all over the island?
- 7 DE: All over the island.
- 8 Brad: Mmm.
- 9 DE: Mmm.
- 10 Brad: Um, and where, where does that come from? Like the, the school or other sources?

- 11 DE: Yes so, okay. I think the first is school. But then there are families that also they (.) even that they're Pohnpeian, but they don't speak Pohnpeian at their house they speak English. So it's, it's, it came from that also. From school, going abroad for school and this. Then also within the family. They chose, they choose to speak English instead of Pohnpeian.
- 12 Brad: Mmm.
- 13 DE: So I know, I know some families that, at- at home they don't speak Pohnpeian. They speak English. That's also part of, so that the students, their children can learn English and then when they go out for like education it will be easier for them.
- 14 Brad: Hm, okay. So it's all about getting a good education.
- 15 DE: Yes mmm.
- 16 Brad: You know, a good job later.
- 17 DE: Yeah.

Overall, the education system on Pohnpei tends to reinforce scaled approaches to language. Public elementary schools aim to create a Pohnpeian identity by teaching Pohnpeian across the island, even to minority language communities as discussed by PR and DE. Private elementary schools, however, focus more on translocal identities by teaching only in English as experienced by CE, JN, and MK. High schools, regardless of public or private, also enforce translocal language identities by only using English. Likewise, COM-FSM only offers classes in English.

All of the participants expressed a positive view of English in their education experiences because of the benefits that speaking English brings them, such as access to new knowledge and higher levels of education, better employment, and travel and success abroad. Likewise, they all expressed positive views of Pohnpeian for connection to family and people on Pohnpei. In essence, they value English in education since it provides them a connection to translocal scales, and Pohnpeian for a connection to Pohnpei State scales.

The older interview participants, PR and DE, who attended public elementary schools, make a clear distinction between the Pohnpeian and translocal scales in their language attitudes and choice. They are both critical of younger generations who they view as knowing less Pohnpeian or mixing Pohnpeian and English. The younger generation, on the other hand, represented by DI, CE, and JN, have very positive views of English as a necessary tool for a successful life, which education should provide, but also find Pohnpeian important for the local identities. For younger generations,

the boundaries between the translocal and the local are more blurred than for older generations as evidenced by their reported translanguaging (aka mixing Pohnpeian and English).

None of the interviewees questioned the basic state of education on Pohnpei. For all of them, the use of English was a given. Critiques of the school system, such as those given by PR and MK, focus on including more Pohnpeian and other local languages in schools. They do not critique the role or importance of English. For many of the participants, the role of education is primarily to teach English, rather than any other possibly beneficial information. Many also did not question why private schools only teach in English, whereas public schools can (and possibly should) teach in Pohnpeian somewhat.

6.2.3 Work

RK works as an intern at an NGO in Kolonia. His co-workers and boss are Pohnpeians. When he talks with his co-workers about work-related topics, he speaks English with them (Excerpt 6.29, ln. 13–16). He also uses English in emails and computer-related tasks (ln. 19–20). However, when he is on lunch break or talking about personal things, he speaks Pohnpeian with his co-workers (ln. 9–12). When PR uses Facebook, he “often” uses Pohnpeian (ln. 28) but “mostly English” (ln. 30), even with his friends from Pohnpei (ln. 24).

Excerpt 6.29. [BR1-26 00:07:45.9–00:09:12.1]

- 1 Brad: OK. Um, so for work, you work here, right? Um, what exactly is your job?
- 2 RK: Oh I-I’m an intern here.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 RK: Yeah.
- 5 Brad: Uh, and when you work here, what languages do you typically
(.) Y-you say you worked (.) You speak a l-little bit of (.) You speak Pohnpeian with-
- 6 RK: Yeah (.)
- 7 Brad: (.) coworkers-
- 8 RK: (.) but mostly English, yeah.
- 9 Brad: Mostly English? OK. Um (.) Uh, in, in what situation would you use Pohnpeian here?
- 10 RK: Pohnpeian?
- 11 Brad: Yeah.

- 12 RK: OK, when things uh (.) When, when we're uh, situations like
(.) It's not about work. It's about anything else that we talk
about over lunch or (.) Yeah.
- 13 Brad: OK. But if it's work stuff, you speak-
- 14 RK: Yeah-
- 15 Brad: (.) in English-
- 16 RK: (.) in English.
- 17 Brad: OK. Um, when you (.) Do you send emails and stuff for work
or (.)?
- 18 RK: Yeah, sure.
- 19 Brad: Oh, when you write emails and stuff for like on the computer,
do you (.)?
- 20 RK: It's, it's in English, yeah @.
- 21 Brad: In English, yeah @. Um, and d-do you use Facebook, and social
media si-
- 22 RK: # Yeah.
- 23 Brad: So when you're doing that, what languages do you use?
- 24 RK: Oh, I can see all my friends. And you know, they're Pohnpeian,
they're from Micronesia, but they're using English. So @-
- 25 Brad: Using English? OK @. Do you ever use Pohnpeian on Face-
book? Or (.)
- 26 RK: Yeah. Yeah.
- 27 Brad: OK.
- 28 RK: Often.
- 29 Brad: Yeah.
- 30 RK: Yeah, but mostly English @.

RK's boss has a high title in the Pohnpeian title system. When he speaks to her in Pohnpeian, he uses the appropriate respectful Meing forms (Excerpt 6.30, ln. 1, 5).

Excerpt 6.30. [BR1-26 00:04:02.4–00:04:28.6]

- 1 RK: Well, as of right now, my situation here, there's, you know (.) I worked with a, she's a, I mean she's, she's a, you know, she has a title, the Luhk, Luhkpein. And I use English also, and I use the uh, you know, Meing and Pohnpeian too, just to address her.
- 2 Brad: OK, so whenever you speak to her in Pohnpeian-
- 3 RK: Yeah.
- 4 Brad: you use-
- 5 RK: I use Meing.
- 6 Brad: Meing?
- 7 RK: Yeah.

At work, RK functions mostly in a translocal, professional space, where English is the most important language for work-related speech. For RK, that English is the language of office work is taken as a given, even when such talk only involves other Pohnpeians. However, he switches out of this professional space during breaks and other non-work discussions into a Pohnpeian space, where he must use the appropriate forms of speech in Pohnpeian to show respect to the chiefly title of his boss. He also uses Pohnpeian to connect to his co-workers on a personal level in this Pohnpeian space.

Similar to RK, PR works at COM-FSM, a professional space that includes a diverse staff. She has co-workers from Pohnpei, the other states of the FSM, and from abroad. PR at first says she mostly uses Pohnpeian at work with her Pohnpeian colleagues (Excerpt 6.31, ln. 1–3, 6) and if her colleague is not Pohnpeian, such as from Yap, she will use English (ln. 4, 7, 8). However, she modifies that in Excerpt 6.33 ln. 2, where she states that sometimes she will speak English with Pohnpeian colleagues. She is not sure why it happens (ln. 6) but just finds herself doing it.

Excerpt 6.31. [BR1-22 00:03:55.6–00:04:37.2]

- 1 Brad: when you were older and you were speaking more Pohnpeian regularly, where would you tend to speak Pohnpeian? as opposed to Pingelapese?
- 2 PR: at work.
- 3 Brad: at work.
- 4 PR: Because my colleagues- some of my colleagues are Pohnpeian, and, when I turn to my Yapese, because we have two other Yapese, when I turn to the Yapese (.) we speak English
- 5 Brad: mmm. ok.

- 6 PR: yeah. so at work, most of my colleagues that I interact with are Pohnpeians, and my- I found myself, speaking more Pohnpeian.
- 7 Brad: mmm. and where would you speak English in daily life? you said with your colleagues: from Yap.
- 8 PR: Here at work.
- 9 Brad: at work. OK.
- 10 PR: yes.

As part of her job, PR sometimes has to give public presentations about her research or other projects. In those situations, she finds it easier to give the presentation in English because she claims that the Pingelapese language does not have the technical language required to talk about such topics (Excerpt 6.32, ln. 8). She justifies this view by saying that Pohnpeian and Pingelapese never had a reason to develop these terms in the past so never created those words (ln. 16). An example that she gives for this lack of appropriate vocabulary is the words ‘light bulb’ and ‘car’, which were borrowed into Pohnpeian (ln. 20, 22). Another reason that she gives for speaking English during public presentations is the fear of offending high status people who may be in attendance (Excerpt 6.33, ln. 16–26). She is not fully comfortable speaking Meing or afraid that she would make a mistake that would offend someone. Instead, she feels that by speaking in English, she would be less likely to offend someone (ln. 27, 28). PR says that many people from the outer islands also feel this way (ln. 34) because they are not comfortable with Meing (ln. 38, 42). She believes that a Pohnpeian chief would be understanding of her choice to speak English with them, especially if they knew that she is Pingelapese (ln. 54). But, she would have to speak Wahu, the Pingelapese form of Meing, with a Pingelapese chief, because the chief would expect Pingelapese to know the appropriate form of speech (ln. 56). PR also feels much more comfortable using Wahu (ln. 67, 68). Likewise, she claims that a Pohnpeian chief would be offended if a Pohnpeian spoke to them in English, because the chief would expect a Pohnpeian to know Meing (ln. 71–72).

Excerpt 6.32. [BR1-22 00:31:28.9–00:33:37.4]

- 1 Brad: @ So I’ve heard, um, some people say, especially people that have more education in English like bachelor’s, master’s #.
- 2 PR: Mmm.
- 3 Brad: That they often feel more comfortable talking about their research or other things in English.
- 4 PR: Mmm.

- 5 Brad: Rather than the local language because they might not have the vocabulary or they don't, might not know how to say things.
- 6 PR: Yes, which is true.
- 7 Brad: Do you feel the same way?
- 8 PR: I feel the same way because the local language, especially the Pingelapese language is very limited. And, um, because of the, the limitations that we have in our local language it, sometimes we find ourselves very uncomfortable to share our research or whatever it is that we want to share to a larger community.
- 9 Brad: Mmm.
- 10 PR: So if we are speaking to a larger community, we find ourselves speaking English over the local language.
- 11 Brad: Mmm.
- 12 PR: And you are right, when I'm addressing a larger community I'm more comfortable speaking in English.
- 13 Brad: Mmm. Why do you think there is this more limited vocabulary?
- 14 PR: Um, I think most of it is because of our culture.
- 15 Brad: Mmm.
- 16 PR: And I think the fact that more we are, the limit is I think in the past, you know, it was just Pohnpeians or just Pingelapese, and the resources that they were exposed to were very limited.
- 17 Brad: Mmm.
- 18 PR: Which is, which can be a reflection of the limitation in their language.
- 19 Brad: OK.
- 20 PR: Because one example that I can use is there is no word for light bulb because back in the day there was no such thing.
- 21 Brad: Mmm.
- 22 PR: There is no local word for a car because back in the day there was no such thing.
- 23 Brad: @
- 24 PR: Just as a boat, OK.

25 Brad: Mmm.

Excerpt 6.33. [BR1-22 00:43:35.5–00:48:29.3]

1 Brad: OK. Is there ever a situation with the, where you would speak English with people from Pohnpeian that you know also speak Pohnpeian or Pingelapese or a language that you understand?

2 PR: Yes, like if I'm at work, sometimes even when I know the person is Pohnpeian but we find ourselves conversing in English.

3 Brad: OK.

4 PR: Like my colleagues here.

5 Brad: Mmm.

6 PR: Many times we speak English. I don't know why, but it just happens. @

7 Brad: @ Would you speak (.) So if you had a big community event in Sokehs (.)

8 PR: Yes.

9 Brad: Would you ever speak English there if everyone there also knows Pohnpeian?

10 PR: I think it depends on what I'm presenting.

11 Brad: OK.

12 PR: Like we talked earlier about how, um, individuals with, um, degrees or who have pursued (.)

13 Brad: Mmm.

14 PR: A higher education would be more comfortable speaking in English. And, and, you know, if that was the case then I'd speak English.

15 Brad: OK.

16 PR: And I also said earlier that sometimes I'm afraid that I'd say the wrong thing especially if I'm speaking to a, a person with high status.

17 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

18 PR: I'd be more comfortable speaking English.

19 Brad: Mmm.

20 PR: In this type of crowd.

21 Brad: OK.

22 PR: Then I'd be Pohnpeian.

23 Brad: OK. Mmm.

24 PR: Because of the fear that I may offend (.)

25 Brad: Mmm.

26 PR: The people with higher status if I speak.

27 Brad: Mmm. So you are less likely to offend people if you speak in English.

28 PR: That's what I feel.

29 Brad: OK.

30 PR: Mmm.

31 Brad: Do you know if other people feel the same way?

32 PR: Yes.

33 Brad: Like if that's a, if that a, is it a, a common thing?

34 PR: Especially people from the outer islands.

35 Brad: Mmm.

36 PR: They would feel the same thing.

37 Brad: OK.

38 PR: Because they are not comfortable speaking Pohnpeian and especially we say that the Meing (.)

39 Brad: Mmm.

40 PR: Is the language we use for the, um, people in chiefly statuses.

41 Brad: Mmm.

42 PR: So people from outer islands are not very familiar with the, the Meing language. So they find themselves more, they would be more comfortable if they just speak in English.

43 Brad: OK.

44 PR: Yeah. So for me I'd speak English if I know that the chief is there.

45 Brad: Hmm, OK.

46 PR: Mmm.

47 Brad: Are there chiefs that are Pingelapese in Sokehs?

48 PR: Yes, because in the Pingelapese society we have our own political system.

49 Brad: Right.

50 PR: We also have a paramount chief and we have lesser chiefly titles.

51 Brad: Mmm. Would you speak English to a chief that who is Pingelapese?

52 PR: No, I'd speak Pingelapese, or I'd offend him if I speak English. @

53 Brad: Mmm. So why, why is, how is that different from that are Pohnpeian?

54 PR: I think if I conversed in English to a Pohnpeian, a chiefly Pohnpeian, he would understand why, especially if he knows that I'm a Pingelapese.

55 Brad: OK.

56 PR: Yes. But if a Pingelapese chief knows that I'm Pingelapese and I'm speaking English to, to him, he'd find it very offensive.

57 Brad: Hmm, OK.

58 PR: Mmm.

59 Brad: And so do you know the, how well do you know the higher form of Pingelapese, like the respectful Meing?

60 PR: You mean the individuals or the titles?

61 Brad: For the titles.

62 PR: Um, well enough to know that, um, there are less than 10 titles in the ranking system.

63 Brad: Mmm.

64 PR: And, uh, well enough because the paramount chief is an uncle of mine. @

65 Brad: OK.

66 PR: So I'm comfortable if I'm asked to say something about the ranking system.

67 Brad: OK. Oh, and you are comfortable talking like in the high language in Pingelapese?

68 PR: Yes.

69 Brad: OK.

70 PR: Mmm.

- 71 Brad: OK. Um, what do you, if a Pohnpeian were to speak English to a Pohnpeian chief, do you think that would be different?
- 72 PR: I think the chief would be offended.
- 73 Brad: OK.
- 74 PR: Because he expects the Pohnpeian to know the Meing language.
- 75 Brad: Hmm, OK.
- 76 PR: The respectful language.
- 77 Brad: Hmm, OK.
- 78 Brad: What's the respectful language called in Pingelapese? Is there a name for it?
- 79 PR: Wahu
- 80 Brad: Wahu
- 81 PR: Wahu which also means respect.
- 82 Brad: OK. Is it at all similar to Meing?
- 83 PR: Very similar.
- 84 Brad: OK.
- 85 PR: But the way we speak it is different, but I think that they are equivalent.
- 86 Brad: OK.
- 87 PR: Yes.

For PR, Pingelapese is a language that she uses at work to connect with Pingelapese students (Except 14). Pohnpeian is used to interact with Pohnpeian colleagues. English is the language she uses for teaching (Excerpt 6.14), talking with colleagues who cannot speak Pohnpeian or Pingelapese, talking about research or technical topics, and giving public presentations in order to avoid politeness issues. In these uses of the language, she uses Pingelapese to create a local Pingelapese space to help Pingelapese students succeed in the complex COM environment. By using Pohnpeian with other colleagues from Pohnpei State, she is able to connect with them as having a shared Pohnpei State identity. By using English for technical things such as research and teaching, she participates in the creation of a translocal space where certain specialized forms of knowledge can be accessed through English. Likewise by using English with colleagues from outside of Pohnpei State, she uses English as a way to communicate across local boundaries. Even though PR can speak Pohnpeian, she does not feel completely adept at performing at this scale, especially in Meing. In her public presentations, she

creates a translocal space by upscaling her speech to English instead of Pohnpeian. This upscaling removes certain linguistic requirements (such as Meing) that are present at the Pohnpei scale that she wants to avoid. It also gives her access to a technical vocabulary that she has spent years developing through her educational and professional training. By creating a translocal space through English, she avoids being impolite and uncertain about her actions and allows her to perform at a scale that she feels more comfortable with.

MK works in a similar space to PR, an Australia-based NGO in Kolonia (Excerpt 6.34, ln. 2). She uses both Pohnpeian and English at work (ln. 5). When she is talking with Pohnpeians at work, she says she speaks Pohnpeian (ln. 8). With everyone else she uses English (ln. 6, 8). However, there are also times when she would use English with Pohnpeians. One such example would be with Pohnpeians who do not know Pohnpeian very well because they were raised abroad (ln. 10). Another example would be when she thinks there are not the appropriate words in Pohnpeian to talk about the subject (ln. 10). To illustrate this point, she gives an example of how she was talking to group of Pohnpeians about child protection policies, which she did in English because there were already set terms for the topic (ln. 14), whereas in Pohnpei she would have to talk around the topic and describe it in a longer form to get the same idea across (ln. 14).

Excerpt 6.34. [BR1-25 00:12:36.6–00:15:19.6]

- 1 Brad: OK. OK. Um, so you said you worked with Australian volunteers. So what exactly do you do for your job?
- 2 MK: I'm the country representative, um, for the Australian Volunteers International North Pacific Program. Um, we work with different, um, different organizations to bring in volunteers from Australia, so. In, besides just creating assignments for the, our volunteers, um, we're also doing orientation for them. Um, bringing them into country and then teaching them about the traditions, cultures, from, in each island country.
- 3 Brad: OK. Great. So at work in the office, what language or languages do you use?
- 4 MK: Um, English and Pohnpeian, depending on who I'm speaking with.
- 5 Brad: OK. Um, so give me an example of when you would use English or when you would use Pohnpeian.
- 6 MK: Well, I would definitely, um, use English when I'm speaking to my Australian volunteers.

- 7 Brad: Mmm.
- 8 MK: Um, but if I'm calling the, you know, Marshall Islands, or, um, Chuuk, or any other non-Pohnpeian speaking, um, island or speaking to someone that's not from Pohnpei, I would use English. Usually when I'm speaking to someone from Pohnpei, I speak Pohnpeian.
- 9 Brad: OK. Is there any time when you would use English with Pohnpeians?
- 10 MK: If the Pohnpeian doesn't really understand Pohnpeian. Or maybe was born and raised in the U.S. and came back and doesn't, you know, doesn't really speak Pohnpeian. Um (.) Or sometimes I might use Pohnpeian when, or English when you can't really describe what you're trying to say in Pohnpeian because there's no such word for such things.
- 11 Brad: Mmm. Can you give me an example?
- 12 MK: Uh (.) On the spot, I can't think right now. Um (.)
- 13 Brad: OK.
- 14 MK: Well, like, even (.) Let me think. (.) What were we (.) What were we talking? (.) We were talking about child protection policies with Pohnpeians about two weeks ago and just the concept of having a child protection policy. You know, we have this, for English it's child protection policy, you have three, nice, easy words that people understand. Um, in Pohnpeian, we don't have (.) You can't translate it to just three simple words. It's more of a paragraph. So you describe it to them. Describe it to the Pohnpeians.
- 15 Brad: Mmm.
- 16 MK: And then just get, um, feedback, uh, from them to know if they really did understand what you were trying to say. Yeah.
- 17 Brad: OK.
- 18 MK: Yeah.

MK uses English to describe technical or work-related information and to interact with non-Pohnpeian co-workers. Pohnpeian is used mostly to interact with Pohnpeian co-workers when talk-

ing about non-technical information. MK's language use is not only domain-based (such as using technical English at work), but also dependent on the addressee (using English with an American or Pohnpeian with someone from Pohnpei).

The three interview participants discussed in this section, RK, PR, and MK, all work in an office setting. In their places of work they navigate through all the levels of scale they have access to (most local [Pingelapese], Pohnpei State, and translocal). Each of these levels of scale have different behavioral and linguistic requirements. When interacting with members from their home community, they typically speak in their home language, such as Pohnpeian or Pingelapese. When interacting with Pohnpeian colleagues, they typically speaking in Pohnpeian. With speaking in Pohnpeian comes an obligation to use Meing when speaking with Pohnpeians who have high titles. Some, such as PR, avoid such situations by speaking in English, which indexes a different scale, where such honorific use is not necessary. Likewise, they all use English to talk about work related topics, especially where there is a technical vocabulary that does not exist in Pohnpeian.

6.2.4 Church

Attending church is a very important aspect in the lives of a majority of Pohnpei residents. The vast majority of the population attends a Christian church of some sort. In this subsection, I present how DE, PR, and RK talk about church and the role it plays in their language use.

DE is a deacon in the Catholic Church and as such he is a respected religious leader in his community. As a deacon, he is the pastor of a parish and leads weekly religious services. In his role as deacon, he mainly speaks Pohnpeian (Excerpt 6.35, ln. 2). He views the role of church to not only help people spiritually, but to also help them know their their own origins (ln. 4). By this he means the church should teach about Pohnpei history and traditions, which includes learning Meing (ln. 10). As a religious figure, he sometimes has to interact with a *nahnmwarki* or other high titled people. To prepare him for this, his training to be a deacon included teaching Meing (ln. 18). Despite its importance for interacting with high titled people, DE believes that everyone should be given equal respect and not just to high titled people, because of his religious views (ln. 22, 24, 26, 28). He states that his views differ from most people in this regard (ln. 22). DE also believes that he can show someone the same amount of respect in English or Pohnpeian and that it is not language dependent (ln. 34).

Excerpt 6.35. [BR1-21 00:13:18.4–00:20:57.6]

- 1 Brad: Um, and, and your role as a Deacon, what languages do you use typically when, you know, talking with parishioners or in that church-

- 2 DE: Pohnpei, Pohnpeian.
- 3 Brad: Pohnpeian? Okay. Um, what do you think the uh, churches role with language and culture is?
- 4 DE: Yeah. Well I always believe and I will continue to believe that the, the church should also take part as I, I said the schools. They should take part. I think the church should also take part. The church should continue to help the people not, not only to grow spiritually but also physically and mentally. Men- mentally meaning they should learn something uh, not only about the faith or about god but also about their own, you know, their own origins. They're uh, what they grew up and also the language that they, they speak and (.)
- 5 Brad: Mmm.
- 6 DE: Mmm.
- 7 Brad: Um, how can the church do this? Like, do you have a, an idea of a program or something that you know, the church can implement?
- 8 DE: Yeah, like in our catechetical programs, uh teaching about the faith and also about the sacraments and this. I think we should uh, help with the (.) the language aspect of the, that because some of these Catholics, some of, some of us, the Deacons, we also when we speak, we speak like babies. Like some young, young children. In Pohnpei there are different uh (.) when you sp- you're speaking to uh, a nahnmwarki you should speak this way. Or to your friend you should speak this way. Or to little kids you should speak this way.
- 9 Brad: Mmm.
- 10 DE: So I think uh, yeah. I think with the church can come up with programs that will you know, preserve, preserve the language. Hm. Not only the, the spiritual growth of the people but also their uh, physical and health.
- 11 Brad: Mmm. Okay, um, how well do you know the, you know, the higher languages?
- 12 DE: Not really. Not really.

- 13 Brad: Mmm.
- 14 DE: But when I speak to, like the chiefs and the nahnmwarkis then I, I try my best to, you know, to remember what I was taught, that I was taught and then so I used it uh, hm.
- 15 Brad: How did you learn it? Who taught you?
- 16 DE: Well I, I, it came down from my parents and also from m- some, some friends that I had along the way.
- 17 Brad: Hm.
- 18 DE: And also uh, as part of our diaconate training we were also learning how to speak with, you know, the higher (.) um, so (.)
- 19 Brad: Mmm. So is that an important aspect of your job? To know how to, to use the high language uh, appropriately with people that you interact with?
- 20 DE: It should be, yeah. For me it should be to um (.)
- 21 Brad: Hm, okay. Um (.) so some other people that I talked to um, brought up the word 'Respect' a lot. Um, especially with Pohnpeian. Um, what, what are your views on like, how you show respect in Pohnpei and how that in- correlates with, or how that interacts with the language? Um, cause you talked about the high language and that's a way to show respect um (.)
- 22 DE: Yeah. Well, with regards to respect (.) I, I am different from these other people when, when it comes to respect because uh, I believe that that word respect is uh, it should be for everybody.
- 23 Brad: Mmm.
- 24 DE: We, we, or I should not separate or what did I say? How should I say? When I, I should treat everybody with the same respect that they deserve, for they (.) so I think uh, at least for me (.) I try my best to show respect to everybody. Uh, if the high-ranking, if it's these high-ranking or the, the, the nahnmwarkis, I do that also. But for our, so for younger ones I, I try my best to do it also. So as not to (.) how should I put it? Let people think that I respect this guy more than this guy.

- 25 Brad: Mmm, okay.
- 26 DE: I, I believe that I should treat them and respect them equally. They, they should be equal. Yeah. There shouldn't be any like, discrimination or what, between the younger ones or the low, low people and the high, high, high-class people.
- 27 Brad: Mmm. Okay. Um (.)
- 28 DE: 'Cause (pause) we are all created by god. We were created in his image. So I believe that I should respect everybody uh, the same. It shouldn't be uh (.) even if they're nahnmwarki or small ones, but they're, we're all created by god and we were all created in his image. So we should uh, respect uh-
- 29 Brad: Okay.
- 30 DE: Mmm.
- 31 Brad: Um, do you feel that you can be equally respectful using English versus Pohnpeian?
- 32 DE: In speaking to people?
- 33 Brad: Yeah.
- 34 DE: Yes.
- 35 Brad: Okay.
- 36 DE: Yes, yes.

These examples present an interesting interplay of scales on Pohnpei. Christianity is a foreign idea that has been brought to Pohnpei. Its theology and structure, especially that of the Catholic Church, are translocal in nature, since it is found throughout the world. However, Catholicism, in at least its superficial characteristics, such as language used in religious services and local religious leaders, has been localized. For DE, the Catholic Church represents a local, Pohnpeian institution that should support and maintain local culture and traditions. On a deeper, more fundamental level, the Catholic Church and its theology also represent translocal ideas, such as the belief that everyone regardless of title should receive equal respect because everyone is created in god's image, that DE aligns with. He overtly takes the stance that he is "different from these other people" (ln. 22) when it comes to certain local norms. Church for DE is both local and translocal.

Like DE, PR is concerned about younger generations losing knowledge about their language. She views a project to translate the Bible into Pingelapese as a way to help preserve her language (Excerpt 6.36, ln. 2). For her, the Bible is on par with the dictionary as tools that help safeguard their

linguistic knowledge (ln. 9). The Bible is one book that everyone will read because most people are Christian (ln. 7). This translation project involves all three major Pingelapese communities on Pohnpei (ln. 31, 33).

Excerpt 6.36. [BR1-22 00:35:55.3–00:38:16.1]

- 1 PR: In fact, you know, right now for our Pingelapese community, there is a committee that's been put together to translate the Bible.
- 2 Brad: Mmm.
- 3 PR: Into Pingelapese language. It's a five-year work. So this is the third year.
- 4 Brad: Mmm.
- 5 PR: The book has been in writing, but, you know, those are the things that we can do to preserve our language.
- 6 Brad: Mmm.
- 7 PR: And since, um, the majority of the population, you know, are Christians, you know, that's one way that we can, because people read the Bible.
- 8 Brad: Mm-Mmm.
- 9 PR: So, you know, they can still retain their knowledge of Pingelapese by, you know, using the Bible. There is also a local dictionary in Pingelapese. I don't think the work was completed but it started, it got started.
- 10 Brad: Mmm.
- 11 PR: Mmm.
- 12 Brad: Is there a desire amongst many Pingelapese to do other, like to keep doing this and to make more things?
- 13 PR: I know a few, a few people who, who are working to, and most of them are part of this committee.
- 14 Brad: Mmm.
- 15 PR: Who is translating the (.)
- 16 Brad: Mmm.
- 17 PR: The Bible into Pingelapese.
- 18 Brad: Mmm.
- 19 PR: But there are efforts.

- 20 Brad: Mmm.
- 21 PR: To revive the Pingelapese language.
- 22 Brad: How many people are working to translate it like roughly speaking?
- 23 PR: Um, you may be familiar with the, the, the different Pingelapese communities on Pohnpei.
- 24 Brad: Mmm.
- 25 PR: There is one community in Sokehs, there are, there is a whole lot.
- 26 Brad: Mm-Mmm.
- 27 PR: But they are dispersed in Kolonia.
- 28 Brad: Mmm.
- 29 PR: And then there is another Pingelapese community in Madolenihmw.
- 30 Brad: Mmm.
- 31 PR: But the committee has been divided amongst the three group, there is one in, uh, Kolonia , there is one in Sokehs.
- 32 Brad: Mmm.
- 33 PR: And there is one in Madolenihmw.
- 34 Brad: OK.
- 35 PR: So they work individually as within their own groups, and then once a month they meet in one of those communities.
- 36 Brad: Mm-Mmm.
- 37 PR: But yeah, so there is a representative from, from the three Pingelapese communities.
- 38 Brad: OK. Mmm.
- 39 PR: So there is, there is more than 20 actually. Most of them are Pingelapese elders.

It is interesting to note that PR sees a gap in Pingelapese use of not having Pingelapese religious texts that she does not see in other domains, such as in the workplace or in education. This is the one domain she explicitly sees as needing expansion of Pingelapese use.

RK attends church in Pohnpeian, similar to DE (Excerpt 6.37, ln. 4). His father was an official in his church and had to preach (Excerpt 6.38, ln. 4). RK learned how to read and write in Pohnpeian by reading his father's sermon notes (ln. 8).

Excerpt 6.37. [BR1-26 00:19:49.7–00:19:57.5]

- 1 Brad: Um, when you (.) Do you go to church at all?
- 2 RK: Yeah.
- 3 Brad: When you go to church, what language-
- 4 RK: Pohnpeian. It's-
- 5 Brad: Pohnpeian?
- 6 RK: Yeah.

Excerpt 6.38. [BR1-26 00:02:12.0–00:02:57.5]

- 1 Brad: OK. Um (.) do you uh, know how to write in Pohnpeian, using like the official way of writing?
- 2 RK: Yeah.
- 3 Brad: OK. H-how did you learn that?
- 4 RK: Uh, through, going through, uh, you know, I've been (.) Working with my dad kind of (.) Is he write the (.) Uh, uh, what's that, uh (.) When he preached for the church thing.
- 5 Brad: Mmm.
- 6 RK: He has, uh, a title in the church thing, and he write them pretty much, uh, uh (.) It's kind of like, formal way of you know, writing Pohnpeian language, and then-
- 7 Brad: Mmm.
- 8 RK: (.) I can kind of like go through his stuff and then learn how to do it.
- 9 Brad: OK.

For DE, PR, and RK religion is the domain of their home language (Pohnpeian or Pingelapese). They also view it as vehicle for maintaining and preserving their traditions and language. This can be done through church programs and teachings and through Bible translations. As part of this preservation, it is also an important place for them to learn how to read and write in their languages, since the Bible is one of the few books that everyone reads on Pohnpei.

6.2.5 Around Pohnpei: public domains

In this section, the parts of the interviews that deal with everyday life on Pohnpei are presented. In particular, it includes parts of the interviews about language use in specific scenarios, such as going to the store, and also more general things like what languages should be spoken on Pohnpei or what languages are spoken in specific parts of the island, such as Sokehs.

RK uses Pohnpeian mostly when he is outside of work, such as when he is at the store (Excerpt 6.39, ln. 4, 8). When he is with his friends he speaks primarily Pohnpeian, but likes to mix in English for fun to create the right mood (ln. 16). He also identifies this mixing with youngsters (ln. 18) and people who live in Kolonia (ln. 26). He says that when speaking with people from Kolonia, he has to use more English, because they are not often ethnic Pohnpeians (such as Mwokilese) or they went to private school and know English better (ln. 26). But when he talks with people from his own community in the ‘villages’, then he talk to them in Pohnpeian in the ‘real classic way’ (ln. 28), which means not using many English words (ln. 29–32). So for RK, Kolonia is a place associated with more English use versus his own community with more Pohnpeian.

Excerpt 6.39. [BR1-26 00:09:12.4–00:11:11.1]

- 1 Brad: But mostly English. OK, OK. Um (.) so when you’re outside of work, like when you, you go to the store, or you know, you go to buy things-
- 2 RK: Yeah (.)
- 3 Brad: (.) what languages do you use?
- 4 RK: Pohnpeian.
- 5 Brad: Pohnpeian?
- 6 RK: Yeah.
- 7 Brad: Um, and-
- 8 RK: Guaranteed Pohnpeian.
- 9 Brad: Yeah.
- 10 RK: You gotta use Pohnpeian, yeah.
- 11 Brad: So when you’re calm and stuff you use Pohnpeian. So just, just at work?
- 12 RK: Yeah.
- 13 Brad: Um, OK. So, when you speak Pohnpeian, do y-do you use a lot of English words?
- 14 RK: Yeah, like uh (.) when, kind of like mix them up?

- 15 Brad: Mmm.
- 16 RK: Sure. We use the (.) Oftenly we use (.) pretty much for my friends, we talk in Pohnpeian, speak in Pohnpeian, then, then we kind of like, we mix it up just to you know, make them feel the mood about you know @-
- 17 Brad: Mmm.
- 18 RK: (.) if you know, kind of like, youngsters doing stuff that some others don't know, but yeah (.) So we use them just to you know (.)
- 19 Brad: OK.
- 20 RK: Or, I don't know, maybe generosity, or (.) Yeah.
- 21 Brad: Um, so (.) what kind of people use a lot of English words? Like i-in where, like, people living in Kolonia, people living in the villages, young people, old people-
- 22 RK: I would-
- 23 Brad: (.) whatever?
- 24 RK: English would? The-
- 25 Brad: Yeah.
- 26 RK: (.) most of people in Kolonia they (.) Because of they're different ethnicity, or where they came from, like Mwokil and, most of them, they're speaking from (.) And most of the people from here, they kind of like, go to private school, and-
- 27 Brad: OK.
- 28 RK: (.) stuff so. When you have to come and get with them, you talk to them in English and you can mix them up in Pohnpeian too, but it's mostly in English. But people from the villagers, or where your community's from, or municipalities, you talk to them in Pohnpeian, real classic way.
- 29 Brad: OK. So you don't use many English -
- 30 RK: Yeah.
- 31 Brad: (.) words in the villages?
- 32 RK: Yeah.

PR lives in Sokehs, a municipality that has several language communities living together, namely Pingelapese, Mwokilese, Mortlockese, and Pohnpeian. PR maintains that while some languages may not be supported in education, children still widely speak them (Excerpt 6.40, ln. 17–22). She even says that Pingelapese and Mwokilese children pick up both languages because of their interactions (ln. 24). Some Pohnpeian children who live in the part of Sokehs also learn Pingelapese and Mwokilese (ln. 26). However, she believes that the Pingelapese and Mwokilese children do not learn Mortlockese (ln. 28). For PR, Pingelapese and Mwokilese are very similar because of their “geographical proximity” (ln. 40) as well as a shared history of being relocated to Pohnpei (ln. 42, 50). Because of this similarity, PR maintains that there is a “mutual understanding” between them (ln. 44).

When PR meets a local person in Sokehs for the first time and does not know them, she defaults to using Pohnpeian (ln. 57–60). If during that interaction, she realizes that they are Pingelapese or Mwokilese, she will switch to Pingelapese (ln. 65–66). Likewise if a Mwokilese person realizes she is Pingelapese, they will speak Mwokilese with her (ln. 68). For her, Pohnpeian is the default language if she is uncertain of a local person’s background (ln. 70). If the person is not from Pingelap or Mwoakil-loa, then she has to continue speaking Pohnpeian, because she cannot fully understand Ngatikese (ln. 81, 82), nor any Mortlockese (ln. 99, 100), Nukuoran, or Kapingamarangi (ln. 76). Likewise, a person from these other islands would be unable to understand Pingelapese (ln. 76–81). Because of this lack of mutual understanding, municipal gatherings in Sokehs are conducted in Pohnpeian (ln. 101, 102), since Mortlockese cannot speak Pingelapese or Mwokilese and vice versa (ln. 104). However, everyone learns Pohnpeian (ln. 106–110).

Excerpt 6.40. [BR1-22 00:38:16.9–00:43:33.5]

- 1 Brad: OK. Um, (.) You know Sokehs is, um (.)
- 2 PR: Is a confused municipality @.
- 3 Brad: It’s an (.)
- 4 PR: @
- 5 Brad: Yeah, interesting place in terms of like, you know, you have all these languages (.)
- 6 PR: Yes.
- 7 Brad: That have been maintained for such a long time.
- 8 PR: Mmm.
- 9 Brad: Like you have, you know, Pohnpeian spoken but also you have Pingelapese.
- 10 PR: Yes.
- 11 Brad: Mwokilese.

12 PR: Mmm.

13 Brad: Mortlockese, you know.

14 PR: @

15 Brad: All these. Do you, like are the kids still maintaining? It seems like some kids don't, you know, speak Pingelapese as well but (.)

16 PR: Yes.

17 Brad: Do you still see people, like younger people still speak in Pingelapese?

18 PR: Yes.

19 Brad: OK.

20 PR: Because it's still true where they go to elementary school the teacher is still speaking in Pohnpeian.

21 Brad: OK.

22 PR: But outside of the classroom they are still speaking Pingelapese, Mwokilese, still speaking Mwokilese. They've even picked up Mwokilese.

23 Brad: Mmm.

24 PR: Our Pingelapese kids. And the Mwokilese kids have even picked up Pingelapese.

25 Brad: @

26 PR: Because outside of the classroom they speak their own local languages. Even the Pohnpeians coming from this side of Sokehs, they are also speaking Pingelapese and Mwokilese.

27 Brad: @ OK.

28 PR: But I, I can never understand why our Mwokilese and our Pingelapese students cannot speak Mortlockese.

29 Brad: Mmm.

30 PR: But the ones from this side they speak the Mwokilese and the Pingelapese. So that's, that's one question that I still can't think. @

31 Brad: OK. Um, so do you speak, um, Mwokilese well?

32 PR: My mom is quite Mwokilese.

33 Brad: OK.

34 PR: I speak some Mwokilese.

35 Brad: OK.

36 PR: Yes.

37 Brad: Oh, can you understand it?

38 PR: Yes, very well.

39 Brad: OK. How, in your opinion, how close are Pingelapese and Mwokilese?

40 PR: Very close. I'd say very close and part of it is because of their geographical proximity.

41 Brad: Mmm.

42 PR: And, you know, they shared the same past experiences because their people were relocated from their islands to the same portion of Pohnpei.

43 Brad: Mmm.

44 PR: So the Pingelapese and Mwokilese are very close. And that's why when a Mwokilese speaks to a Pingelapese, the Mwokilese doesn't have to learn Pingelapese to be able to communicate to them because they have a mutual understanding in (.)

45 Brad: Mmm.

46 PR: Um, their language.

47 Brad: OK.

48 PR: So you can understand Mwokilese just like a Mwokilese will understand you as a Pingelapese.

49 Brad: Mmm.

50 PR: There they have a lot of cultural similarities and they shared a lot of history. You know, even the legends, the stories that they tell, they have @

51 Brad: @

52 PR: So their past is from way back.

53 Brad: Mmm.

54 PR: So there is a lot of similarities.

55 Brad: Mmm.

56 PR: Mm-Mmm.

57 Brad: So when you, this is the hypothetical question, but when you are in Sokehs and you are walking down the road and you meet someone, you know, who is a local person, but you don't know, you don't know the person, you don't know what language they speak.

58 PR: Yes.

59 Brad: How do you, like what language do you speak to them at first?

60 PR: Pohnpeian.

61 Brad: So you (.)

62 PR: Not Pingelapese.

63 Brad: So you start with Pohnpeian.

64 PR: @

65 Brad: And then, then what happens?

66 PR: So if I learn that the, if the one person is a Mwokilese I start speaking Pingelapese.

67 Brad: OK.

68 PR: Yeah. Just as if the Mwokilese finds that I'm Pingelapese, then Mwokilese will start speaking Mwokilese.

69 Brad: OK.

70 PR: But if you are unsure and you know the Pohn- the person is from Pohnpei, somewhere in Pohnpei, whether from Ngatik or Nukuoro, first you start with Pohnpeian.

71 Brad: Hmm, OK.

72 PR: Mmm.

73 Brad: And then you figure it out actually then switch.

74 PR: Yes. Yes.

75 Brad: OK. Hmm, interesting.

76 PR: @ But if the person is from Ngatik or from Nukuoro though, you have to continue speaking Pohnpeian.

77 Brad: Mmm.

78 PR: Because they won't understand Mwokilese or Pingelapese.

79 Brad: Hmm, OK.

80 PR: Mmm.

81 Brad: Can you understand Ngatik, Ngat- Ngatikese?

82 PR: I, um, some of it.

83 Brad: Mmm.

84 PR: Mmm.

85 Brad: But it's different from, yeah.

86 PR: Yeah, it's different.

87 Brad: OK.

88 PR: It's very different.

89 Brad: Mmm.

90 PR: Because if you listen to Ngatikese, it's a combination of English, Pohnpeian. So much of their language has been influenced by English.

91 Brad: Mmm.

92 PR: It's so much like Pidgin English.

93 Brad: Hmm, huh.

94 PR: You know, it's an interesting language. @

95 Brad: @ Yeah.

96 PR: I have a friend, very close friend from Ngatik, but we speak in, we converse in Pohnpeian.

97 Brad: Oh, OK.

98 PR: Yeah. @

99 Brad: @ Um, do you understand Mortlockese at all?

100 PR: No. @

101 Brad: OK. And so how does that work with, uh, since the other side of Sokehs is a lot of people from the Mortlocks.

102 PR: OK. So if there is a community gathering, municipal gathering, the language is Pohnpeian.

103 Brad: Hmm, OK.

104 PR: Yeah. We cannot speak Pingelapese, Mwokilese, nor they, can they speak Mortlockese.

105 Brad: Mmm.

106 PR: It's always Pohnpeian.

107 Brad: Mmm. So are there, since not many people, not may Pingelapese that learn Mortlockese is, not many Mortlockese or Pingelapese?

- 108 PR: No.
109 Brad: Just both learn Pohnpeian.
110 PR: Yes, they have to learn Pohnpeian.

MK believes that many people on Pohnpei actually speak a mixed form of Pohnpeian and English, which she calls “soup” (Excerpt 6.41, ln. 6). Because of this mixing, she states that it is “becoming harder for people to actually speak their own language” (ln. 6). She sees this happening mostly with people younger than 60 who typically work for government offices or who have studied or lived in the U.S. (ln. 12). It is also more common in Kolonia than in more rural places (ln. 16). She, on the other hand, says that she is aware of the borrowed words and purposely does not use them (ln. 1–6), especially since she equates the mixing of the two languages as forgetting the Pohnpeian words (ln. 10).

Despite the mixing of languages that MK observes, she still states that “people tend to speak the language that they were born speaking” (ln. 26). They instead speak English if they are talking to someone from somewhere else, like a Pohnpeian speaking to a Kosraean (ln. 26). However, in Sokehs, similar to PR, she observes that Pingelapese and Mwokilese can speak to each other in their respective languages and they understand each other (ln. 30). She also thinks that language use in Sokehs is quite structured and not at all confusing (ln. 28).

MK does not think that FSM citizens who are not from Pohnpei State must learn Pohnpeian (Excerpt 6.42, ln. 2). Pohnpeian is not a requirement, but it is definitely something that will help them survive since Pohnpeian is widely spoken (ln. 2). She backs this up by stating that if she were to move to another place, such as Kapingamarangi, she would want to learn Kapingamarangi because it would help her communicate (ln. 4). MK, however, does not think that is a commonly held view on Pohnpei (ln. 5, 6).

Excerpt 6.41. [BR1-25 BR1-25 00:15:22.4–00:19:58.1]

- 1 Brad: OK. Um, do you feel that you use a lot of English words when
you speak Pohnpeian? Borrowed words?
2 MK: Um, no 'cause I think I'm more aware of the borrowed words.
Um, so I, yeah, I don't usually use, like, "use."
3 Brad: Mmm.
4 MK: I'm not using my zorries or whatever.
5 Brad: OK. So you try not to use English words, like you're saying?
Like, you're conscious about that and (.)

- 6 MK: Yeah, yeah. 'Cause I think, um, nowadays we're mixing it so much that it's becoming harder for people to actually speak their own language 'cause we're, yeah, what, what we call soup. Mixing the two languages together.
- 7 Brad: Mmm.
- 8 MK: Um, and then we don't form our, you know, we just use the way we speak.
- 9 Brad: OK.
- 10 MK: Through that. We're forgetting words, I think.
- 11 Brad: Mmm. So what kind of people do you think generally use more English words in Pohnpeian?
- 12 MK: Um, kind of people? Ones that work in government build- government offices a lot. Um, people who have gone off to school in the U.S. or have lived in the U.S. for a long time. Um, come back, maybe their vocabulary has become very limited and so they, you know, mix.
- 13 Brad: OK.
- 14 MK: Um, yeah.
- 15 Brad: So you wouldn't find that as much, like, in Kitti or # parts of the island?
- 16 MK: Yeah, you wouldn't use, yeah. You wouldn't see that mostly in the, yeah. More in the villages, in town, you would. I guess.
- 17 Brad: OK.
- 18 MK: Yeah, the people in town, you get a lot of mixing.
- 19 Brad: OK. And do you feel this is limited, like, by age at all? Or, um, like do older people use a lot of English, too? Or is it more, like, younger people in a particular generation?
- 20 MK: Like, how old are you talking about? Like, I would say maybe 40, 50, yeah there's a mixing. Um, but usually about 60 and over, they're not mixing their languages.
- 21 Brad: OK.
- 22 MK: Mmm.

- 23 Brad: OK. Um (.) What do you think of, like, how would you describe the language situation in Pohnpei, in general? Like, what languages are used, where are they used, et cetera.
- 24 MK: Um, well Pohnpei has (.) Since Pohnpei is, um, houses the capital of the FSM, we have people from the four states here working. And, so in the workplace, especially in the government, um, or, I don't know, where there's more Kosraeans, they're, they speak more Kosraean to each other. Um, Yapese speak more, you know, tend to speak Yapese to one another. Um, it's a very mixed language. Um, the, I guess the Pohnpeian. And we just speak it according to the situation. Did I answer the question? What's the question again?
- 25 Brad: Um, how would you describe the language situation in Pohnpei?
- 26 MK: Uh, just mixed and (.) I don't know. Very mixed. And people (.) Yeah, people just tend to speak the language that they were born speaking, um, unless it's, you know, to a Pohnpeian or Kosraean or talking, then they'd speak English, automatically speak English to each other.
- 27 Brad: OK. Um, what about, like, in Sokehs? What would you describe that as? What's, like, with the outer islands? Like, Pingelapese, Mwokilese?
- 28 MK: Well, in Sokehs, the, um, they're pretty much broken into s-different sections. And so the people from the Mortlocks on one end, um, the people from Mwoakilloa and Pingelap are from, are in other, you know, sections. Um, so it's not (.) I don't think it's not (.) It's, it's structured, I guess. Um (.) Uh, it's not confusing, you know, it's not chaotic or anything like that. People know where they're from and they speak the language that they're from.
- 29 Brad: Mmm.

- 30 MK: Um, people from Mwokil and Pingelap, they tend to, if you're from Pingelap you can speak Mwokilese to the, uh, Pinge-lapese and they can kind of talk to each other. Um, still understanding each other.

Excerpt 6.42. [BR1-25 00:21:10.9–00:21:55.1]

- 1 Brad: OK. Um, do you think other Micronesians living on Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian?
- 2 MK: No. um, but they should know their own language. Um, but they, if they want to, because the Pohnpeian language is widely spoken here in Pohnpei, um, so it would be good to at least understand. They don't need to know it fluently, but good to understand. I mean, after all they're here in Pohnpei.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 MK: If I went to Kapingamarangi I would want to learn Kapingamarangi, so I could be able to communicate with them better.
- 5 Brad: OK. You think that's a commonly held view of amongst the people living in Pohnpei, that if I live someplace else I want to learn their language?
- 6 MK: No.

DI mostly speaks in Pohnpeian with her friends (Excerpt 6.43, ln. 2), except when they cannot speak Pohnpeian, in which case she speaks English (ln. 4).

Excerpt 6.43. [BR1-28 00:13:18.4–00:13:31.5]

- 1 Brad: Do you speak in Pohnpeian with your friends, or do you speak in English, or (.)
- 2 DI: Uh, I speak mostly Pohnpeian.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 DI: Uh, but if they cannot speak English, I mean, Pohnpeian language, that's when I speak English.
- 5 Brad: OK.

She also maintains that people from the so-called outer islands of Pohnpei should speak both Pohnpeian as well as their island's language (Excerpt 6.44, ln. 2–4). But, she believes it is more impor-

tant for them to have Pohnpeian. If they lost their language, but still retained Pohnpeian, she thinks it would be fine (ln. 7, 8), because they are still part of Pohnpei (ln. 10). She also thinks that in school they should learn Pohnpeian instead of their own languages, so that they can learn to communicate with the rest of Pohnpei (ln. 12). DI also has overtly negative views of the Pingelapese language. To her, it sounds like they are speaking Pohnpeian incorrectly (ln. 22, 28) and it gets on her nerves how bad it sounds (ln. 24). She even goes as far as correcting her Pingelapese classmates by telling them the correct way to speak (ln. 32). DI believes that most Pohnpeians she knows agree that Pingelapese sounds bad (ln. 30). Many people, especially teenagers, also make jokes about how Pingelapese sounds (ln. 38). Despite her views of outer islanders, her mother has Mortlockese relatives and speaks to them in Mortlockese (ln. 44–48), but DI cannot understand it (ln. 48–50).

Excerpt 6.44. [BR1-28 00:18:13.9–00:22:36.4]

- 1 Brad: Uh-huh. OK. Yep. What do you think about people from Pingelap, Mwoakilloa that when they speak Pohnpeian? What do you think of that?
- 2 DI: It's good that they know how to speak.
- 3 Brad: Mmm.
- 4 DI: Our language. Also (.) As well as their language.
- 5 Brad: Mmm.
- 6 DI: I think it's- it's good.
- 7 Brad: What if they lost their language and only spoke Pohnpeian, and- and English, but- but only like Pohnpeian was their main language?
- 8 DI: Hmm (.) I don't mind.
- 9 Brad: OK. Why?
- 10 DI: 'Cause they're still a part of the outer islands of Pohnpei, so why not?
- 11 Brad: OK. OK. Is it important to teach things in their language, like in public schools, or is it better for them to learn Pohnpeian, like in Sokehs. Is it better for them to learn Pohnpeian, or better for them to have education in their language?
- 12 DI: Uh (.) I think it's better to speak (.) Or learn Pohnpeian language in their schools too, so that they can (.) It's easier to communicate with other islanders.
- 13 Brad: OK. Um (.) Can you tell if someone's from Pingelap?

14 DI: Yeah.

15 Brad: When they speak, uh, Pohnpeian?

16 DI: @ yeah.

17 Brad: How can you tell?

18 DI: By the way they pronounce, or the way they deliver their (.)
The way they speak.

19 Brad: OK.

20 DI: Yeah.

21 Brad: What- what comes to mind, when you hear them speaking
Pohnpeian? You can tell, oh, you're from Pingelap?

22 DI: Yeah. I say, "OK, you're saying it the wrong way," or like,
"That's wrong," but yes. Sometimes, I get, uh (.) How do you
say, um, overprotective of our own language. I want it to be
like always right.

23 Brad: Uh-huh.

24 DI: For other people to say that, 'cause it kind of gets on my nerves
when they say it in a different way, their language. Yeah, so-

25 Brad: Yeah, so it sounds, it sounds bad?

26 DI: It sounds not, yeah.

27 Brad: Yeah.

28 DI: It sounds bad @.

29 Brad: What do other people say about that, too? Like, do they agree
with you? Like other Pohnpeians?

30 DI: Yeah. They agree. Most that I know. They agree.

31 Brad: OK. And so, what do you (.) Do they ever tell the people, like
Pingelap anything? Like, do they ever correct them, or (.)

32 DI: Yeah. Mostly in school, uh, those, uh (.) We have other (.) We-
we like have classmates from Mortlocks, and Mwokilese. We
try to correct each other, but they say, "Oh, no. The way I'm
saying it is right," or, "No, it's the way I'm saying it is right."
We get into arguments sometimes, but we get over it.

33 Brad: Do people ever make jokes about how people there (.) Do you
know of any?

34 DI: Yeah. I don't want to say.

- 35 Brad: Why not? Is it bad?
- 36 DI: No, it's (.) No, it- it's kind of disrespectful, so (.)
- 37 Brad: Oh, OK. But, do a lot of people make those jokes, or- or is it
looked down upon?
- 38 DI: No, it's (.) Yeah, a lot of people make jokes, but-
- 39 Brad: OK.
- 40 DI: People or kids my age or teenagers now.
- 41 Brad: Oh, OK.
- 42 DI: Yeah.
- 43 Brad: OK. Um (.) OK. Um (.) This is good. So (.) Do you know
of Pohnpeians who would learn Pingelapese or Mwokilese or
Mortlockese, or (.)
- 44 DI: My mom is Pohnpeian but she knows how to speak in Mort-
lockese.
- 45 Brad: OK.
- 46 DI: She's also Mortlockese.
- 47 Brad: OK.
- 48 DI: Yeah. So, sometimes, when we meet our relatives from Mort-
locks, they speak in Mortlockese, but I don't know what
they're saying.
- 49 Brad: OK, you cannot understand.
- 50 DI: I cannot understand.

While DI does not view Pingelapese and Mwokilese highly, she values her own variety of Pohnpeian that is spoken in Kittu. For her, speaking the Kittu way, such as using /ɔ/ <oa> in words instead of /ɛ/ <e>, makes her feel unique (Excerpt 6.45, ln. 4) and gives her a sense of identity, because she grew up in Kittu and wants to identify with being from there (ln. 14). Some of her classmates from other parts of the island make fun of her for speaking the Kittu way (ln. 22), but she makes fun of them back (ln. 24). However, in the end she thinks it is ok, since they are all still Pohnpeian, “just the pronunciations that are different” (ln. 26).

Excerpt 6.45. [BR1-28 00:31:10.0–00:33:16.9]

- 1 Brad: OK. Um (.) What do you think about different versions of Pohn-
peian, like (.) In- in Kittu, there's different ways of speaking
than here in Kolonia.

2 DI: Oh, yeah.

3 Brad: What do you, what do you think about that difference?

4 DI: Uh (.) Sometimes, I feel like competing with the other, like, compete and argue over who's pronunciation is right or correct, 'cause Kitti, they say, "oa," in. The other parts of the island say, "eh." It feels, uh, as a (.) As a person from Kitti, I feel unique.

5 Brad: OK.

6 DI: But (.) It's actually the same.

7 Brad: OK.

8 DI: Yeah. Although, the pronunciation is just different.

9 Brad: OK. But, you (.) So, you prefer to speak- speak it the Kitti way?

10 DI: Yeah, the Kitti way.

11 Brad: 'Cause it makes you feel unique?

12 DI: Yeah.

13 Brad: OK.

14 DI: Yeah. I grew up there, in Kitti, so I would want to be on the Kitti side.

15 Brad: OK.

16 DI: @ yeah, like (.)

17 Brad: Do you, does it ever feel (.) Do you ever feel different or weird when you speak it in other parts of the island?

18 DI: Yeah. When, yeah (.)

19 Brad: @.

20 DI: Especially, there is like (.) I have a lot of classmates, they say, "eh."

21 Brad: Mmm.

22 DI: So, when we say, "oa," they make fun of us.

23 Brad: No.

24 DI: We would make fun of each other, actually.

25 Brad: OK.

26 DI: But, in the end, we're still Pohnpeians, and it's just the pronunciations that are different.

27 Brad: OK. Can you understand everyone else on the island?

- 28 DI: Yeah.
- 29 Brad: Is there anywhere that you can't understand? Any part of the island?
- 30 DI: No.
- 31 Brad: OK. Are there any other difference that you notice besides the "eh," "oa?"
- 32 DI: Uh (.) no.

JN thinks that any FSM citizen that moves to Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian to adapt to Pohnpeian culture in order to communicate and integrate into the community (Excerpt 6.46, ln. 4–12). In addition to Pohnpeian, everyone should know English, because it allows them to be more “flexible” and “broadens their horizons” (ln. 16). In terms of difference between varieties of Pohnpeian, JN views them as a positive, since they are add to the diversity of his culture (Excerpt 6.47, ln. 10). He also views the Kittu variety to be more similar to how Pohnpeians spoke in the past (ln. 10). Similar to DI's experience, JN would make jokes about the Kittu variety to his classmates, since his variety of Pohnpei is different (ln. 14–16). Despite making jokes about it, he does not think that people in general get bullied for speaking it (ln. 18), because there is a “sense of pride in having the accent” (ln. 20). However, when it comes to the neighbor island communities, he thinks that they should also learn Pohnpeian if they are living on Pohnpei (ln. 28). He also could not think of any Pingelapese or Mwokilese who cannot speak Pohnpeian, since he thinks it is very easy for them to learn it (ln. 28). He supports his view by stating that when one goes to any country, they should make an effort to learn the culture, which includes language (ln. 30).

Excerpt 6.46. [BR1-29 00:30:16.0–00:31:44.1]

- 1 Brad: OK. So, um if someone moves to Pohnpei, let's say another Micronesian moves to Pohnpei, is it important for them to learn Pohnpeian?
- 2 JN: Another Micronesian?
- 3 Brad: Mmm.
- 4 JN: Hm, yes. I think so, definitely.
- 5 Brad: OK.
- 6 JN: Otherwise, @ you won't be able to communicate.
- 7 Brad: Yeah, so why is it important? Just for communication, or?
- 8 JN: Uh, communication, uh integration.
- 9 Brad: OK.

- 10 JN: You know, we're f (.) four island states but we do have our own individual cultures, and if you want (.) if you want to live here you have to adapt in some sort of way. We are very similar cultures, so there's not a lot of adaptation that needs to be done. But of course, you do have to learn the culture (.) uh the (.) both the culture and the language.
- 11 Brad: OK.
- 12 JN: Just to live in general.
- 13 Brad: OK. Um, should everyone living in Pohnpei learn English?
- 14 JN: I believe so, yeah.
- 15 Brad: OK, why?
- 16 JN: Like I said before, I think English (.) learning (.) having a good command of a language opens up a lot of opportunities and I do think, I cannot pinpoint the reason why, but I do think it allows people to be more flexible and not so, uh, you know it kind of broadens their horizons in a way.

Excerpt 6.47. [BR1-29 00:43:02.4–00:47:53.1]

- 1 Brad: Yeah so what are your views of these differences (.) different varieties of Pohnpeians, so um, I mean like Kittu has a somewhat different version.
- 2 JN: Oh the accent.
- 3 Brad: That's what I mean, like the different accents and stuff.
- 4 JN: OK.
- 5 Brad: Yeah so what are some of the ones that you know of, like differences like that and what do you think of them?
- 6 JN: Uh, I think it's (.) I think in general it's cool that we have diversity, in that sense but will that bother? ((blender starts))
- 7 Brad: Hm?
- 8 JN: Will that interfere with um (.)
- 9 Brad: Um, a little, but we can (.) we can still talk.

- 10 JN: OK. @. So um let's see, I think it's yeah (.) I think diversity's cool even in my own culture. So I think it's cool that we have so (.) a group of people that speak an accent. I also think that for some reason people from Kittu, if I were (.) if I were to say any of the municipalities are more cultural, more typical Pohnpeian, it would be people from Kittu. They (.) even Pohnpeians actually say that people from Kittu, you know the accent is actually how we spoke a long time ago. I don't know if that is actually true, but. ((blender stops))
- 11 Brad: Does anything come to mind when you hear like a Kittu speaker? Like any images or things come to mind immediately?
- 12 JN: Um, um, well just anything?
- 13 Brad: Mmm
- 14 JN: My classmate, her name is NAME in the (.) from Calvary Christian Academy. She would (.) she always make me laugh because of her accent, and I would just always make fun of her, but uh, yeah and I also, because of the accent, I always uh (.) there's always a point (.) I always make fun of it and I always uh kind of exaggerate it with anybody. Oh and I also think that my friend NAME, she (.) her father is actually an (.) right now an important person in the government and she's in Japan at the moment. But yeah, those are the only things I think about.
- 15 Brad: How would you make fun of it? Like as an example.
- 16 JN: @ I would just (.) I just uh, I just draw (.) draw it out more. Like uh, if I say a word wieih, I would say weioah you know I would just (.) and I would like emphasize it more in front of their faces, to just m (.) mock them a little bit.
- 17 Brad: OK. Do other people do that? Like is it a common thing like for people to make fun of the differences between Kittu and other parts of the island?
- 18 JN: Uh, actually no, people definitely don't get bullied for it (.) or, you know, to, they's not a (.) if they do it, it's very minimal.
- 19 Brad: OK.

- 20 JN: Yeah. Because I think there is a (.) maybe a little sense of pride in having the accent.
- 21 Brad: OK. What about with outer island speakers? Um, like Pingelapese or Mwokilese? Um, what do Pohnpeians think (.) what do you think of those languages? Like, when you hear someone speaking Mwokilese or Pingelapese, what comes to mind?
- 22 JN: (.) What comes to mind? Uh (.)
- 23 Brad: Anything.
- 24 JN: Well the thing is I never experienced (.) I never been to those outer islands, so I cannot really think a lot of (.) I think maybe for example, Pingelapese people I think of the physical characteristics of the people. Pingelapese people usually (.) they actually have this eye condition where they kind of squint a lot. Well my grandfather is also Pingelap, Pingelap (.) half Pingelapese, I think. Um, Mwokilese, yeah I don't think much about it, I just think yeah, other than the language and their physical characteristics that (.) that are typical, I don't think (.) I cannot think @ the first thing that comes up to my mind. Other than the people.
- 25 Brad: OK. Should they also learn Pohnpeian? If they're living in Sokehs or wherever.
- 26 JN: If they're living in here?
- 27 Brad: Mmm
- 28 JN: Yeah, I think so. Um, to be honest, I don't th- (.) I cannot think of (.) I really cannot think of any Mwokilese that doesn't speak Pohnpeian. I think it's already (.) because they're very similar. And I think in one way or another they learn it very easily. I think Pingelapese, I have a little bit more difficulty. They (.) they even speak Pingelapese to some Pohnpeian sometimes. Um, but yeah I think they should le- (.) of course learn Pohnpeian when they're here.
- 29 Brad: OK.

- 30 JN: I think when you go to any country, you should have, make an effort (.) or in different place, make an effort to learn the culture, and the (.) and the big part of that is the language.

In this section, a Pohnpei State level scale was prevalent among the interview participants. This scale was made manifest especially in the discussion of the so-called outer-islanders of Pohnpei. Those who are ethnically Pohnpeian, JN and DI especially, view it necessary for Pohnpeian outer-islanders living on Pohnpei to know Pohnpeian. They also view it important that Pohnpeian elementary schools teach them Pohnpeian so that they can fit into Pohnpeian society. MK also holds a similar view that knowing Pohnpeian is very helpful for their integration into life on the island but not necessary. The Pohnpeian language for them is the vehicle for an integrative and functional life on Pohnpei and is potentially more important for them to know than their first language (see Excerpt 6.44, ln. 12). PR as ethnically Pingelapese also interacts with the Pohnpei level of scale. When she is out and about, and even in her home municipality of Sokehs, she defaults to speaking Pohnpeian with unknown local people and then will only switch to Pingelapese if she finds out the person is Pingelapese or Mwokilese. For her, Pohnpeian is the language of interaction with most people on Pohnpei for non-worked or education related interactions. She learned this language in elementary school, where it was the language of instruction and was taught to distinguish between Pohnpeian and Pingelapese language and culture. PR then in a given interaction starts with the default of Pohnpeian as the baseline level of scale and then switches to the smaller scale of Pingelapese for family and friends or people she knows who can understand it. She can also increase the scale to English if the person cannot understand Pohnpeian or Pingelapese.

This three level scale (sub-community, Pohnpei, and translocal) is referenced by almost all of the interview participants. However, some point out that younger people mix Pohnpeian and English, what MK calls ‘soup’. This mixing shows that for them, the boundary between English and Pohnpeian is not entirely clear cut. The area between the levels of the scales is more of a gray area than for older speakers. Several of the interview participants look down on this translanguaging as being unable to speak either language properly and as a loss of Pohnpeian vocabulary. Others such as RK who is younger, view it as fun and a way to add character and feeling to a conversation among friends.

In terms of dialect differences of Pohnpeian, especially between Kittu and northern varieties, all of the interview participants who discussed it had positive views. Both DI and JN admitted to making jokes with classmates about the different accents, but both admitted to being proud that their language has such a diversity and that both forms are truly Pohnpeian and not stigmatized. DI, who speaks a

Kitti variety, claimed that speaking like that makes her proud because it shows that she belongs in Kitti. It grounds her to that place.

6.2.6 Media

In this section, excerpts from the interviews about language and media on Pohnpei are presented. In particular the excerpts discuss listening to the radio, news sources, and using Facebook.

TK uses mostly Facebook and face-to-face interactions for getting news and information about current events (Excerpt 6.48, ln. 4). When using the internet, especially Facebook he uses both Pohnpeian and English (ln. 10). With Pohnpeian friends he mostly uses Pohnpeian (ln. 13). With non-Pohnpeian friends, he mostly uses English (ln. 14). The same goes for his personal interactions.

Excerpt 6.48. [BR1-23 00:27:46.1–00:28:56.8]

- 1 Brad: OK. Um (.) so when you, where do you get information, get news, like what are your sources for, for that?
- 2 TK: English (.) Or-
- 3 Brad: Just an- anywhere on the island, like, where do you get any kind of news information?
- 4 TK: OK. OK, from people, from the internet.
- 5 Brad: Mmm.
- 6 TK: And mostly today, Facebook, eh?
- 7 Brad: Ah, OK.
- 8 TK: Yes @.
- 9 Brad: So when you use, uh, Facebook, what, what languages do you use?
- 10 TK: I use (.) Pohnpei and English.
- 11 Brad: OK. When would you use English on Facebook?
- 12 TK: When I'm talking to (.) my friends, sometimes I speak in both Pohnpei and sometimes I speak English.
- 13 Brad: OK. Um, are any of these friends Pohnpeian that you would use English with?
- 14 TK: No. Some of my friends, they don't speak, uh, Pohnpeian language, so I have to use English.

RK mainly gets information from the radio (Excerpt 6.49, ln. 2) and from other people on Pohnpei (ln. 4–6). For the radio, he points out a divide in language use based on the AM station, V6AH and

the FM station. The AM station uses predominately Pohnpeian, which is what most people listen to for news (ln. 12–16). The FM station is mostly in English even though it is run by a Pohnpeian (ln. 10). When getting news from friends, he most uses Pohnpeian (ln. 17–20).

Excerpt 6.49. [BR1-26 00:17:11.8–00:18:25.6]

- 1 Brad: OK. Um, so, when you get information, ab- like news, or whatever information about local things, or about world events or whatever. Um, what ways (.) what sources do you use? Like, how do you get information like that?
- 2 RK: Uh through th-through the radio.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 RK: Yeah. And pe (.) Pohnpei is a small island, so, rumors go @ around very fast-
- 5 Brad: Uh-huh.
- 6 RK: (.) and from friends and you know, off shows like, day talk. They do talk sometimes, like-
- 7 Brad: Mmm.
- 8 RK: (.) that's-
- 9 Brad: And in, in what language is (.) Like the radio is mostly in what language?
- 10 RK: Um, like, there is some (.) We have fm, and that guy who you know, broadcasts from the FM, he's Pohnpeian too, but he speaks English.
- 11 Brad: OK.
- 12 RK: And we have V6AH the AM, and they speak Pohnpeian. That's uh, that's the most uh, uh, you know, uh, the radio that Pohnpeian always listen to, it's the AM.
- 13 Brad: Mmm. So a lot of people-
- 14 RK: Mmm.
- 15 Brad: (.) listen to the AM?
- 16 RK: Mmm.
- 17 Brad: Um, and then when you're getting news you're talking to friends about news and stuff-
- 18 RK: Yeah.
- 19 Brad: (.) do you speak Pohnpeian or English?

- 20 RK: Well, we speak in Pohnpeian.
 21 Brad: OK.
 22 RK: Yeah.

MK gets her Pohnpei news through the sakau bars, word of mouth, radio, Facebook, or the local newspaper (Excerpt 6.50, ln. 2). All of those are in Pohnpeian except for the newspaper and world news on the radio, which are in English (ln. 6). For international news she watches CNN, which is in English. When MK uses Facebook she uses Pohnpeian if the interaction is directed toward Pohnpeian (ln. 10). However, if the interaction is directed toward Pohnpeians and/or others such as Kosraeans or Americans, then she uses English (ln. 10).

Excerpt 6.50. [BR1-25 00:23:16.6–00:24:54.0]

- 1 Brad: @ Yeah. Um (.) Where do you, um, typically find (.) Like, where are your sources of information for, um, like, events that are happening here, happening in the world? Um, where do you find news and other, like, current events?
- 2 MK: Um, well, for Pohnpei news, it's in the sakau Bars @. Or, basically through friends 'cause you hear things. Um, so you talk to your friends, your family, find out through them. Um, through the radio station, um, newspaper.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 MK: Um (.)
- 5 Brad: In what languages are these in, typically?
- 6 MK: Um, in the, on the radio it's usually, um, Pohnpeian, except for the world news. They also, they translate it into, um, English. Um, then we have CNN, as well, so.
- 7 Brad: Mmm.
- 8 MK: Get a lot of that. And then internet, of course. Um (.) Uh, but mostly it's in Pohnpeian.
- 9 Brad: OK. Um, when you use social media, like Facebook, do you typically post things or write things in English or Pohnpeian or another language or?

- 10 MK: Uh, depends on who I am trying (.) Who I want them, who I want to know what I'm talking about. If it's, um, if it's directed to Pohnpeians, then it would be mostly Pohnpeian. If it's directed to Pohnpeians, Kosraeans, Americans, everyone, it'd be in English so that everybody understands.
- 11 Brad: OK.
- 12 MK: Um, but, yeah. It really depends on who you're, who I'm talking to.

The reported media use by the interview participants corresponds mostly to the Pohnpei and translocal levels of scale. Information about Pohnpei is conducted mostly in Pohnpeian (word of mouth, AM radio, and Facebook). When the focus includes international sources (such as news or music) or diverse communities (such as the FM radio broadcasting mainly in Kolonia), then English is the main language (FM radio, TV, newspaper, and some Facebook).

6.2.7 Languages for the FSM

In this section, views from several interviews about the official languages of the FSM are presented. In particular views about English versus 'local' languages use in the country are discussed, since English is an official language of the national government.

TK believes that it is good that English is an official language (Excerpt 6.51, ln. 9). He justifies it by saying that Pohnpeian or other local languages would not be good as an official language, because they are only used in one particular place, such as Pohnpeian in Pohnpei (ln. 11). English, on the other hand, can be used everywhere, so it is more useful to have (ln. 11, 15). For TK, languages such as Pohnpeian are only important for a Pohnpei or local level of scale. Having it as an official languages does not make sense, since gaining access to that scale for the other states is not helpful for them. For him, English, provides access to a translocal level of scale, where one can communicate universally.

Excerpt 6.51. [BR1-23 00:33:13.3–00:34:51.9]

- 1 TK: Because English within the FSM is our second language and in every (.) offices we have to communicate using English, so it's kind of both.

- 2 Brad: Mmm. Do you think, since English is the second language of the country, right, um, do you think it would be better if, instead of English being the second language, maybe Pohnpeian were the official language of all of the FSM, or Chuukese or Kosraean or some other Micronesian language instead? Do you think that would be better than English?
- 3 TK: The Pohnpei State government and the National government, the optional language is English.
- 4 Brad: Yeah.
- 5 TK: So I would say yes.
- 6 Brad: So you would say it, it would be better if it were English? Or-
- 7 TK: Yeah.
- 8 Brad: Than changing it to something else?
- 9 TK: Mm-hmm (affirmative). English is the best.
- 10 Brad: Why is that? O- why is that better than if, if Pohnpei were the official language of the national government?
- 11 TK: Because (.) within the FSM, there are four states within the FSM, so each of those, uh, four states learning the Pohnpeian language is, maybe it's good, but they cannot use Pohnpeian language in the other foreign countries. But using and adapting this, uh, English language, you can use everywhere around.
- 12 Brad: Mmm. So it's more useful to learn English-
- 13 TK: Yes.
- 14 Brad: You can use it other places.
- 15 TK: Since English is much more like a universal language today.

JN has a similar view to TK about English as an official language. He also thinks that using Pohnpeian or other local language as the official language of the FSM would not be beneficial (Excerpt 6.52, ln. 2), because the FSM has a variety of languages and the use of English provides simplicity, since the government already has to conduct foreign affairs in English (ln. 4). Using Pohnpeian as the official language would therefore be limiting for him (ln. 6).

Excerpt 6.52. [BR1-29 00:49:10.2–00:50:25.9]

- 1 Brad: OK. umm just another question, so with the (.) one of the official languages of the FSM is English. Um, (.) do you think that's a good thing? Or, like what would be if instead of English, they just picked a random language here and say like Pohnpeian the official language of the FSM?
- 2 JN: Uh, I don't think that's a good idea.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 JN: I think the lingua franca is English and while there (.) one of the reasons why we have English as the official language is because uh, well we all speak different languages, and like the Micronesian (.) the FSM all the different states, and also the government. Like I think it's easier to have things in English and since we're dealing with government and international affairs, it has to be also in English. Yeah I cannot think historically why they (.) why they chose English as one of the official languages, but I think it's a good idea.
- 5 Brad: OK.
- 6 JN: Yeah. I (.) I don't think it's a good idea to uh have only Pohnpeian as an official language. Even if it is our capital or anything cause I think it's limiting.

PR likewise views English as necessary part of the FSM. Since the FSM is large and divided by a vast ocean, she believes using Pohnpeian as an official language will create much confusion (Excerpt 6.53, ln. 4). She views English as a tool that helps FSM citizens to better understand themselves and those who come to Pohnpei (ln. 8). For that reason, English is necessary (ln. 10). Despite being necessary for the country, everyone does not need to know it (ln. 12, 13). Only those who work with a diverse group of people and those who want to go abroad for work or education need to know English (ln. 19). In addition to English as a necessary tool for communication, local languages are a necessity in order to identify as Micronesian, Pingelapese, or Pohnpeian (ln. 21). If one is unable to speak Pingelapese, for example, other Pingelapese will look down on them (ln. 23). For PR, although English is a must for communication and education, local languages need to be also preserved to maintain their identity (ln. 29). These local identities are manifested for her by local languages being able to connect one to other Pingelapese or Pohnpeians and the respect that stems from that (ln. 31).

Because of the importance of Pingelapese for her, PR views it as her obligation as an educator and as a woman to make sure that young people appreciate the Pingelapese language (ln. 38, 40).

Like TK and JN, PR views English as a tool that connects the FSM both together and to the outside world, i.e., a translocal level of scale. Languages like Pohnpeian and Pingelapese provide her with also important local identities.

Excerpt 6.53. [BR1-22 00:07:9.8–00:12:29.8]

- 1 Brad: um:, this is a, part of that, what role do you think? English should play? In the islands like in Pohnpei?
- 2 PR: mmm. In knowing our Micronesian background especially the geography of our islands, you know we've- we are, a place:, a nation and a state where, you know, we will be exposed we are exposed to people from different places because we are divided by, you know a vast ocean.
- 3 Brad: mmm.
- 4 PR: and there's, #you #know, it there will be a lot of confusion if we say we're just gonna use Pohnpeian. Because you know, We can it's evident that, We're seeing Yapese, We have Chuukese, We have Kosraean, And it won't work if we say (.) we're gonna use Pohnpeian.
- 5 Brad: mmm.
- 6 PR: And that's where the importance of, the English language MU.S.T come in.
- 7 Brad: mmm.
- 8 PR: Because even we say we are Micronesians (.) we rely on the English language. To better understand you know ourselves. And the people who come into Pohnpei.
- 9 Brad: mmm.
- 10 PR: so although we are all Micronesians, we need (.) English.
- 11 Brad: mmm.
- 12 Brad: Do you think every Micronesian should learn English?.
- 13 PR: Not necessarily. @
- 14 Brad: mmm.
- 15 PR: mmm.

- 16 Brad: Who should and who shouldn't? Or what's the criteria for that?
- 17 PR: I said earlier that you know I use mostly English when I'm at work.
- 18 Brad: mmm.
- 19 PR: And my colleagues understand me when I, you know communicate, with them to them in English, and I think people who work, people who working in places that have a variety people from different ethnic background, should use English should learn to use English. Also if people who aspire to go abroad and pursue, (.) you know, (.) better careers, or further their education they also need English. Because if they want to learn about what's out there, they should know that they NEED to know English so they can (.) survive.
- 20 Brad: ok. umm, where does their first language their like local language come in to play with that?
- 21 PR: I think if they want to identify to themselves as a Micronesian or a Pohnpeian, you know their language is also important. I think, our language is key. To our- our identity.
- 22 Brad: mmm.
- 23 PR: Because if I'm a Pohnpeian or a Pingelapese speaking to another Pingelapese in English, and this other Pingelapese learns that I don't know Pingelapese and I claim to be Pingelapese, they will look down on me if I don't know how to speak Pingelapese.
- 24 Brad: mmm.
- 25 PR: Because they know that it's of what identifies us as Pingelapese. So it's really important in what defines you.
- 26 Brad: mmm.
- 27 PR: As a Pohnpeian or a Pingelapese.
- 28 Brad: ok.

- 29 PR: Though although we look up to the English language as something that can help us survive and interact with our peers our colleagues in the office place or, um in the educational arena like especially at the college level I think, there's a need to also preserve our local language. Because that's part of our identity.
- 30 Brad: mmm.
- 31 PR: and it it it gives us that respect. People respect us when they know that we still know our language. You know, and it connects us to, either a Pingelapese or to a Pohnpeian.
- 32 PR: Because at least based on my own experience and observation people look down on you if you claim to be a Pingelapese and @ you can't speak Pingelapese.
- 33 Brad: @ mmm
- 34 PR: @
- 35 Brad: @ ok. umm.
- 36 PR: @
- 37 Brad: How do you balance the two then? Either either at a personal level or? in the state level or national how do you keep local language and make that a positive thing and then also keep English?
- 38 PR: It's mostly personal. But, I don't think there is a clear line between being a professional and being, you know just an individual person. You know, sometimes although, to me the Pingelapese language is being lost because I feel that there is a NEED to preserve the Pingelapese language. Sometimes I use my professional background to, like, I'm the type of person who works very closely with youth. So using my professional background, and my status as a WOMAN, I try to use what I know, as a professional to see how,
- 39 Brad: mmm.
- 40 PR: You know I can get the young people to appreciate the Pingelapese language. yeah, so.
- 41 Brad: mmm.

- 42 PR: so it's mostly personal but then,
43 Brad: mm Mmm.
44 PR: mm.

CE also views English as a positive for the FSM, because “it's been helping people” (Excerpt 6.54, ln. 2). However, she chose not to elaborate on what she meant by that or why Pohnpeian could not be the official language.

Excerpt 6.54. [BR1-27 00:32:31.4–00:33:18.9]

- 1 Brad: Um, what do you think about English being one of the official languages of the FSM?
2 CE: I think it's good. Uh, it, it's actually been, uh (.) One of those languages that can help a lot of people, in school, in school mostly, sorry @. But, uh (.) Yeah, for (.) For English, it's been helping people. And I think it's, uh, good that it's (.) That it would be a official language here in the FSM.
3 Brad: OK.

All of the interview participants who talked about English as an official language of the FSM had positive views of it. For them, English is a unifying language that bridges the diversity that exists in the FSM. It also provides them with a connection to the outside world that empowers them to travel abroad and receive a better education. Some, such as PR also view local languages as complementary to English in that they provide local identities and connections. Both languages are important and necessary for her, but for different reasons.

6.2.8 Future of Pohnpeian

In this section, excerpts from the interviews about the future of the Pohnpeian language are presented. In particular, the excerpts focus on the balance between English and local languages.

RK is not optimistic about the future of the Pohnpeian language. He says that it is possible that no one will speak Pohnpeian in 50 years (Excerpt 6.55, ln. 2). He is not optimistic, because he says that he has observed many children speaking English at school, even in the public schools (ln. 2). Children now grow up speaking English. Schools for him, need to weigh English and Pohnpeian equally, because they are both important (ln. 4). Schools need to teach Pohnpeian so that children know “where you came from and...what foundations that you've [been] built from” (ln. 4). He also does not know of many people who are worried about the loss of Pohnpeian, except for elders (ln. 8).

Instead, he says most people just care about communicating and not maintaining the “traditional ways of saying things...in a respectful way” (ln. 8) and that in Kolonia people mostly speak English (ln. 16).

Excerpt 6.55. [BR1-26 00:11:10.4–00:14:06.1]

- 1 Brad: OK. Interesting. Um, do you think, um (.) So what is your view of the history of, th- the future of Pohnpei, uh, in terms of language. Do you think Pohnpeians will still speak Pohnpeian in you know, 20–50 years? Or, how do (.) What do you think Pohnpei will be like then?
- 2 RK: Uh, I would say that uh, that it’s (.) They, they might (.) This language might disappear for about 50 years from now, or from 50 years from now, because there’s a lot of things about (.) things that you do at work, do in school, it’s all about English. So, kids have to grow up learning English from elementary. And even in public school, their curriculum, they kind of like changed it to uh (.) Some of the teachers (.) most of the teachers in public school now, they’re kind of like introducing English to their kids, you know, their students, to speak, to try and speak them through fifth grade up to eight grade. Uh (.)
- 3 Brad: OK. Um, do you think it’s important that schools use Pohnpeian?
- 4 RK: Yeah. I think they’re gonna have to weigh 50/50 ’cause the most important thing you have to know how (.) where you came from and where, you know, what, what is, what foundations that you’ve built from. Then you can learn English pretty much good and excellent, great, yeah.
- 5 Brad: OK. Uh, do you think most Pohnpeians would agree with you, or do you think Pohnpeians don’t care about language?
- 6 RK: Yeah. Well, from what I see, we don’t have any, like, what you’re trying to do here. Um, you’re working on your PhD, yeah?
- 7 Brad: Mmm.

- 8 RK: So, I would say maybe how our elders that care about language now, and our language, Pohnpeian language. But today it's all about communicating. We don't even care about our uh, traditional ways of saying things, in, in a respectful way. And, yeah, I think they're not gonna agree with me (.) Wait! Oh, maybe they're gonna agree with me that our language can disappear about you know-
- 9 Brad: Mmm.
- 10 RK: (.) after 500 years from now, or 50 years from now, maybe.
- 11 Brad: OK.
- 12 RK: Yeah.
- 13 Brad: So, who are the people that are trying to keep the language and the traditional ways?
- 14 RK: Uh, mostly uh, people from the uh, uh municipalities like (.) from where you can find the paramount chief from, yeah.
- 15 Brad: Mmm.
- 16 RK: And given in families like, where they pra- still practice their way of living, of Pohnpeian ways. And, yeah, that's pretty much. But here in town, maybe @, maybe you're gonna have to fi- (.) Uh, you'll often find people speaking English most of the time.

MK has a more optimistic view of the future of Pohnpeian than RK. She believes that Pohnpeian is currently very strong and will continue to be spoken (Excerpt 6.56, ln. 2). In the future it will have more adopted words from English, because children are tending to speak English more and more (ln. 2), but that will not ruin the Pohnpeian language (ln. 4).

Excerpt 6.56. [BR1-25 00:20:00.5–00:21:11.0]

- 1 Brad: OK. Um, what do you think about the linguistic future of the islands? Like, what do you, in, you know, ten, twenty, fifty years, what do you think it will be like here?

- 2 MK: I think there is a movement to make it stronger, so, um, it'll still be Pohnpeian. Um (.) With the adopted words. Um (.) I, I don't know. It might not be as strong as it is now 'cause a lot of kids are (.) more tending, tending to speak more English, I guess, maybe. But, no, it's still, I don't know. I think the communities, in the communities it's still very strong. That's, I mean, they're taught in Pohnpeian. They're taught to read, write, speak Pohnpeian, so it's, yeah, I think it'll still be.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 MK: But, I don't think it'll be ruined. Yeah.

TK believes that Pohnpeian will become Pidgin Pohnpeian in the future because of the fast rate of borrowing from English (Excerpt 6.57, ln. 1). He claims that youth in particular are the ones who do most of the mixing (ln. 3). He finds it sad that youth “really don't understand...their language and it's kind of vanishing” (ln. 3). If this trend continues, he thinks eventually Pohnpeian will be lost (ln. 5, 25) and the island will become like Guam (ln. 7), since it did not take long for Guam to lose their language (ln. 33, 35). He gives several examples of this mixing, where English words are used within a Pohnpeian sentence (ln. 9–15). Despite viewing the mixing as negative, he also reports that he too does it because it can be much easier (ln. 19) and faster (ln. 21), because he too has adapted to American culture. In particular he points out how people on Pohnpeian live with only the nuclear family more than extended family, work 8 hours a day for money, and have a democratic government (ln. 39). All of these cultural changes are what are “really taking that language away” for him (ln. 39). He says that people “love Western style” (ln. 43) too much and that causes all of the changes, which are even seen in the education system where English is overall the preferred language (ln. 49). All of these things combined lead to Pohnpeians learning “more of the English language than [their] very own” (ln. 51).

Overall, TK has observed a trend where the translocal is being more valued than the local, which he sees is leading toward a loss of Pohnpeian language, culture, and identity.

Excerpt 6.57. [BR1-23 00:03:9.6–00:10:4.4]

- 1 TK: Yes, uh, it is one of the pride of any people around the world, speaking their own language, but in Pohnpei, since we are adapting your culture so rapidly, we are integrating your language into our very own language, and now we are creating somewhat like a (.) Pidgin Pohnpeian English.

- 2 Brad: Mmm.
- 3 TK: We, mostly the young youths, they speak a language that kind of mixed with Pohnpeian and English. And (.) maybe what I, what I see sadly, it's kind of sad, is that most of these, uh, youths, they really don't understand, uh, their language, and it's kind of vanishing and/or diminishing.
- 4 Brad: Mmm.
- 5 TK: Maybe, if we keep doing this, uh, integrating of English language into our very own language, maybe we'll lost this language.
- 6 Brad: Mmm.
- 7 TK: And it is a sad one. We'll be like Guam.
- 8 Brad: Mm. Can you give me an example of this, like the pidgin, like like what it might sound like?
- 9 TK: OK, since we are using electricity nowadays, we, we don't say kaukehda or koakul. We say, "On-da, off-di." Which is both the English and Pohnpeian. "On" means "turn it on," and "da" means "on." So we put those (.) words together, which is "on," but we put them together as one language, "on-da."
- 10 Brad: Mm.
- 11 TK: And also "off." (.) di means a negative of "on." So we say "off-di," means "turn it off."
- 12 Brad: Mm, m-kay.
- 13 TK: Mm.
- 14 Brad: M-kay.
- 15 TK: And (.) some words I've heard at COM. Ekis mah move means (.) Ekis means "a little bit." "Move" means "kohwei." Instead of "Ekis mah kohwei", we say "Ekis move mah."
- 16 Brad: Mmm.
- 17 TK: So we are integrating this language.
- 18 Brad: Mm.
- 19 TK: Yes, sometimes I use that because it's much easier.
- 20 Brad: Mmm.
- 21 TK: And faster.

- 22 Brad: OK.
- 23 TK: Before (.) no. Maybe some, but nowadays it's the younger generations are using this language.
- 24 Brad: Mmm, OK.
- 25 TK: I would say it's bad because (.) if we keep integrating these, uh, English language into our very own language, then some of these words will be forgotten. And we might really lost.
- 26 Brad: Mmm, OK.
- 27 TK: I could say that I'm a Pohnpeian, but instead of speaking Pohnpeian language, I'm a Pohnpeian speaking English language, which is quite different because there is a very (.) unique language of our very own. But if we keep integrating, then (.) who knows what will happen.
- 28 Brad: Mmm.
- 29 TK: Maybe we sure- surely lost this.
- 30 Brad: Mm.
- 31 TK: This, uh, shifting of generation if we keep, uh, integrating, we might surely lost the old language. Yes.
- 32 Brad: Mmm.
- 33 TK: It was, uh, Guam, it didn't take many years to change their language also.
- 34 Brad: Mmm.
- 35 TK: Since Guam, they have their very own language, but today they are speaking English. There are Guamanians , but they are speaking English.
- 36 Brad: Mmm. So you think Pohnpei will be like Guam, over time?
- 37 TK: Yes.
- 38 Brad: Um, what do you think the, the cause is for the people speaking more English?

- 39 TK: The cause is it's, it's true the adaptation of the culture. We are, before, we used to live in extended family. Whole family living together. And since we are adapting this culture and this, uh, system of, uh, democratic government, and then we shift from extended family to nuclear family. So, today we have to work 8 hours a day to earn money. So in this shift, great shift of occupation and (.) culture, it's, that's what's really taking the language away.
- 40 Brad: Mmm.
- 41 TK: That's what I think.
- 42 Brad: Mmm. I mean what, what caused that shift? Like, that culture shift.
- 43 TK: Maybe we love Western style.
- 44 Brad: Mmm.
- 45 TK: Maybe we love your culture.
- 46 Brad: Mm.
- 47 TK: It seems simple, it's parent and their children living together. Maybe that's why.
- 48 Brad: Mmm, OK.
- 49 TK: Yes. That's, mm, one of the great impact on this language. Because, in Pohnpei, the education, uh, curriculum and framework, we have to teach English, o-, vernacular, or Pohnpeian language from first grade to third grade. And from third grade all the way to university we have to learn English. And we have limited years to learn our language. So, while we are learning English, and it's, it's, English is over-powering our very own language.
- 50 Brad: Mm-hmm.
- 51 TK: We begin to learn more of the English language than our very own.

DI, similar to MK and TK, thinks that Pohnpeian in the future will be more mixed with English (Excerpt 6.58, ln. 2, 4) and that more people in general will speak English (ln. 8). She also believes that outsiders, such as the U.S. Government, want people on Pohnpei to speak more English (ln. 13–16).

Despite the mixing of languages, she thinks that people will always speak some sort of Pohnpeian (ln. 11, 12).

DI views the mixing of Pohnpeian and English as “ignoring the real of proper ways of talking” (Excerpt 6.59, ln. 4) and that youth mostly speak the improper way (ln. 13, 14). For her, the older people on Pohnpei, like her grandparents, speak the proper Pohnpeian and people should learn from them (ln. 6, 10–12). Although she uses the mixed way of speaking, she does not really like it (ln. 16). Her mother also corrects her when she uses those forms (ln. 18).

In terms of identity, DI does not think that Pohnpeian language ability is necessary for Pohnpeian identity (Excerpt 6.60, ln. 2). All that matters for her is to have Pohnpeian blood in order to be Pohnpeian (ln. 2, 4). Being able to speak Pohnpeian would be helpful as “evidence that you are Pohnpeian”, though not necessary (ln. 6). However, a non-ethnically Pohnpeian person could be called Pohnpeian if they grew up on Pohnpei and acted like the rest of the Pohnpeians on the island (ln. 12).

Excerpt 6.58. [BR1-28 00:33:19.4–00:35:14.4]

- 1 Brad: OK. So, what do you think about the future of the Pohnpeian language? Like, 50, 100 years from now? What do you think it'll be like?
- 2 DI: Uh, more mixed languages.
- 3 Brad: OK. Mixed with English? OK.
- 4 DI: English.
- 5 Brad: Do you think people will still speak Pohnpeian?
- 6 DI: It depends.
- 7 Brad: OK, depends on what?
- 8 DI: Depends on the people, whether they want to speak in (.) More on English or stay with their language, their own language.
- 9 Brad: OK. But do you think there'll be more people that don't speak Pohnpeian, or do you think there'll be more people that speak it?
- 10 DI: More people that speak Pohnpeian language?
- 11 Brad: OK. Do you think there'll ever be a time when people don't speak Pohnpeian anymore?
- 12 DI: That's possible, but I don't believe it.

- 13 Brad: OK @. OK. Um (.) What do you think about, um, outsiders' view of Pohnpeian? Like, the U.S. government or the U.S. embassy and other people in Australia, do you think (.) What do you think they want for like the Pohnpeian language?
- 14 DI: What I think?
- 15 Brad: Yeah.
- 16 DI: They would want us to speak English.
- 17 Brad: OK.
- 18 DI: Yeah. That's about it.
- 19 Brad: Do you think they would want you to not speak Pohnpeian?
- 20 DI: No.

Excerpt 6.59. [BR1-28 00:29:06.4–00:30:43.5]

- 1 Brad: Mmm. OK. Cool. So, do you think the Pohnpeian language is changing at all?
- 2 DI: It is.
- 3 Brad: How so?
- 4 DI: People are adapting more, like they're just mixing English with, uh, Pohnpeian English, and then, ignoring the real or proper ways of talking, or speaking.
- 5 Brad: OK. Who- who controls the proper way of speaking? Or who- who maintains that? Who keeps that? Or, what is the (.) Like, how do you know what's the proper way to speak Pohnpeian?
- 6 DI: I don't know. Instincts? Well, we mostly, uh, learn from our grandparents, parents. They teach us.
- 7 Brad: OK.
- 8 DI: We know it, but we're (.) We don't use it that much.
- 9 Brad: So, your grandparents, and the older people, they-
- 10 DI: The older people-
- 11 Brad: They have the proper way.
- 12 DI: They have the proper way.
- 13 Brad: And so, do (.) Like, do young people speak an improper way, or (.)
- 14 DI: Improper way, mostly.

- 15 Brad: OK. Um (.) So, do you like the change?
16 DI: Although I am speaking some, like, speak that way sometimes,
uh, yeah, I- I don't really like it.
17 Brad: OK.
18 DI: My, uh, mom always corrects me, if I speak it, like speak the
wrong way.

Excerpt 6.60. [BR1-28 00:17:12.3–00:18:12.6]

- 1 Brad: Mmm. So, kind of related question is to be Pohnpeian, do you
have to speak Pohnpeian? Like, can you be Pohnpeian without
the language?
2 DI: No, as long as you have the blood.
3 Brad: That's all?
4 DI: You- you're already Pohnpeian.
5 Brad: OK.
6 DI: But it would be, it would be better if you were to have evidence
that you are Pohnpeian.
7 Brad: @ OK, but you're still Pohnpeian, but it would be better if you
could speak.
8 DI: Yeah.
9 Brad: So, what about someone who's not biologically Pohnpeian, but
lives here and speaks Pohnpeian, and acts Pohnpeian? Are
they Pohnpeian?
10 DI: You can say that, but (.) Not originally from here.
11 Brad: OK.
12 DI: But, yeah, they can be called that, Pohnpeian, if they grew up
here, and lived as an islander like the rest of us. Yeah, we can
say that.

All of the interview participants who talked about the future of the Pohnpeian language stated that they believe Pohnpeian will be more mixed with English in the future. Some, like TK and RK, think that Pohnpeian will be lost because of this mixing, while others like MK and DI believe it will still be spoken, just in a different form.

Several of the participants observed that youth are blurring the boundaries between local and translocal identities by using more English in situations that other generations would use only Pohnpeian (or Pohnpeian with fewer borrowings). Many youth occupy a space between identities, because of their upbringings. This will be discussed more the following chapter.

6.3 Summary

The language attitudes discussed in the chapter centered on domain- and scale-based attitudes. In particular three general levels of scale emerged from the interviews: community, Pohnpei, and translocal. The community level as used here corresponds to the smallest level of scale. For PR this corresponds to her Pingelapese and Mwokilese community and her section in Sokehs. For others like TK and RK, it corresponds to their home section. At this localest of levels, Pingelapese and Pohnpeian are mostly used by the participants. The next level of scale up is the Pohnpei level. It corresponds to events and institutions that focus on Pohnpei State as a whole or sometimes to multiple communities on Pohnpei, such a Sokehs municipality events. This scale often corresponds to Pohnpeian language use or Meing. The highest level of scale, translocal, corresponds to FSM level institutions, as well as institutions and events that include foreigners and people from other FSM states. This scale almost exclusively uses English.

The situations, institutions, or places where a specific language was mentioned as being used during the interview excerpts above were listed and then plotted as a network plot with *R* package *igraph* (Csardi & Nepusz 2006) (version 1.1.2) in Figure 6.1. Each language mentioned in the interviews is used as a node and then connected to the situations where it is reportedly used. Based on overlapping connections, the package can calculate “communities” within the plotted network (Raghavan et al. 2007), which are indicated by colored overlaid shapes. The domains for each language “community” with similar categories to the domains in Chapter 5 are detailed in Table 6.2.¹

The network plot helpfully visualizes the complex layers of language use discussed in the previous sections. It shows several language communities and the ways they overlap. Starting at the community level, Mwokilese and Pingelapese have high levels of overlapping, which shows their reported high levels of mutual understanding. Mortlockese and Pingelapese/Mwokilese do not overlap, which corresponds to their lower reported levels of learning each other’s language. The Pingelapese and Pohnpeian communities overlap with public elementary school, since Pingelapese students reportedly speak Pingelapese and Pohnpeian. Kosraean and Yapese do not overlap much with other local languages but instead overlap with English. This corresponds to several of the interview participants

¹The scales column in the table is discussed in Chapter 7.

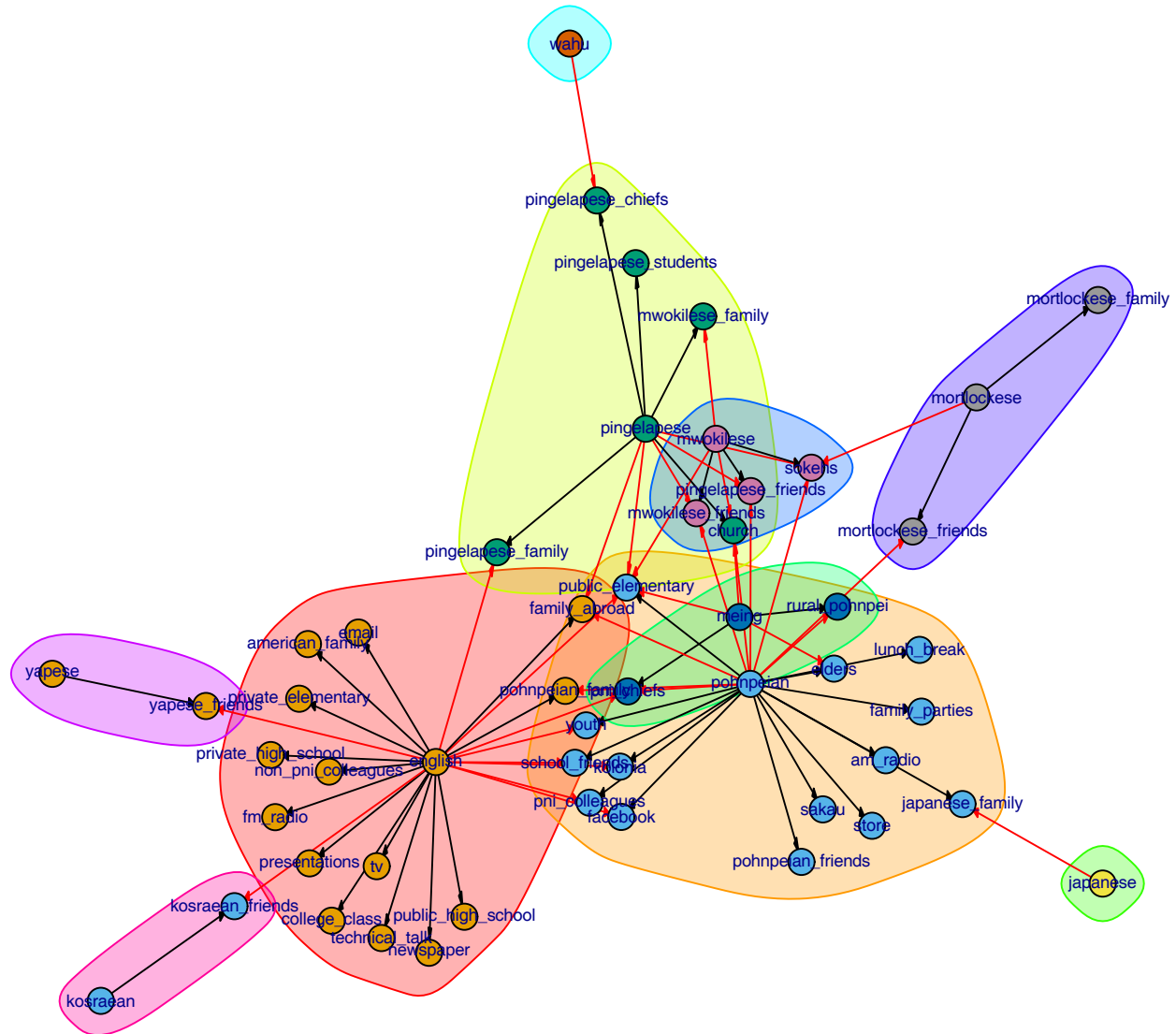


Figure 6.1. Network map of languages and their situations used from interviews

saying that English is more likely used with people from the other FSM states than Pohnpeian. The community level in general includes mostly family, and friends from the same community. At the next level of scale, Pohnpei State, Pohnpeian and Meing are overlapping completely. The items in the Pohnpei community includes things like AM radio, Pohnpeian family and friends, rural Pohnpei, Facebook, going to the store, and drinking sakau. It also has some overlap with English with family abroad, youth, and school friends. This overlap visually shows how youth are communicating more and more in English and blurring the boundaries between English and Pohnpeian scales. The highest level, translocal, is the domain of English. This scale corresponds with entities like work tasks, presentations, FM radio, high school, newspaper, and college.

Table 6.2. Domains contained in each language “community” of the network plot

Language	Color	Domains	Category	Scale
Pohnpeian	orange	Pohnpeian friends, Pohnpeian family, Japanese family, family parties, family abroad, youth, elders	Social solidarity	family, kousapw
		Facebook, AM radio	Media	translocal, Pohnpei State
		Public elementary school, school friends	Education	Pohnpei State
		Lunch break, Pohnpeian colleagues	Occupation	Pohnpei State
		Kolonia, sakau, chiefs, rural Pohnpei, store	Pohnpei-specific and general	Pohnpei State, wehi
English	red	Family abroad, Pohnpeian family, youth, American family	Social solidarity	translocal, family
		FM radio, TV, newspaper	Media	translocal, FSM
		Presentations, email, technical talk, non-Pohnpeian colleagues	Occupation	translocal, FSM
		Private elementary school, private and public high schools, school friends, college classes	Education	translocal, FSM
Meing	aqua	Rural Pohnpei, chiefs	Pohnpei-specific	wehi
Mortlockese	purple	Mortlockese friends and family	Social solidarity	kousapw, family
Mwokilese	indigo	Pingelapese friends, Mwokilese friends	Social solidarity	kousapw, family
		church, people in Sokeh	Pohnpei-specific	kousapw, wehi
Pingelapese	lime green	Pingelapese family and friends, Mwokilese family and friends	Social solidarity	family, kousapw
		Pingelapese students (outside class)	education	kousapw
		Pingelapese chiefs	Pohnpei-specific	kousapw
Wahu	turquoise	Pingelapese chiefs	Pohnpei-specific	kousapw
Yapese	fuchsia	Yapese friends	Social solidarity	family
Kosraean	pink	Kosraean friends	Social solidarity	family
Japanese	green	Japanese family	Social solidarity	family

Overall, all of the interview participants had positive views of Pohnpeian and English when discussed as tools that help them with specific things. English provides a connection to the world, education, and employment, while Pohnpeian and Pingelapese provide a Pohnpeian identity and connection to the island and their past. Almost all of the respondents maintained negative attitudes toward the mixing of Pohnpeian and English that many younger people do. Those who disliked it viewed it as loss of language and as improper. They did not view it as providing them with any of the benefits normally ascribed to Pohnpeian and English.

Chapter 7

Discussion

This chapter discusses and interprets the data presented in Chapters 5 and 6. Since those chapters present different types of data, §7.1 synthesizes the data together and answers the main research questions of the dissertation. §7.2 further analyzes how the synthesized data fit into macro- and micro-level ideologies using the theoretical tool sociolinguistic scale. §7.3 gives the implications of the data for education policy on Pohnpei. This is followed by a discussion of the linguistic vitality of Pohnpeian and other local languages in §7.4. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the study's limitations in §7.5.

7.1 Synthesis of quantitative and qualitative findings

This dissertation uses two different data collection methods to study the language attitudes on Pohnpei: survey and interview data. This section synthesizes the findings of each of these methods together. This section starts with a discussion of language use on Pohnpei in §7.1.1. It is then followed by a discussion of the language attitudes expressed in both types of data in §7.1.2. The section is concluded with a discussion of the data analysis methods in §7.1.3.

7.1.1 Language use

One of the main research goals of this dissertation is to understand who on Pohnpei prefers to use specific languages, where and in what situations they tend to use them, and why. This section addresses these questions based on the data presented in Chapters 5 and 6. While my initial plan was to discuss each language separately, the research results clearly show that each language is not used in isolation on Pohnpei. In light of that, language use of all the languages is discussed together. This section addresses each of the main questions around language use separately. First this section addresses what languages are spoken by the respondents in §7.1.1.1. Then who is more likely to speak

which languages is discussed in §7.1.1.2. Finally, the section discusses where the languages are most likely to be spoken in §7.1.1.3.

7.1.1.1 What languages are spoken?

The randomly sampled respondents in the survey data reported on average one L1, one L2 that they speak well, and one L2 that they speak a little. The range of languages spoken at least a little is one to ten. Overall, this translates to a median number of three languages spoken at least a little. Over 30 different languages were listed by the respondents. These numbers indicate that plurilingualism is common among the sampled respondents, and those who speak only one language are less common. It also shows the high level of linguistic diversity on Pohnpei.

About 70% of the 301 survey respondents reported Pohnpeian as their first language, with about an additional 15% reporting it as a language they speak well, and about 8% claiming to speak it a little. About 85% of the respondents then claim to speak it as a first language or well, and over 90% can speak it at least a little. This high number of randomly sampled people on Pohnpei alone shows how commonly Pohnpeian is known across the island for all sampled demographic groups.

Contrastively, only about 8% of the respondents reported English as their first language. All other L1s besides English and Pohnpeian have about 3% or fewer respondents each. However, English was the most common reported L2 spoken well, with over 50% of the respondents. An additional ~20% reported English as an L2 they speak a little. That corresponds with about 80% of the respondents indicating they can speak English at least a little. Likewise, all of the interview participants reported speaking Pohnpeian and English. Some also said they speak other languages, such as Pingelapese, Chuukese, and Marshallese.

7.1.1.2 Who speaks which language?

Given the high levels of linguistic diversity and plurilingualism on Pohnpei, two major questions remain: (1) who is more likely to use one language over another and (2) where is each language typically used. To answer these, questions 3.1.1–3.3.7 of the questionnaires, asked the respondents to pick with language is the most important for the specified situation. While not a perfect measure of language use, these questions give insight into usage-based language associations. Out of the 25 scenarios, the median number of Pohnpeian selections is 14, with a range of 0–23. For English, the median value is much lower than Pohnpeian with only 8 selections and a range of 0–23. All other languages were selected the lowest with a median value of 0 (mean of 0.8) selections and a range of 0–15. That means that most people only selected Pohnpeian for 56% of the scenarios, English for 32% and all other languages for 3%. Overall, Pohnpeian was the most selected language, though no one selected

Pohnpeian or any other single language as the most important language for all 25 scenarios. These results suggest that Pohnpeian is the most selected language for the surveyed population, but that every respondent selected at least two different languages, which indicates at least minimal support for bilingualism by each respondent.

In order to understand who is more likely to speak one language over another, two different statistical analyses are used in Chapter 5, regression modeling and cluster analysis, which approach the data with different assumptions. The regression modeling approaches the data from a top down approach. It looks at pre-defined demographic categories, which were collected in the questionnaires, to see how each of these groups pattern in their responses relative to every other group. There is one regression model each for Pohnpeian, English, and all other languages.

The regression modeling for Pohnpeian responses indicates that respondents 45 years old or older, those who have not traveled abroad, were born on Pohnpei or the USA, have lived 10+ years on Pohnpei, have not graduated from high school, or have attended a public elementary school or private high school have a higher probability of selecting Pohnpeian in more domains than those of other demographic groups. The English model mirrors the results for Pohnpeian where those who are 18–24 or 55–64 years old, have travelled abroad, do not know any Meing, have graduated from high school, and attended a private elementary school or public high school have a higher probability of having more English selections. The only meaningful predictors for selecting other languages are being born in Chuuk State, having attended a public high school, or live in Nett or Sokehs municipalities.

These results suggest then that younger people (under 45) do not value Pohnpeian in as many domains as older respondents, and that those 24 or younger especially value English. The age based attitudes may also correlate with the languages used in their schooling. Again in terms of valuing English, those 18–24 and 55–64 years old value it more, those 25–44 do not differ from the global mean, and those 45–54 and 65+ value it less. The general pattern is younger respondents value English more and older respondents less, with the anomaly of those aged 55–64 unexpectedly valuing English more. However, this is less unexpected when compared to their general education experiences. The average age of those in the 55–64 group is 59 and as of 2016 the average person in the group would be born in 1957. Such a person would have been in first grade at age 6 in 1963. From 1961–1972 schools on Pohnpei only taught in English. The majority of respondents in that age group would have experienced monolingual education regardless of attending a public or private school on Pohnpei. This monolingual experience is still visible in their language attitudes over 50 years later, though of course this is not the only possible explanation of their attitudes. Those older than this group (65+) most likely would have been educated in Pohnpeian (or other local languages) or if they are old enough in Japanese. On the other hand, most of the respondents in the 45–54 group would

have started school in 1972 or later, which was bilingual in public schools. Those aged 25–44 do not differ from the global mean, but therefore have slightly *lower* English preferences than those groups who prefer English more (e.g., 18–24) and slightly *higher* English preferences than those who prefer English less (e.g., 45–55). This group’s attitudinal responses being midway between ages 18–24 and 45–54 perhaps represent early effects of globalization on Pohnpei. Those respondents under age 25, though, much more strongly value English, which correlates with the much stronger effects of globalization that they experienced at younger ages. Though those under age 18 were not surveyed, it is expected that they would prefer English as much or more than those aged 18–24.

The results also show that there is a correlation between education level and type of education (private vs. public) with the number of domains selected for Pohnpeian and English. Less formal education, such as not completing high school, correlates with viewing Pohnpeian as more important in more domains, whereas higher levels of education, such as completing high school, correlate with increased English selections. This correlation may stem from the acquisition of more English in higher levels of education, since English is most commonly acquired in schools, rather than the home (though some families do use English at home). Higher levels of education also typically operate in monolingual English settings, which demand more English use, which could translate to viewing English as more important in more domains. Public elementary school attendance correlates with higher number of Pohnpeian selections, possibly because public elementary schools on Pohnpei have used Pohnpeian as the language of instruction up through fourth grade since the 1970s. Private elementary schools, on the other hand, have typically been monolingual English environments. Those who attended a private elementary correlate with fewer number of Pohnpeian selections and more English selections, perhaps because of the monolingual English environments during their early years of language and personal development. Interestingly, this pattern switches for high schools where private high school attendance correlates with more Pohnpeian selections. While there is not an obvious answer to this pattern, a speculative answer could be that the strikingly different, American environment at private schools may engender more reflection on one’s home culture and language through the stark juxtaposition of cultural differences. The correlates for increased other language selections being birth location are fairly obvious, since one born in Chuuk for example is more likely to choose Chuukese for at least some of the domains. The correlation with public high school is unexpected, since private high schools on Pohnpei have high levels of students from other FSM states. This correlation could just be that those people who selected other languages just happened to go to public high schools, or there could be some other unexplained reason. Nett and Sokehs have higher levels of other languages, which is not unexpected since they have the highest levels of non-

Pohnpeian and neighbor island residents (FSM Office of Statistics, Budget and Economic Management, Overseas Development Assistance, and Compact Management 2010).

The results from the regression analyses do not seem unusual, but rather are unfortunately similar to many language communities undergoing linguistic shift. Crystal (2000) describes three general stages of language endangerment caused by cultural assimilation, which are applicable to Pohnpei given its history of American colonization and the increasing effects of globalization: (1) pressure, whether governmental or social, to speak a dominant language (e.g., English), (2) increasing bilingualism in dominant language, and (3) younger generation increasingly prefers dominant language over other language and concurrent increase in dominant language monolingualism. This three stage pattern leads to the endangerment and possible extinction of the non-dominant language. The regression modeling data show that Pohnpei is between stages 2 and 3, since younger people prefer Pohnpeian less than older respondents, but there is still widespread usage of Pohnpeian. Similar trends of language shift are occurring unfortunately in many communities across Oceania (Sakiyama 2007) and globally. Some of those language communities, such as the Tobian language (ISO 693-3 tox) in the neighboring country of Palau, are severely endangered with only a dozen or so speakers left (The Endangered Languages Project 2012). The implications of the dissertation's results for the future of the Pohnpeian language are further discussed in §7.4.

The clustering analysis, unlike regression modeling, does not use any predetermined categories or groups. Instead, it examines similarities and differences between each individual and then creates groups that emerge from the data. This approach allows for groups that can emerge across demographic groups that regression modeling would ignore. The cluster analysis shows that there are two clusters in the data that represent about half of the respondents each. The first cluster represents those respondents who had a multilingual approach to the domains. They generally selected the most English, but selected also Pohnpeian for some domains (such as the social solidarity ones). This cluster also had the most other language responses. The other cluster selected mostly Pohnpeian for all the domains, with low numbers of other languages. Cluster 1 appears much more pragmatic in language choices, whereas cluster 2 strongly values Pohnpeian. There were no strong correlations of demographic groups for either cluster, except that cluster 1 has more people 24 years old and younger than cluster 2. This pattern suggests that younger people tend to favor multilingualism over monolingual Pohnpeian.

The interviews do not directly address the question of who speaks which language. However, each of the interview participants know some level of Pohnpeian and English, and several also speak other languages of the FSM. All of those interviewed described both Pohnpeian and English as being important for them for different reasons (discussed more below), which shows similarity with cluster

1. They all also completed high school, which correlates with increased English importance based on the regression modeling. Since the interviews were conducted in English, it was a self-selecting process where those who could not speak English or who did not feel comfortable speaking it in an interview were left out. Their knowledge of English and willingness to use it most likely correlates with a greater value of multilingualism.

7.1.1.3 Where are the languages likely to be spoken?

The next question this dissertation explores is where and in what situations Pohnpeian, English, and other languages are used on Pohnpei. The simple answer to this question is everywhere. Out of the 25 scenarios, all of them had Pohnpeian and English selections, and most had several of the other language choices, meaning that at least someone on Pohnpei finds it important to use all of these languages in those situations. However, when the 25 scenarios are broken down into six categories—social solidarity, occupation, education, media, Pohnpei-specific, and general—a more interesting story emerges. In the social solidarity domains that emphasize fitting in on Pohnpei, the Pohnpei-specific domains (such as attending a kamadipw), and general domain (going to the store), the Pohnpeian language is the most frequent response for each of them. The story shifts in the occupation domains where English is the most frequent selection, but followed by Pohnpeian which has about 25% fewer selections. The education and media domains are more evenly split. Domains where there is less Pohnpeian institutional control, such as ‘getting a good education’, ‘talking with teachers’, ‘reading’, and ‘watching TV’ have more English selections overall. Domains in those two categories that have more local control, such as ‘listening to the radio’, ‘using Facebook’, and ‘talking with friends from school’ have more Pohnpeian selections overall. Likewise, the domains ‘church’, ‘being happy in your relationships’, ‘talking with neighbors’, and ‘speaking with relatives in the U.S.’ have the highest number of responses of languages other than Pohnpeian and English. This section explores these patterns in more detail by examining where each language is used based on the six categories of domains.

7.1.1.3.1 Social solidarity

The seven social solidarity domains, which focus on meaningful interactions with family, friends, and others on Pohnpei, have a very high number of Pohnpeian selections, followed distantly by English. Overall, this suggests a high level of importance for Pohnpeian as the primary way to interact with others on Pohnpei. When examined by cluster, cluster 1 selected Pohnpeian most often for 4 out of 7 social solidarity domains. The other 3—‘being happy in your relationships’, ‘making friends’, and ‘speaking with relatives who live in the U.S.’—have English as the most common response but

also relatively high levels of Pohnpeian, as well as some selections for all other language choices. For cluster 1, Pohnpeian is very important for connecting with people in Pohnpei. However, cluster 1 values English for the more general social solidarity domains that do not explicitly reference a place on Pohnpei and those that mention the U.S. The majority of respondents in cluster 1 value English in general as a way to make friends and connect with people, but also value Pohnpeian as a tool to connect with people specifically on Pohnpei. For them English is the spatially unmarked language, while Pohnpeian is place limited.

In contrast to cluster 1, cluster 2 selected Pohnpeian as the most common language for all of the social solidarity domains. For the majority in cluster 2, Pohnpeian is the most important language for all social interactions, whether on Pohnpei or elsewhere. For cluster 2 then, Pohnpeian is the unmarked language for social solidarity and English is only important for a small minority.

While for both clusters, English and Pohnpeian were by far the most common languages in each domain, except for ‘being accepted in Pohnpei’ for cluster 1, there were other languages also selected. Cluster 1 had more selections of other languages than cluster 2. The most common domains for other languages selections were ‘feeling happy in your relationships’, ‘speaking with relatives who live in the U.S.’, and ‘talking with neighbors’ for cluster 1. This shows that for a minority in cluster 1, other languages are important tools for being happy in relationships with others and talking with family and neighbors. It is unsurprising given the reported linguistic diversity of the respondents that these other languages are also important tools for connecting with people on Pohnpei.

The interview participants, like the survey respondents, talked about how important Pohnpeian is for them to interact with people on Pohnpei. DI, for example in Excerpt 6.4, describes how she talks with her family in Pohnpeian, even though her father is Japanese. RK, in Excerpt 6.39, describes how he “guaranteed” uses Pohnpeian with his friends and those around him on Pohnpei. CE likewise associates using Pohnpeian in Excerpt 6.22 with “fun times” with her friends. PR, however, since she is from Pingelap, uses Pingelapese primarily at home. She also uses it with her Pingelapese friends, family, and neighbors, since she lives in Sokehs with many Pingelapese. She also speaks Pingelapese with her Mwokilese friends, since she says she can understand Mwokilese and that Mwokilese speakers can understand Pingelapese. In Excerpt 6.3, PR describes how her younger brother is unable to speak Pingelapese since he grew up in the U.S. When he came to visit Pohnpei recently, she described how he felt isolated on Pohnpei because he could only speak English. PR also values Pohnpeian as a way to connect with people on Pohnpei, in addition to Pingelapese. In Excerpt 6.40, she describes how if she meets a person for the first time on Pohnpei, she will speak first in Pohnpeian and then switch to Pingelapese or English as needed. In addition to Pohnpeian and Pingelapese, some respondents also described how English is also important for them for connecting with people. JN, for example,

describes in Excerpt 6.9 how he spoke English at home, in addition to Pohnpeian, as a child. Since CE's first and strongest language is English, she also uses it to talk with her friends and family.

All of the interviewees described Pohnpeian in some way as being important for connecting with people on Pohnpei. Some of them also described English and other 'Micronesian' languages as likewise being important for them to connect with others.

7.1.1.3.2 Pohnpei-specific

The six 'Pohnpei-specific' domains in the questionnaires on average had the highest percentage of Pohnpeian selections of all the domains. The second most common language selected was English. The one exception is 'talking with government officials', which still has a majority of Pohnpeian selections, but also a very close number of English selections. These results mean in general that Pohnpeian is by far the most common language for very important Pohnpeian tiahk 'culture' activities such as kamadipw, funerals, sakau, and interacting with Soumas en kousapw. Government, however, has a much higher level of English importance indicating, that both English and Pohnpeian are frequently used there.

When examining these results further based on the cluster analysis, both clusters still have very high levels of Pohnpeian selections. Cluster 1 has Pohnpeian as the most common selection by far for 5 of the 6 domains, with 'talking with government officials' having many more English selections than Pohnpeian. It also has relatively high numbers of selections for other languages for 'going to church'. Cluster 2, on the other hand, has Pohnpeian as the most common selection for all 6 of the domains. The other languages, including English, are very low. Both clusters value Pohnpeian as the most important language for important Pohnpeian cultural activities. However, cluster 1 by far values English as the language of government, whereas cluster 2 still values Pohnpeian. These results continue the trend from the previous set of domains, where cluster 1 values Pohnpeian for Pohnpei-centered reasons, but otherwise prefers English. For them, government patterns with domains that are not Pohnpei-centered. In contrast, cluster 2 continues to value Pohnpeian as the most important language everywhere on Pohnpei. The results for 'going to church' in cluster 1, show the several respondents also value attending church in languages other than Pohnpeian and English. From the questionnaire data, church, along with being happy in one's relationships are the most linguistically diverse responses of all the domains.

The interview data again provide a similar story to the questionnaires for these domains. Several of the Pohnpei-specific domains, such as kamadipw and sakau were only mentioned briefly in the interviews, but when they were discussed Pohnpeian was very important for all of them. MK in Excerpt 6.50 describes how she gets her news about Pohnpei from sakau bars, where everyone speaks

Pohnpeian. CE likewise talks about about how Pohnpeian is important for her to use at kamadipw (Excerpt 6.23), because there are many “old people” who attend them. She thinks it is best to show them respect by using Pohnpeian. PR, unlike the other interview participants, has a much more nuanced linguistic approach to kamadipw and public events because of being from Pingelap and being an academic. At public events, as described in Excerpt 6.33, PR defaults to using Pohnpeian if the event is not for just the Pingelapese and Mwokilese communities, because Pohnpeian is more widely understood than Pingelapese. However, if she is presenting on her research or topics that relate to her professional training, she may present in English, because she is more comfortable with the vocabulary in English because her professional training was done in English. She will also use English if there could be high titled Pohnpeians in the audience. If she were to speak in Pohnpeian with high titled people present, she would have to use the appropriate Meing terms, which as a Pingelapese she is not very comfortable with. Using the inappropriate terms could be offensive to those present. In order to avoid the issue completely of potentially offending someone, she will use English, which does not have an honorific system that she must use. She further explains that if she were to talk to a Pohnpeian chief, she would explain that she is Pingelapese and would use English out of respect, which the chief would not mind. However, if a Pohnpeian spoke English to a chief or did not use the appropriate Meing, the chief may be offended. Likewise, if she does not use Wahu (the Pingelapese equivalent of Meing) with a Pingelapese chief, then that chief might be offended because she is Pingelapese.

In her examples of public speaking, PR constructs separate (but similar) identities of Pingelapese and Pohnpeian that she links with using the appropriate honorific forms. She shows how they are distinct by using the example that Pingelapese are exempt from certain rules, such as speaking Meing with a Pohnpeian chief. At the same time, she also reinforces their similarities, by showing how both groups must use honorific speech with their own respective chiefs. Those who fail to live up to this standard that she describes may face negative consequences.

Church, unlike the other Pohnpei-specific domains, was discussed in more detail by several interview participants. DE, who is a Catholic deacon on Pohnpei, believes that churches have a duty to help maintain local cultures and teach people about “their own origins.” For him, this means that churches should teach about Meing in addition to church theology. In Excerpt 6.35, he describes how many people, including the deacons, “speak like babies”, which he associates with not being able to speak Meing. Churches, in his opinion, should help fix this problem. However, because of his religious views, he believes that everyone regardless of title should be treated equally. A nahnmwarki should receive the same respect as a child, since they are both “created by god.” He also feels that he can be equally respectful in both Pohnpeian and English. For DE, Meing is an important cultural

ritual that the Catholic Church should support and foster its use, but he does not see it as a necessary tool for being respectful.

PR, similar to DE, sees churches as a vehicle for language maintenance. Since the vast majority of Pingelapese belong to the same sect of Christianity, and since they already read the Bible in English or Pohnpeian, she says in Excerpt 6.36, that having it translated into Pingelapese would increase Pingelapese use. Since this translation project is already underway, she classifies it as a project to “revive the Pingelapese language.”

RK also describes how he attends church in Pohnpeian. Since his father was a deacon, he learned from him and from church how to read and write in “formal” Pohnpeian. Like DE’s and PR’s experiences with church, church was a way of learning Pohnpeian literacy as well as Meing for RK.

All of the interview participants who discussed attending church see it as an institution that should preserve Pohnpeian and Pingelapese and encourage their use. It is also the only domain where a need for more local language use was unquestionably called for. It is also the only foreign institution where the use of English is very uncommon and where multilingualism is the norm.

Government, like church, was also discussed in detail in several interviews. All of the interviewees who discussed language use in government thought that English is important for at least the FSM national government. TK in Excerpt 6.51 states that English is good as an official national language because it is a “universal language” that one can also use “everywhere”, whereas that would not be true for him if one of the languages from the four FSM states were used instead. JN in Excerpt 6.52 likewise agrees that English is an important language government, because it is very useful for “international affairs”, which “has to be...in English.” Using Pohnpeian as the official language would be “limiting” for him. PR also agrees that English is important for government. For her, English unites the FSM which she describes in Excerpt 6.53 as being “divided by...a vast ocean.” This division also translates to languages, since she says that using Pohnpeian as the official language of the National Government would cause “a lot of confusion.” For her, English bridges this divide and unites the country, which she indicates by saying “we rely on the English language to better understand, you know, ourselves.” In addition to connecting the country, she sees English as way of also connecting to the outside or as she says a way to better understand “the people who come into Pohnpei.” She even says “although we are all Micronesians, we need English.” On a practical level, MK describes in Excerpts 16 and 41 how English is needed in order to get a job with the FSM national government. None of the interviewees, however, questioned the supposed universality and utility of English, but rather took them as givens. The lack of questioning is noteworthy given the otherwise strong support for local languages that does not seem to translate to those domains.

There was little mention in the interviews of what language(s) is most important for the Pohnpei State government. However, DI agreed that knowing how to write formal Pohnpeian using the official orthography would be a helpful skill for being employed by the state government in Excerpt 6.19.

Overall, the interview participants patterned like the questionnaire respondents in cluster 1 who value Pohnpeian for its connection to Pohnpei. They also likewise discussed how English is important for its utility and connection to the outside world and to the rest of the FSM, as demonstrated by their insistence that English should be the language of the FSM government.

7.1.1.3.3 Occupation

The three occupation domains in the questionnaire all had English as the most common selection, followed somewhat closely by Pohnpeian. The other languages had very few selections for each domain ($\leq 1\%$). When separated by cluster, each domain in cluster 1 had English as the most common selection and very few Pohnpeian selections and even fewer selections of other languages. The majority in cluster 1 clearly view English as the most important language for cash-based employment. Cluster 2, however, has Pohnpeian as the most common language for each of the domains, with the number of English selections about half of the Pohnpeian one. The majority in cluster 2 value Pohnpeian over English for employment, but with a sizable minority who prefer English.

Like those in cluster 1, many of the interview participants described how they would often use English at work. PR in Excerpt 6.31 explains that she uses English at work because she has Yapese co-workers who do not know Pohnpeian, so English is their shared language of communication. In Excerpt 6.32, she further explains how she feels more comfortable using English to talk about her research and work because she knows technical vocabulary in English that she finds hard to explain in Pohnpeian or Pingelapese, because she feels that these languages lack such complex vocabulary. RK has a similar views and explains that he uses English for work conversations and emails. But, RK uses Pohnpeian at work in situations when he and his co-workers are not talking about work, such as during a lunch break (Excerpt 6.29). Since his boss has a high title in the soupedi system, he also uses Meing with her at work when they speak Pohnpeian together. PR also occasionally uses Pohnpeian when talking with Pohnpeian co-workers (Excerpt 6.31). Like PR, MK describes using English in Excerpt 6.34 to interact with people at work who do not speak Pohnpeian, such as those from Australia, Chuuk, or the RMI. She also uses English to describe work related projects, such as “child protection policy.” She says that it is easier to say it in English than having to translate the idea into Pohnpeian, which will be “more of a paragraph” than just a few words. However, if she has a Pohnpeian colleague, she’ll speak Pohnpeian with them if she can.

For the occupation domains, the interview participants use English to express work-related or specialized vocabulary and to speak with foreigners and people who do not speak Pohnpeian. They also use Pohnpeian at work to connect with other Pohnpeians personally, often during breaks from work-related talk.

7.1.1.3.4 Education

In the questionnaires, 3 of the 4 education domains have English as the most common selection, followed by Pohnpeian. There were very few selections for other languages, which were among the lowest for all of the language use domains. In one domain, “talking with friend from school,” Pohnpeian had about double the number of selections of English. This suggests overall that the education domains that are most controlled institutionally, “getting a good education,” “talking with teachers,” and “writing” have the highest numbers of English importance selections. However, in the one domain where there is less institutional control, “talking with friends from school,” Pohnpeian is more important overall than English. Despite the apparent preference for English institutionally, at least one third of the respondents selected Pohnpeian for each of the four domains, which indicates a significant minority who view Pohnpeian as an important language for education.

When the questionnaire results are subset into the two clusters, the pattern from the other domain sections continues. In cluster 1, each of the four education domains have English as the most common selections. Three of the domains have a very low number of Pohnpeian selections, with only “talking with friends from school” having about half as many Pohnpeian selections as English. The majority in cluster 1 view English as the most important language for education institutionally and with friends from school, but a significant minority also value using Pohnpeian with school friends. In contrast, each of the domains in cluster 2 has Pohnpeian as the most frequent selection. The three institutional education domains also have about half as many English selections as Pohnpeian selections. “Talking with friends from school,” though, has only a handful of English selections. The majority in cluster 2 value Pohnpeian over English for the education domains with a sizable minority also valuing English for the institutional domains, but with almost all the respondents valuing Pohnpeian for interacting with school friends.

In general, there are two ideological camps for language use in education in the questionnaire data: those who prefer English (cluster 1) and those who prefer Pohnpeian (cluster 2). Regardless of the ideological camp, the majority of respondents still view Pohnpeian as the most important language to use when talking with friends from school. The interview participants all fall into the English ideological camp to varying degrees.

The interview participants all view education as tool for teaching English. For most of them, their educational experiences were only in English. DI describes, for example, how the teachers at her private high school would punish students for not speaking English, which she thought as mostly a positive (Excerpt 6.20). For her and other interview participants, education is a place where English should be enforced because students most likely will not learn it outside school. As a result for DI, Pohnpeian should typically not be used in school because she believes it is easily learned at home. She thinks using Pohnpeian then would deprive her of an environment to learn English properly. When asked if this model of education would detrimentally affect Pohnpeian use she said “you cannot just easily throw away [Pohnpeian and] decide to stop talking Pohnpeian.” Even though she thinks English-only education should be enforced in schools, she does not think it will be harmful. Despite her strong English-only views, she also admits to speaking Pohnpeian with her friends at school. The other participants do not go as far as DI in support of English-only education, but still have very positive of English in education.

JN like DI expresses very positive views of English-based education. In Excerpt 6.17, he describes how those who speak English different “mindsets” than those who just speak Pohnpeian. He describes this mindset as being more “flexible,” which he explains as being able to adapt to U.S. culture easier. As an example, he describes how his father’s employees who speak English well are able to “listen to management a little more” than those who do not speak English, who are more “disengaged.” An English speaking mindset is one who is able to conform easily to a hierarchical American capitalistic framework, which he indirectly frames as being contrary to Pohnpeian culture. For him, this ‘flexible’ mindset and the benefits of English being a ‘lingua franca’ make English-based education very important. However, unlike DI, he thinks the education system can also be a place to help preserve Pohnpeian culture. In Excerpt 6.18, he describes how as a younger person, he does not know Meing very well, like many of his peers. He sees this loss of Meing in his generation as being part of a larger trend of cultural loss that is happening because “certain things are westernized.” He thinks school could be a place where this trend is changed, such as by teaching Meing in class to help pass it on to future generations.

PR, unlike JN and DI, attended public schools where she learned Pohnpeian in kindergarten through fourth grade and then English. She has a very positive view of bilingual education, because she thinks it is important for children to be educated in their own language early on, so that they do not lose their language to English (Excerpt 6.13). She thinks English-only education leads to a loss of local languages, which she observes in some young people, including her children, who attend private schools and do not know basic words in their languages like colors, numbers, or days of the week, but instead know them in English. PR believes that while English is very important to learn because of

its advantages, it must be tempered by the preservation of local languages and cultures. To counter potential language loss, she makes sure that when helping her young children complete their homework in English at home, she makes sure they also know the answers in Pohnpeian. She thinks that both the private and public schools should re-evaluate their curricula to make sure that both English and what she calls ‘vernacular’ (Pohnpeian and other local languages) are taught together starting from a very early age, since in her mind such a system would allow students to be fluent English and Pohnpeian speakers and would not lead to language loss.

DE, while also very positive of English-language education and his experiences with it at Xavier High School, blames English for what he perceives as the mixed language (English and Pohnpeian) of the youth (Excerpts 27, 28). He sees this mixing of languages as a loss of culture and traditions. Education for him focuses too much on employment and going abroad and not enough on Pohnpeian culture (Excerpt 6.28). For him, the education system is creating a new generation who cannot speak Pohnpeian as other generations have been. He thinks there needs to be more of a balance between English and traditional Pohnpeian ways. MK also has similar views to DE. She says in Excerpt 6.16 that English education is great, such as at private schools, but that they also need to teach Pohnpeian. For her, learning the language of the local place is important. If a “school is in Pohnpei [it should teach] the Pohnpeian language” or “if the school is in Chuuk, [the] Chuukese language.” Since private schools do not teach the language of their place, she says that she has observed middle school students who do not know how to read or write properly in their own language. These students “end up trying to teach...themselves how to read and write and usually that’s wrong.” She explains that learning English is good for studying in the U.S. or getting a government job, but “it’s also very important to...teach them their local language, as well.”

The interview results show that while most people view English unquestionably as the most important language for education, most also expressed at least some interest in having some form of Pohnpeian or other local languages in education. Most of them also observed what they saw as negative consequences of English-only education. The one interview participant, DI, who was strongly in favor of English-only education viewed Pohnpeian education as the domain of the family. Others such as PR also viewed family as an important place for language education, but indicated that more institutional support for local language education would have a more positive effect than the status quo. While all the participants had positive views of English use in schools, none of them questioned its use outright. The most radical of the changes only slightly limited English use in education, but rather added more languages to the mix rather than reducing English. The implications of these findings for language education policy are discussed further in §7.3 below.

7.1.1.3.5 Media

In the questionnaire data, two of the four media domains overall, “reading and “watching TV,” have English as the most common selection. The other two, “listening to the radio” and “using Facebook,” have slightly more Pohnpeian selections than English. “Watching TV” has the largest distance in the number of selections between English (~75% of total selections) and Pohnpei (~25%) for these four domains. “Reading” and “listening to the radio” are somewhat closer in the number of English and Pohnpeian selections, while “using Facebook” is almost evenly divided between Pohnpeian and English selections. In general, locally produced media, which includes radio and Facebook posts, have more Pohnpeian selections. Non-locally produced media, such as books, TV shows, and films¹ are mostly in English.

When the media questionnaire results are divided into clusters, the usual language divide is observed. Cluster 1 selected English as the most important language in all four media domains, which cluster 2 selected Pohnpeian for all. In cluster 1, “listening to the radio” had the most Pohnpeian selections, while “watching TV” had almost none. This shows that a sizable minority of those who prefer English still listen to the radio in Pohnpeian on Pohnpei. In cluster 2, “listening to the radio” had the fewest English selections, while “watching TV” had the most. Interestingly, “Using Facebook”, which had an almost equal distribution of Pohnpeian and English in the overall results, has a very low number of the non-dominant language in each cluster. This may indicate that those who prefer English in general use English more on Facebook and those who prefer Pohnpeian use Pohnpeian more on Facebook. Though in my own experience, many of my Pohnpeian Facebook friends frequently translanguage, especially those who are younger.²

The interview discussion for media-related language use parallel the survey results for cluster 1. TK, MK, and RK, for example, discuss how they use both Pohnpeian and English for Facebook, depending on who they are interacting with, which corresponds with high levels of responses for both languages in the survey results. RK in Excerpt 6.49 says that the popular FM radio station on Pohnpei broadcasts in English, even though the main host is Pohnpeian, while the AM station broadcasts primarily in Pohnpeian. The FM station only broadcasts in the Kolonia area, while the AM station can be heard on most parts of the islands. This corresponds as well to the higher levels of Pohnpeian responses in the surveys compared to most other media domains. However, MK describes in Excerpt 6.50 how the TV news is mostly in English, such as CNN, which corresponds with the very high level of English selections for TV. For reading, most of the interview participants discussed read-

¹There are some locally produced books, TV shows, and films, but they represent a very small proportion of the video and book media markets on Pohnpei.

²The internet language use of Pohnpeian youth is also fascinating and worthy of its own study.

ing mostly in English (such as the local newspaper), with the exception of the Bible, which has been translated into Pohnpeian. As with the survey results, the interview participants mostly experienced Pohnpeian in media if it is produced by Pohnpeians for Pohnpeians (with the exception of the FM radio station that is targeted at Kolonia), whereas other media produced by non-Pohnpeians (including the local *Kaselehlie Press* newspaper) are in English. None of the interview participants stated an interest in increased media in Pohnpeian or other local languages, except for PR who was happy about the Bible being translated into Pingelapese.

7.1.1.3.6 General

The one general domain, “going to the store”, had a large majority of Pohnpeian selections in the questionnaire responses, followed distantly by English. When divided into the two clusters, cluster 1 had a majority of Pohnpeian selections, followed by about 25% fewer English selections. Cluster 2 in contrast had mostly Pohnpeian selections and only a handful of English and other language selections. Overall, both clusters view Pohnpeian as the most important language for shopping at stores, though a large minority in cluster 1 also value English. This domain patterns very similarly to the Pohnpei-specific domains.

Going to the store was not discussed much in the interviews. One example of it though is in Excerpt 6.39, where RK says that he would “guaranteed” speak Pohnpeian when going to the store. RK’s responses matches the trend observed in the questionnaires.

7.1.1.3.7 Summary

These responses overall show that the Pohnpeian language is important for interacting with other people on Pohnpei and for doing iconically Pohnpeian things like talking with a chief or attending a kamadipw. In order to fit in properly, the Pohnpeian language is a must. However, Pohnpeian is selected less often than English for domains that are the result of outside influences since as school, employment, reading, and watching TV. Some outside domains, such as Facebook and radio, have slightly more Pohnpeian selections. Most of the radio stations on Pohnpei are locally run, unlike TV which broadcasts mostly only foreign material. Facebook likewise allows users to post in whichever language they prefer. These two media domains show that if Pohnpeians can control the content, many will use Pohnpeian. In addition, domains that focus on one’s personal relationships, interacting with people nearby, such as neighbors, and church have the highest levels of linguistic diversity.

When these six categories of domains are examined by each of the two clusters, the story becomes more nuanced. The clusters represent in general two different ideological groups in terms of language

importance. One group (cluster 1) defaults to English as the most important language in general. However, they prefer Pohnpeian in domains that are spatially limited to Pohnpei (such as attending a kamadipw or talking with neighbors). For them, Pohnpeian is still the most important way to connect and fit in with people on Pohnpei. The other group (cluster 2) defaults to Pohnpeian and finds it to be the most important language in all of the domains. The interview participants mostly patterned with cluster 1 and provided insight into how those in cluster 1 view their language choices.

7.1.1.4 Meing

Another related research question in this dissertation to language use, is who is more likely to report speaking Meing among the respondents. This is a very relevant question to contemporary Pohnpei. Prior to conducting this research project, many of my friends and coworkers on Pohnpei would talk about Meing not being used as often and would cite it as a primary example of culture loss. This dissertation aims to address this issue directly.

In the questionnaires, the vast majority of respondents reported very limited Meing abilities with 77.8% of the respondents reporting “somewhat well” or “not at all,” and only 22.3% “well” or “very well”. This pattern may be a result of the Pohnpeian value of *kanengamah* (Petersen 1993), where it is expected that one conceals one’s specialized knowledge. It could also be that only people with certain titles in the *soupeidi* system can claim the right of knowledge of this knowledge, since its use directly related to that system.

To explore who uses it in more detail, regression modeling is done in Chapter 5. This model indicates that women, those born outside of Pohnpei (such as Chuuk), and those who have lived fewer than 10 years on Pohnpei have a probable lower self-reported Meing ability. It also shows that those who lived on Pohnpei 20 or more years and attended a public high school have a probable higher self-reported Meing ability. In terms of municipality, Kitti and Sokehs have the highest reported Meing abilities. These results suggest that reported Meing ability correlates with the gender, birth location, time spent on Pohnpei, as well as type of high school of the respondent and municipality.

Since men have the most important titles in the *soupeidi* system, this most likely correlates with them self-reporting greater knowledge of Meing. The amount of time spent on Pohnpei also naturally makes sense to correlate with an increased reported Meing ability, since the more time spent on Pohnpei, the more likely one is to be integrated into the *soupeidi* system, to be more familiar with its intricacies, and to have more obligations in it. Time spent on Pohnpei also correlates with age and the older one is, the more likely they are to have a tile in the *soupeidi* system. The type of high school one attended on Pohnpei correlates often with socioeconomic status. Richer families often send their children to private high schools. Families who cannot afford to send their children to private schools,

send them to public high schools, which do not charge tuition. Since all of the current private schools on Pohnpei are located in Kolonia, many of those families are also located in or near Kolonia. Public high schools on the other hand are located throughout the island. Those who live in more rural places, such as Kitti, often have greater participation on the soupeidi system, unlike those who live in Kolonia.

The interview participants' views about Meing use are similar to those observed in the regression modeling. JN, in Excerpt 6.18, describe how he and most of his peers do not know much Meing, since he grew up in Kolonia. Likewise, his parents who live in Kolonia do not know much either. However, he says that his grandparents know it well, since they are "from an older generation." In addition to them, those who grow up "in a typical local place," which he later refers to as "rural areas," or who have close relatives with "high status" know Meing well. For JN, age, geography, and status in the soupeidi system affect knowledge of Meing. RK, who grew up in Kitti, attended a public high school, and has a father with an important title, describes how he knows some Meing and uses it with his boss in Excerpt 6.30. PR on the other hand, does not like using Meing, since she is Pingelapese and does not know it well. She does, however, know how to use the Pingelapese equivalent. In general, the interview participants link Meing use with being ethnically Pohnpeian, being older, living in a rural place, and either having a high title or being related to someone who does, which closely patterns with the regression modeling.

7.1.2 Other language attitudes

This section synthesizes the rest of language attitude questions (questions 3.4–3.6.30) in the questionnaires with the corresponding discussions in the interviews. The section in particular is broken down into addressing two main questions: (1) what attitudes do people on Pohnpei have about the languages spoken there (§7.1.2.1) and (2) what attitudes do people on Pohnpei have about the people who speak the languages found on Pohnpei (§7.1.2.2). Each of those sections have their own subdivisions that reflect further sub-questions.

7.1.2.1 Attitudes about languages spoken on Pohnpei

This section answers the research question "what attitudes do people on Pohnpei have about the languages spoken there." This question, however, is quite broad and difficult to answer directly. To make this question more approachable, this section addresses it from four different angles: multilingualism, identity, education, and utility. Multilingualism (§7.1.2.1.1) explores attitudes around the use of multiple language on Pohnpei. Identity (§7.1.2.1.2) examines attitudes about the intersection of languages and identities on Pohnpei. Education (§7.1.2.1.3) looks at attitudes around language and education,

which supplements the earlier discussion in §7.1.1.3.4. The last category, utility (§7.1.2.1.4), discusses views on the usefulness of languages used on Pohnpei.

7.1.2.1.1 Multilingualism

This section examines attitudes about multilingualism on Pohnpei. This topic is quite important to study given the high number of spoken languages reported by the respondents and Pohnpei's status of hosting the capital of the multilingual FSM.

The questionnaires address multilingualism by asking ten questions about it. Out of the 10 questions, seven of them have a majority of "agree" responses, while three of them have a majority of "disagree." The seven questions with majority agree are broken down into three levels of agreement: strong majority (70%+), majority (60–69%), and slight majority (51–59%).

Four of the seven have a strong majority of agree. These include the importance of knowing a local language (98%), important of knowing many languages (86%), the ability of English, Pohnpeian, and other languages to live together in Pohnpei (83%), and if I had to choose only one language, it would be English (71%). The four questions show very high, near universal support of knowing 'local languages', as well as strong support for the importance of multilingualism and ability of multilingualism to work on Pohnpei. Interestingly, there was strong support for choosing English over Pohnpeian if one had to choose, which is somewhat unexpected given the otherwise strong support for Pohnpeian.

One of the four questions has a majority agree (66%), which is choosing Pohnpeian if one had to only speak one language. The responses to this choice are somewhat paradoxical, given the slightly higher support (71%) for choosing English over Pohnpeian. Given the percent of agreement for each question, many respondents selected agree for both choosing Pohnpeian and English. What these results possibly indicate, is that the majority of respondents value both Pohnpeian and English and that selecting only one language is not something that they would normally do or may not have had to think about before. Asking such questions seems to be unusual for the respondents. The idea that one would only chose one language is at least somewhat unnatural for them, given their generally high levels of multilingualism. This is demonstrated by their conflicting responses, where the respondents are torn between the positives of both languages and feel unable to decide.

Two of the questions have a slight majority agree: it is more important to know Pohnpeian than English (55%) and knowing only one language makes life difficult (52%). The responses to these two questions show an almost even divide in opinions. About half of the population think Pohnpeian is more important than English and the other half does not. Likewise, about half of the respondents think that monolingualism would complicate life and about half do not. These results are similar to

the cluster results in the language use section, where one cluster valued monolingual Pohnpeian use and the other cluster valued bilingualism.

Two of the questions have a slight majority disagree: it is more important to know English than Pohnpeian (53% disagree) and it is more important to know English than local languages (57% disagree). The responses to these two questions are similar to the two with a slight majority agree. They show an almost even divide between those who value English over Pohnpeian and local languages and those who do not. These two questions also show that slightly more of the respondents prefer Pohnpeian and local languages over English, though given the small difference, it may just be due to random sampling error.

One of the questions, knowing many languages is easy, has a majority (62%) disagree. This suggests that while a strong majority agree that multilingualism is important, a majority do not think that it is easy.

The results of these questions overall suggest that a strong majority of the respondents value local languages and multilingualism. They also think harmonious multilingualism is possible on Pohnpei. They are, however, almost equally divided on whether English or Pohnpei is the most important language on Pohnpei, with slightly more preferring Pohnpeian and local languages. A majority also disagree that multilingualism is easy.

In order to find possible ideological groups based on the responses, a cluster analysis is done in Chapter 5. The results show two clusters in the data. Cluster 1 represents about 41% of the respondents and cluster 2 represents 59%. Overall, cluster 1 views multilingualism and local languages as very positive and that monolingualism makes life challenging. However, a majority of them view English as more important than Pohnpeian and local languages. Cluster 2 agrees with cluster 1 that local languages and multilingualism are important and not easy. But, cluster 2 finds Pohnpeian to be more important than English and a majority disagree that monolingualism makes life difficult. The results of this cluster analysis parallel the language use cluster analysis, where both clusters 1 value English and multilingualism and clusters 2 prefer Pohnpeian monolingualism.

The main question that remains in this section is why each cluster have the views they do. While a complete answer to that question is impossible, the interview responses paired with the language use section results can help start answering it. The interview participants as shown in the language use section value English, Pohnpeian, and other local languages for different reasons. They also seem to value Pohnpeian (or Pingelapese) for its ability to connect them to others on Pohnpei, such as neighbors, friends, and family, as well as to Pohnpeian tiahk (such as kamadipw and funerals). However, they view English as a language that connects them to the outside world and the benefits (or possibly complications) that come from that connection. The questionnaire results for multilingualism show

that about 59% of the respondents prefer to focus primarily on Pohnpei as the most important connections and thus prefer Pohnpeian as the most important language. The other 41% of the respondents prefer English and the outside world as being more important, if they had to choose. Since these questions only represent a simplification of the respondents' linguistic choices, the interview results add in much needed nuance. Many of the respondents probably live in the middle between the two ideological groups, where they experience a constant pull from both sides—one side pulling them toward being more 'Pohnpeian' and the other toward being more 'American' or English-centered. Throughout their lives, they move back and forth among between these two groups. This identity tension leads into the next section, which more directly addresses the role of language and identity.

7.1.2.1.2 Identity

The previous sections have shown that Pohnpei is a place where there is high levels of multilingualism, which is seen by most as being a positive thing. This study has also observed that there are different patterns of language use, which belong to different ideological groups. With this diversity of not only languages, but also different uses of the same languages, the question of what roles these languages play in local identities becomes important.

The questionnaires address questions of attitudes about linguistic identities in more depth than the other attitudes. These questions do not ask about identities directly, but rather infer them. For example, the statement "Young people don't know how to speak Pohnpeian properly" gathers information about the respondents attitudes toward how they perceive the speech of young people. If they perceive young people speaking improperly that implies that they speak differently from the 'proper' way. Thus, it is inferred that those 'improper' linguistic differences are mapped onto a 'youth' identity. The interview results are also used to see if these inferences are discussed overtly.

In both versions of the questionnaires there are 18 identity related questions. In version 2, there are 12 additional identity questions. For sake of clarity, the results from the two sets of questions are presented first separately.

Eight questions have a strong majority agree: "Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei," "Older Pohnpeians like to speak Pohnpeian," "I have positive feelings about Pohnpeian," "Pohnpeian young people like to speak Pohnpeian," "I feel sad for Pohnpeians who live abroad who don't know English," "I feel sad for Pohnpeians who live abroad who don't know Pohnpeian," "All Micronesians need to know English," and "Micronesian young people like to speak English." These 8 questions indicate very strong agreement for four general things: (1) the importance and positive feelings for the Pohnpeian language, (2) the view that both young and old people like speaking Pohnpeian, (3) the importance of English for Micronesians (especially by young people), and (4) the importance of English and Pohn-

peian for Pohnpeians who live abroad. These questions again show the importance of both English and Pohnpeian for people on Pohnpeian. But they begin to tell different stories about Pohnpeian and English. Both older and younger people like speaking Pohnpeian, but only younger people like speaking English. English and Pohnpeian are also important for Pohnpeians abroad, and English is important for Micronesia.

The 7 questions with a majority (60–69%) agree are “In order to be Pohnpeian, they have to speak Pohnpeian,” “I feel sad for people in Pohnpei who don’t know Pohnpeian,” “All Pohnpeians need to know English,” “Youths don’t know how to speak English properly,” “Everyone who lives in Kolonia needs to know English,” “I feel sad for people in Pohnpei who don’t know English,” and “Youths don’t know how to speak Pohnpeian properly.” These seven questions continue the story that both English and Pohnpeian are important on Pohnpei. A majority of the respondents link Pohnpeian ability to Pohnpeian identity and likewise feel sad for Pohnpeians on Pohnpei who do not know Pohnpeian. The majority of respondents also agree that all Pohnpeians need to know English and feel sad for those in Pohnpei who do not know it. However, the number who agreed with being sad for those two questions was less than feeling sad for Pohnpeians abroad who cannot speak Pohnpeian or English. Being abroad without Pohnpeian or English evokes somewhat stronger feelings than those in Pohnpei without those language abilities. These questions not only link English importance to Pohnpei in general, but also to more specific geographic places, such as Kolonia. This set of questions also shows that a majority do not like how youth speak Pohnpeian and English, which suggests that they are speaking them both in different ways than other generations.

The two questions with a slight majority (51–59%) agree are “Pohnpeians who can’t speak Pohnpeian are not really Pohnpeian” and “People who speak English are smarter.” Both questions have 51% of responses being agree that indicates a nearly equal distribution of responses. The respondents are divided on whether Pohnpeian is a necessary marker of Pohnpeian identity or whether English indicates greater intelligence. It is interesting that more people agree to the affirmative statement (69%) “In order to be Pohnpeian, they have to speak Pohnpeian” but that there is a near equal divide when the question is stated in the negative form. This distinction indicates agreement that all Pohnpeians need to speak Pohnpeian, but greater uncertainty of whether to discount that person if they do not speak it. In addition, these two questions show much disagreement about who is or is not Pohnpeian, as well as the role of language use in marking intelligence.

The one question with a slight majority (51–59%) disagree is “Older Micronesians like to speak English.” Most people think that older Micronesians disprefer English. This statement is contrasted with 73% agreeing with “Micronesian young people like to speak English.” This question further differentiates English from Pohnpeian in terms of identities, by indicating that a majority of the respondents

believe that young people like English but that older people do not. Pohnpeian use belongs to all Pohnpeians, but English is more preferred by younger people.

The original 18 identity questions show that both Pohnpeian and English are very important for Pohnpei, but shows differences in identities between them. Pohnpeian is important for all Pohnpeians regardless of age and whether they live on Pohnpei or abroad. English, while important for Pohnpei, Micronesia, and Pohnpeians abroad, is more preferred by younger people and less so by older people. Also most of the respondents agree that young people do not speak both English and Pohnpeian “properly.” The respondents, though, are divided about whether Pohnpeian is a necessary marker of Pohnpeian identity and to what extent English ability improves one’s intelligence. The cluster analysis helps add more nuance to this divide to help see some of the latent ideological divisions among the respondents.

Cluster 1 feel sad for those in Pohnpei who do not know Pohnpeian (61% agree) and English (67% agree) as well as those Pohnpeians abroad who do not know Pohnpeian (69% agree) and English (81% agree). They also tend to agree that all Micronesians (69% agree) and Pohnpeians (65%) need to know English, as well as everyone living in Kolonia (63% agree). But they do not agree that English makes someone smarter (63% disagree). They do slightly agree that youth do not know how to speak English properly (55% agree) and also slightly disagree that youth cannot speak Pohnpeian properly (55% disagree). In terms of who does speak Pohnpeian and English, 65% of cluster 1 agree that Micronesian young people like to speak English, but 64% disagree that older Micronesians like to speak English. For Pohnpeian, a strong majority agree that both older Pohnpeians (94% agree) and young Pohnpeians (84% agree) like to speak Pohnpeian.

Cluster 1 also have mostly positive feelings about Pohnpeian (83% agree) and 89% agree that Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei. Most of them, however, disagree that in order to be Pohnpeian, they have to speak Pohnpeian (63% disagree) and disagree that Pohnpeians who cannot speak Pohnpeian are not really Pohnpeian (72% disagree).

In general cluster 1 agree that English and Pohnpeian are both important for Pohnpei and are sad when Pohnpeians abroad are not able to speak either one. They also think that young people do not speak English properly, but do think that they can speak Pohnpeian properly. They also disagree with both that Pohnpeian is an essential part of Pohnpeian identity and that English ability makes one smarter. Based on earlier results for cluster 1, English and Pohnpeian use are natural for them, so they are more likely to not view English as making one smarter and likewise place less value on Pohnpeian as a marker of Pohnpeian identity.

Cluster 2 agrees with cluster 1 with the identity questions, except that a majority in cluster 2 view Pohnpeian as an essential marker of Pohnpeian identity, that youth do not speak proper English or

Pohnpeian, and that English use makes one smarter. Based on the earlier cluster 2 results, those in cluster 2 prefer Pohnpeian use over English, though find both to be important. The use of Pohnpeian everywhere by the majority in cluster 2 may be the result of a conscious choice to use Pohnpeian or it may be because they do not know English very well or feel comfortable using it. As a result, they may have linked English ability as making one smarter because of something they feel lacking or perhaps because formal education is conducted in English and education is often seen as a marker of intelligence.

The cluster analysis for these 18 questions shows that the main divide between the respondents on identity is not the importance of Pohnpeian and English on Pohnpei, since they both agree with those statements, but rather what role Pohnpeian plays in Pohnpeian identity. Cluster 1, who in general value multilingualism more than cluster 2, are more likely to not see Pohnpeian as a necessary part of Pohnpeian identity. Cluster 2, who in general value Pohnpeian monolingualism in their own lives, but still value English in general for Pohnpei, are more likely to view Pohnpeian language ability as an essential aspect of Pohnpeian identity.

The 12 additional questions that occurred only in version 2 of the questionnaires help add more context to these identity questions. 11 of the questions had a strong majority (70%+) being agree and one question had a majority (60–69%) agree.

The 11 questions with a strong majority (70%+) agree are “I want my children to learn Meing,” “Meing is important for me to know,” “I want my children to speak English,” “English is important for Pohnpei,” “I want my children to speak Pohnpeian,” “Everyone who lives in Kitti needs to know Pohnpeian,” “In order to be Micronesian you have to speak a Micronesian language,” “In order to be Micronesian you have to speak English,” “All Micronesians living on Pohnpei should speak Pohnpeian,” “Everyone who lives in Kolonia needs to know Pohnpeian,” and “People who know Pohnpeian are smarter.” The questions about Meing had a near unanimous agreement (only 1% disagree) showing a very strong interest in Meing for both the respondents and their children. Likewise 95% of the respondents want their children to know English and Pohnpeian, which again indicates the importance of both languages. Similarly 89% responded that to be Micronesian you have to speak both English and a Micronesian language. All Micronesians living on Pohnpei as well as those living in Kolonia and Kitti need to speak Pohnpeian. Most of the respondents (74%) agreed that those who speak Pohnpeian are smarter.

The one question with a majority (60–69%) agree is “Everyone who lives in Kitti needs to know English.” A majority of respondents agree that English is even important in Kitti, which is generally seen as the most rural and ‘traditional’ of all of the wehi on Pohnpei.

These 12 questions show that there is very strong support for the importance of Meing, as well as the importance for children to learn it. Likewise, there is also very strong (and equal) support for wanting one's children to speak English and Pohnpeian. Almost 75% of the version two questionnaire respondents think that Pohnpeian knowledge makes one smarter, which is a much higher percentage than those who agreed that English use makes one smarter. In terms of geographic identities, both English and Pohnpeian are seen as being important for all of them. Both English and Pohnpeian/local languages are important for Micronesia, Kolonia, and Kitti. English is overall seen as important even in the most rural parts of Pohnpei (Kitti), and conversely Pohnpeian is seen as important even in the most urban parts of Pohnpei (Kolonia).

Because of the reduced number of respondents to the 12 new questions (159 vs. 301), as well as the high level of agreement with these questions, the cluster analysis does not provide much insight into ideological difference among those respondents.

Overall, the 30 attitude questions about identity give insight into how opinions about language intersect with some of the different identities on Pohnpei. They, however, do not gather information on how the respondents self-identify. For all the inferred identity groups, Pohnpeian is very important. Attitudes about English, however, vary between the groups. The respondents associated youth identities with liking to speak English, but not speaking it properly. About 60% of the respondents also viewed youths as not being able to speak Pohnpeian properly. The majority of respondents see youth identities being indexed by innovative uses of both English and Pohnpeian. Older people are conversely seen as not liking English. The majority of respondents view English and local language abilities as important for Micronesian identities. Likewise English, Pohnpeian, and Meing are seen as very important for Pohnpei (and specifically Kolonia and Kitti). However, the respondents are about evenly divided when it comes talking about the role of language in Pohnpeian identity itself. Those who prefer multilingualism and use more English are more likely to agree that Pohnpeian ability is not essential to be Pohnpeian. The other half who tend to use more Pohnpeian than English agree that Pohnpeian ability is an essential part of Pohnpeian identity. Regardless of the respondent's views on the role of language in Pohnpeian identity, they all had very positive views of both English and Pohnpeian.

Some of the interview participants discussed the role of language in the identities that appear in the questionnaires. One of the most common of the discussed identities was that of youth. The oldest interviewee, DE, views youth as mixing Pohnpeian and English. In Excerpt 6.27, he takes the stance that the younger generation is losing both the Pohnpeian language as well as "important culture," because of their "mixing" of languages. Because of this stance, he equates language use with both culture and identity, which he uses to distinguish between younger generations who are losing

these and other generations that implicitly are not. In Excerpt 6.28, DE states that this mixing is not geographically limited to Kolonia, but all over the island, but rather just indicative of young people in general. DE believes that this mixing will lead to the loss of the Pohnpeian language possibly in 20 years. DE's negative stance toward youths' use of Pohnpeian and his view that Pohnpeian is an essential part of Pohnpeian identity put him in cluster 2 of the questionnaire respondents.

MK, who was 37, like DE observes people mixing Pohnpeian and English and she also does not like it. In Excerpt 6.41, she takes the stance that mixing English and Pohnpeian is bad and distinguishes between herself and others by claiming in ln. 2 that she is more aware of borrowed words and thus does not use them as often. She associates mixing languages with not being able to speak one's language and calls the resulting mix "soup." This soup, in her opinion, causes people to forget their language. She associates the mixing with three groups of people: (1) those who work in government office buildings or who have lived in the U.S., (2) those who live in Kolonia, and (3) those under the age of 60. For her, this negative mixing is more a function of education, socio-economic status, and geography, and not limited to just youth, unlike DE.

TK, who was 45, also talks about the mixing of English and Pohnpeian at length. In Excerpt 6.57, he takes the stance that the 'pride of any people around the world [is] speaking their own language' (ln. 1). He contrasts that with the situation on Pohnpei, where he says that people are adapting to American culture and language very rapidly. He equates this loss with the creation of what he calls "Pidgin Pohnpeian English." Like DE, he equates this mixed language with youth and takes the stance that it is sad that youth do not understand their language and that it is "vanishing." Again, mixing languages is seen as loss of language and culture. Like DE, MK links language and ethnicity, by using the possessive pronoun "their" to show that Pohnpeian belongs to the youth of Pohnpei, even though they do not speak it properly. For him, it is their heritage that they are forsaking. Even though he associates it with the youth, TK also admits to using this mixed form of speech. He even claims that it is much easier and faster at times to use the English word rather than Pohnpeian word. He blames this change in the youth on American colonization and culture, which has caused widespread changes on Pohnpei, such as democratic government, change in family structure, formal education, and the implementation of the cash employment. He links these changes with "taking the language away" (ln. 39), as well as loving the "western style" too much (ln. 43).

The younger interview participants have a more mixed view of language changes. DI, who is 18, views the Pohnpeian language as changing. In Excerpt 6.59, she describes how people are mixing Pohnpeian and English. She takes the stance that this mixing is "ignoring the real or proper ways of talking" (ln. 4). For her, the older people "have the proper way" (ln. 12) of speaking. She also admits to not liking the changes and that her mother corrects her speech if she "speak[s] the wrong way"

(ln. 18). In contrast to DI, RK, who was 28, takes a more positive approach to the mixing of languages. In Excerpt 6.39, he associates mixing English and Pohnpeian with speaking with friends. For him, this mixing adds to the mood (ln. 16). Instead of calling this mixing bad, he contrasts this way of speaking with the “real classic way” of speaking Pohnpeian (ln. 28), which he associates with people in rural places. In addition to with his friends, he uses a mixed variety with people in Kolonia, because there are more people of mixed ethnicities, such as Mwokilese, as well as people who went to private school. For RK, mixing languages is a thing you do for fun with friends, as well as a phenomena that is linked to geography (Kolonia) and socio-economic status (attending private school).

Based on their discussion of age-based identities, DE, DI, TK, and MK seem to pattern with cluster 2 from the questionnaires and RK seems to pattern with cluster 1. However, this clear cut distinction is problematized in their views on Pohnpeian identity.

In terms of the importance of the Pohnpeian language for Pohnpeian identity, only two of the interview participants address it directly: DI and PR. DI in Excerpt 6.60 does not think that it is necessary to speak Pohnpeian in order to be Pohnpeian. For her, “as long as you have the blood...you’re already Pohnpeian” (lns. 2, 4). She hedges that view by saying that knowing Pohnpeian would help add “evidence” to that fact, but is not strictly necessary. On the hand, she is also fine with calling someone Pohnpeian who is not ethnically Pohnpeian if they grow up on Pohnpei and “lived as an islander like the rest of us” (ln. 12). For her, Pohnpeian identity is defined both biologically as well as by one’s actions. If one does not have Pohnpeian identity via biology, then one can gain it through actions, but if one has it biologically, it cannot be lost. These views by DI pattern with those in cluster 1, in contrast to some of her other views that fit better with cluster 2.

PR maintains a different view than DI on the role of language for Pohnpeian and Pingelapese identity. In Excerpt 6.53, PR takes the stance that language is “key to our identity” (ln. 21). She gives the example that if a Pingelapese or Pohnpeian speaks only English, other Pingelapese or Pohnpeians will “look down on” them. Because of that she views the Pingelapese languages as what “identifies us as Pingelapese” (ln. 25). In contrast, she distinguishes English from Pingelapese and Pohnpeian by equating it with being “something that can help us survive and interact” (ln. 29), whereas Pingelapese and Pohnpeian is “part of our identity” (ln. 29). For PR, both English, Pingelapese, and Pohnpeian are important, but she only associates Pingelapese with her identity. Local languages, such as Pingelapese and Pohnpeian represent who they are and English is an added tool for communication. Because of her views, PR more closely patters with cluster 2 of the questionnaires.

This section provided a variety of views on language and identity from the questionnaires and interviews. In general, two common views on language and identity emerged from the data: Pohnpeian/Pingelapese language ability is an essential part of Pohnpeian/Pingelapese identity, and the

counter view that language ability is not an essential aspect of Pohnpeian/Pingelapese identity. These two views intersect with views about language and education, language mixing, and youth varieties of language use.

7.1.2.1.3 Education

This section further explores attitudes about language and education on Pohnpei. The questionnaires, in addition to asking about the languages the respondents used in various levels of education, ask several questions about their views on education directly, as well as attitudes that result from their educational experiences. There are four questions about education that occur in both versions of the questionnaires. In version 2, there are three additional questions.

For the four original questions, two have a strong majority (70%+) being agree and two have a majority (60–69%) being agree. The two questions with a strong majority (70%+) agree are “English and Pohnpeian languages are very different” and “Foreigners in Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian.” The high level of agreement for these two questions indicate that the respondents recognize a high level of linguistic difference between English and Pohnpeian. They also strongly agree that foreigners who live on Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian. The two questions with a majority (60–69%) agree are “The Pohnpeian language is simpler than English” and “People have to learn Pohnpeian before learning English.” The majority of respondents view the Pohnpeian language as simpler than English, though 31% disagree. The majority also agree that people do not have to learn Pohnpeian before learning English, though 36% disagree.

These four questions show that most the respondents view English and Pohnpeian as being very different grammatically as well as Pohnpeian being simpler than English. They also strongly agree that foreigners should learn English and that schools should teach Pohnpeian before learning English. Given the high support of both English and Pohnpeian among the respondents, most of these results are unsurprising. However, the view of Pohnpeian being simpler than English is somewhat surprising. This view may be a result of the education system on Pohnpei not teaching Pohnpeian grammar to students. Because of this, students may not see the complexity of Pohnpeian grammar and may take it for granted. They are, however, taught English grammar, which may lead some students to see English as more complex, because they are exposed to its grammatical intricacies and the diversity of English literature. Most also agree that Pohnpeian should be learnt before English, which goes against what the private schools currently teach, though follows the curriculum of public schools.

The cluster analysis for the four original education questions shows some of the ideological difference for education. The majority in cluster 1, who tend to value multilingualism, strongly agree that English and Pohnpeian are very different, that foreigners in Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian, but

are almost evenly split about whether Pohnpeian is simpler than English. A majority of them also disagree that people have to learn Pohnpeian before English. It is interesting that this cluster who in general value multilingualism are divided on whether Pohnpeian is simpler than English. Perhaps the knowledge of English, Pohnpeian, and perhaps other languages has given many of them greater insight into the complexities of both English and Pohnpeian, though a majority still agree that Pohnpeian is the simpler language. Also because of their experiences of multilingualism, they are more willing to support learning English before learning Pohnpeian.

Cluster 2 disagrees with cluster 1 on only two questions. A strong majority of them agree that Pohnpeian must be learned before English and that the Pohnpeian language is simpler than English. Because cluster 2 in general prefers Pohnpeian use over English use in most domains, it seems natural for them to also prefer learning Pohnpeian first before English. However, their strong support of Pohnpeian surprisingly translates to viewing it as simpler than English. This view could be a result their educational experiences that may not have taught Pohnpeian grammar. It could also be that they have limited English abilities and view English more complex based on its association with education and the U.S. culture, which American colonizers purposely portrayed as the ideal society. The cause of this association needs to be explored more.

For the three questions that occurred only in version 2 of the questionnaires, two had a strong majority (70%+) being agree and one question had a slight majority (51–59%) being disagree. The two questions with a strong majority (70%+) agree are “Schools on Pohnpei should teach classes in Pohnpeian” and “The Pohnpeian language is more polite than the English language.” The vast majority of the respondents (91%) agree that schools should conduct classes in Pohnpeian, which is interesting given that most schools only officially conduct classes in Pohnpeian up to grade 4 and private schools do not teach in Pohnpeian at all. The respondents also agree that Pohnpeian is a more polite language than English.

The one question with a slight majority (59%) disagree is “The English language is simpler than Pohnpeian.” Most of the respondents disagree that English is simpler than Pohnpei and from the previous set of questions 69% agree that Pohnpeian is simpler than English. More of the respondents agreed that Pohnpeian is simpler (69%) than those that disagreed that English is simpler (59%). More of the respondents are certain that the Pohnpeian language is simpler than the English language than are those who are certain about the inverse, that the English language is *not* simpler than the Pohnpeian language.

The cluster analysis for these new questions provide some nuance to these results. Both clusters agree with the general results, except they disagree on one question. In cluster 1, 100% of the respon-

dents agree that English is simpler than Pohnpeian and in cluster 2, 100% disagree. There is a divide between who thinks English is simpler than Pohnpeian, but otherwise agree.

The education results overall show strong support for teaching Pohnpeian in schools and foreigners learning Pohnpeian, but disagree about whether English should be taught before Pohnpeian and whether Pohnpeian or English is simpler than the other.

Most of the interviewees agree with the sentiments of teaching more Pohnpeian in school. In Excerpt 6.57, TK blames the limited use of Pohnpei in public schools for leading to the “overpowering” of Pohnpeian by English. DE in Excerpt 6.27 also believes that schools are not doing a proper job of maintaining the language and believe that they need to teach more Pohnpeian. PR also expresses similar views in Excerpt 6.13 where she says that both public and private schools need to re-evaluate their curricula and incorporate more local languages. In Excerpt 6.16, MK likewise critiques both private and public schools and believes that schools should also teach the language of the place they are in.

The implications of these results for the education system on Pohnpei are discussed in §7.3.

7.1.2.1.4 Utility

This section examines attitudes about the utility of English and Pohnpeian. The questionnaires contain five questions about the utility of both English and Pohnpeian. Two of the five have a strong majority (70%+) being agree, one has a slight majority (50–59%) being agree, one has a slight majority (50–59%) disagree, and one a strong majority (70%+) disagree.

The two statements with a strong majority agree (70%+) are both about English helping one get a job in both Pohnpei and abroad. The high level of agreement indicates wide belief in the utility of English for employment. There was a slight majority (58%) agreeing that knowing Pohnpeian can help get jobs in Pohnpei. This level of agreement is much less than for English, which shows less consensus on the utility of Pohnpeian for employment. Despite being useful for employment, a slight majority (57%) indicate disagreement with the statement English is more valuable than Pohnpeian, which shows the value of Pohnpeian perhaps resides outside of its ability to help find employment. A strong majority (73%) disagree that knowing Pohnpeian can help get job abroad. Most people do not consider Pohnpeian helpful for finding jobs abroad, though many believe English can help. However, 27% believe Pohnpeian can help with jobs abroad.

The cluster analysis again helps show an ideological divide between the respondents about the utility of English and Pohnpeian. Cluster 1 has a high level of agreement that English can help get jobs both on Pohnpei (84% agree) and abroad (85% agree). For Pohnpeian the results are more divided.

59% agree that Pohnpeian can help get job on Pohnpei but 72% disagree that it can help get jobs abroad. A 63% majority also agree that English is more valuable than Pohnpeian.

Overall those in cluster 1 have a high level of agreement that English is good for jobs and that it is more valuable than Pohnpeian. However, they view Pohnpeian as less useful for getting jobs, especially abroad. These results correspond well with their previous views shown by the cluster analysis, which shows that they also value English for getting a good job and employment in general.

Those in cluster 2 likewise have a high level of agreement that English can help get jobs both on Pohnpei (80% agree) and abroad (84% agree). For Pohnpeian the results are also more divided. 57% agree that Pohnpeian can help get jobs on Pohnpei but 73% disagree that it can help get jobs abroad. However, a 71% majority disagree that English is more valuable than Pohnpeian.

Those in cluster 1 find English more valuable than Pohnpeian and useful for finding jobs both on Pohnpeian and abroad. However, only slightly more than half of them view Pohnpeian as helpful for employment on Pohnpei and three-fourths of them do not think Pohnpeian is helpful for employment abroad. Those in cluster 2 agree with cluster 1 in all questions, except that they do not think English is more valuable than Pohnpeian. Both clusters agree on the utility (or lack thereof) of English and Pohnpeian for employment, but disagree on the value judgement of Pohnpeian.

Only one interviewee explicitly expressed similar views about the utility of English for employment. MK describes in Excerpts 16 and 41 how English is needed in order to get a job with the FSM national government. Others such as TK (Excerpt 6.51), JN (Excerpt 6.52), and PR (Excerpt 6.53) describe how English is useful as a “universal language,” which are expressions that indicate English’s global utility. These views are supported by the questionnaire responses, since they show that English is helpful for employment both on Pohnpei and abroad, which translates to everywhere. Pohnpeian, however, was not mentioned by the interview participants for its utility. The closest reference to its utility was by DE in Excerpt 6.19, where she agreed that knowing the official Pohnpeian orthography could be helpful in a government job.

Overall, English is seen as having a high utility both on Pohnpei and abroad. This is best summarized by PR who says English is a tool “helps us survive and interact” (Excerpt 6.53). Pohnpei, then, is seen as having less utility on Pohnpei than English and even less so abroad. Instead it has a much greater value in terms of identity and personal relationships on Pohnpei.

7.1.2.2 Perceived characteristics of speakers of languages on Pohnpei

This section answers the research question “what attitudes do people on Pohnpei have about speakers of the languages spoken there.” Like the previous research question, this one too is quite broad. Given that there are at least 30 reported languages spoken on Pohnpei, it would be impractical for this

dissertation to address all of them. Instead this dissertation focuses primarily on attitudes about Pohnpeian speakers. Secondly, it also touches on attitudes about English, Mwokilese, and Pingelapese speakers.

7.1.2.2.1 Perceived characteristics of Pohnpeian speakers

Attitudes toward Pohnpeian speakers is one of the main research areas of the dissertation. Attitudes about them supplement what has already been shown in previous sections about attitudes toward the languages themselves. This section further completes the picture about the language attitudes on Pohnpei, by showing how attitudes and ideologies about the languages and outside discourses get mapped onto the speakers themselves and vice versa. Knowing the attitudes about the speakers also provides further insight into the general vitality of a language community and the social issues at play therein.

To ascertain views about Pohnpeian speakers, the questionnaires asked the respondents to rate their level of agreement (really disagree through really agree) with several characteristics to describe people who can speak Pohnpeian. Both versions of the questionnaires share 29 questions. One question only occurred in version 1 and four only occurred in version 2. To help make sense of the questions they are grouped broadly into three categories: positive, neutral (can be true neutral or both negative and positive), and negative. Since there are so few questions that only occurred in one version of the questionnaires, all thirty-four are discussed together.

Sixteen of the questions were positive characteristics. Seven of the positive characteristics have a strong majority (70%+) of agreement, four have a majority (60–69%) agreement, two have a slight majority (51–59%) agreement, one has an equal distribution (50%) of agreement vs. disagreement, one has a majority (60–69%) disagreement, and one has a strong majority (70%+) disagreement.

The seven characteristics that have a strong majority (70%+) agreement (agree somewhat or really agree) are respectful, cultured, wise, generous, humble, attractive, and educated. These characteristics include widely held Pohnpeian values, which is reinforced by the high level of agreement. The four characteristics that had a majority (60–69%) agreement are peaceful, kindhearted, smart, and successful. These characteristics include fewer values and are more subjective value judgements, which correlates with slightly lower levels of agreement. The two characteristics that have a slight majority (51–59%) agreement are honest and quiet. While most of the respondents agreed with these characteristics, there is a high level of disagreement as well. The almost equal divide indicates that the respondents overall view Pohnpeian speakers as both quiet and honest and not quiet and honest. The characteristic proud has an equal distribution (50%) of agreement and disagreement responses. This equal distribution indicates a split in views about if Pohnpeian speakers are proud or not. This divide

may stem from the fact that proud can be both a positive or negative attribute and thus have different interpretations depending on what comes to mind for the respondent.

Five of the questions are neutral characteristics. Of the five characteristics, one have a strong majority (70%+) agreement, two have a majority (60–69%) disagreement, and two have a strong majority (70%+) disagreement. Patriotic is the only neutral characteristic to have more agreement responses than disagreement. It has a strong majority (76%) of responses being agreement, which indicates that most respondents view Pohnpeian speakers as patriotic. It is unsure if patriotic means patriotic for the FSM, Pohnpei, or municipality. All the other neutral characteristics have more disagreement responses than agreement. The two characteristics with a majority (60–69%) disagreement are young and masculine. Old and feminine have a strong majority (70%+) disagreement. Combined these show that the respondents in general do not link being a Pohnpeian speaker to being young, old, feminine, or masculine. Age or gender do not appear to be linked to Pohnpeian speaker identity, though patriotism is.

Ten of the questions are negative characteristics. All the negative characteristics have more disagreement responses than agreement. Of the ten, three have a majority (60–69%) disagreement and seven have a strong majority (70%+) disagreement. The three majority (60–69%) disagreement characteristics are loud, greedy, and showoffs. Violent, uneducated, pretentious, poor, badtempered, ugly, and stupid have a strong majority (70%+) disagreement responses. The characteristic stupid has the strongest level of disagreement (92%) with the majority of responses being ‘really disagree’. Overall, the respondents do not strongly associate any of the negative characteristics with Pohnpeian speaker identity. Being loud, which is a weakly negative characteristic, has the most agreement (38%) of any of the negative responses.

The results in general show that the respondents have a very positive view of Pohnpeian speakers, since they mostly agree with the positive characteristics and disagree with the negative characteristics. The respondents also tend to have high levels of agreement with Pohnpeian values such as respect, generosity, and humility. The level of agreement decreases with more subjective responses such as successful, honest, and quiet, probably because the respondents know many people, some of whom they consider successful, while others they do not. Of the positive terms, the respondents generally disagreed with modern and rich, which indicates that most respondents do not associate those characteristics with Pohnpeian speakers. For the so-called neutral characteristics, a majority of the respondents only agreed with patriotic and disagreed with the rest. The rest of the neutral characteristics identified people based on age (young and old) and gender (feminine and masculine). Because of the majority disagreement with those four characteristics, most respondents in general do not associate Pohnpeian speakers with a particular gender or age group. The respondents also

disagreed with all of the negative characteristics, which shows that they likewise do not associate these negative characteristics with Pohnpeian speakers in general.

Some of the negative characteristics are also antonyms of the positive characteristics and help provide further nuance. Some of the pairs, such as showoffs (67% disagreement)–humble (72% agreement) and stupid (92% disagreement)–smart (67% agreement) show that the respondents agree with the positive term and disagree with the negative term. Other pairs, such as poor (75% disagreement)–rich (77% disagreement) show that the respondents disagree with both the positive and the negative characteristics, which shows that they do not associate wealth (either having it or lack thereof) with being a Pohnpeian speaker, probably because there are rich Pohnpeian speakers and poor Pohnpeian speakers. Yet other pairs, such as loud (63% disagreement)–quiet (53% agreement) show disagreement with the negative term but divided views about the positive term.

Like the previous sections, the cluster analysis helps show some of the ideological patterns among the respondents. The cluster analysis again found two clusters. Unlike the previous clusters, there is a great distance between the sizes of the two clusters. Cluster 1 has 236 respondents (78% of respondents), and cluster 2 has 65 (22%). Overall cluster 1 agrees with most of the positive characteristics (all but modern and rich), one of the neutral characteristics (patriotic), and none of the negative ones. Cluster 2, however, disagrees with all but two of the positive characteristics (agrees slightly with respectful and cultured), all but one of the neutral characteristics (agrees with patriotic), and all of the negative ones. Cluster 2 has many more ‘Really disagree’ responses than does cluster 1.

Cluster 1 overall views Pohnpeian speakers in positive light, but does not associate them as rich or poor, old or young, modern, feminine or masculine, or any of the negative characteristics, like the general results. Cluster 2, on the other hand, views Pohnpeian speakers overall as patriotic and is equally divided about them being respectful and cultured. They disagree with all the other characteristics. The minority of the respondents represented by cluster 2 have a much more noncommittal view of Pohnpeian speakers, which could be a sign that they have diverse experiences with Pohnpeian speakers and do not wish to put them in a box other than that they are patriotic. Their ratings could also be a sign of them not wishing to offend anyone by not committing to many ratings either way.

The interview participants’ attitudes about people who speak Pohnpeian in general were not part of the interviews. §7.1.2.1.2 above, however, does discuss some attitudes expressed in the interviews about youth varieties of Pohnpeian, in particular their translanguaging. The following §7.1.2.2.1.1 discusses some of the views of the Kitti dialects by Pohnpeians speakers.

7.1.2.2.1.1 Attitudes toward Kittī dialects

Rehg (1998, 2004) have shown that language standardization efforts on Pohnpei has had the unintended consequences of creating some tension between people who speak northern varieties of Pohnpeian vs. those who speak Kittī dialects. Attitudes around dialect differences were not addressed in the questionnaires, but were discussed in the interviews by DI and JN.

DI, who grew up in Kittī but attended a private high school in Kolonia describes her feelings about the dialect difference in Excerpt 6.45. She describes experiences where she argued with friends about whether the northern or Kittī pronunciation of a word was the correct one. Since many of her classmates spoke northern varieties, they made fun of her pronunciation, which made her feel different at times. However, she admits to making fun of the northern varieties too. Despite being made fun of, she enjoys speaking the Kittī way, because it makes her feel unique and shows that she grew up in Kittī. Her dialect gives DI a sense of belonging to a particular place. Because her father is Japanese, DI is often thought to be a Japanese visitor. Her way of speaking Pohnpeian is way of showing that she belongs.

JN grew up and attended private schools in Kolonia. In Excerpt 6.47, he takes a stance that dialect “diversity” in his language is “cool”. Having different ways of speaking Pohnpeian is a positive thing for him. He also associates the Kittī dialect as being “how we [Pohnpeian speakers] spoke a long time ago.” Despite finding it cool, JN would make fun of one of his high school classmates from Kittī by over-emphasizing the /ɔ/ that is used in the Kittī dialect instead of /ɛ/. He says that people mostly make fun of the ways other dialect groups speak, but in a positive way. He maintains that most people are not bullied for their dialect and instead most people take pride in the way they speak.

Both JN and DI have positive views of Pohnpeian dialect variation and take pride in the diversity in their language. The most salient feature of this variation for them is the /ɔ/~ɛ/ difference. DI also was not aware of any other regional variations and said she could understand all the regional types of Pohnpeian spoken on the island.

7.1.2.2.2 Attitudes toward Pingelapese and Mwokilese speakers

Research from several decades ago, such as Damas (1985) and Poyer (1993), has shown that Pohnpeians have had condescending toward their neighboring atoll communities. While not a major focus of the dissertation, the section briefly discusses some of those attitudes. The questionnaires did not address views toward neighbor island languages, but some of those views did come up in the interviews. The attitudes in this section are first presented by a Pingelapese woman, PR, which are then compared to the views of some of the Pohnpeian interviewees.

As discussed in previous sections, PR believes Pingelapese to be very important for her identity and something that should be passed on to her children. Without Pingelapese, she feels that she would not be Pingelapese. Pohnpeian for her is a language that she learned in elementary school in Sokehs and is something that she uses to interact with Pohnpeians and other neighbor island communities, except for Mwokilese. In Excerpt 6.40, PR describes how she can understand Mwokilese speakers and how they can understand her Pingelapese. When she speaks with a Mortlockese or Ngatikese person, she has to speak Pohnpeian with them, because they would not understand Pingelapese. She observes that many Mwokilese and Pingelapese in Sokehs learn each other's languages, but very few Mortlockese learn Mwokilese or Pingelapese or vice versa.

MK in Excerpt 6.41 makes a similar observation to PR that Mwokilese and Pingelapese are mutually intelligible. She also does not think people from the neighbor islands must speak Pohnpeian as long as they speak "their language" (Excerpt 6.42). However, she hedges her view by saying that since Pohnpeian is widely used, it would be helpful to at least understand it.

The views about the neighbor island languages become much more negative with DI. In Excerpt 6.44, she claims initially that it is good for those from Pingelap and Mwoakilloa to speak both Pohnpeian and their own language. However, if they had to only speak one language, she claims that Pohnpeian would be much better for them, because they are part of Pohnpei State, so that is what they should speak. Likewise, public schools should teach them Pohnpeian so that it is easier for them "to communicate with other islanders." Like her previously discussed views of English education, DI sees education as a process of teaching normative language skills. For her, public schools should integrate the neighbor islands into Pohnpei State by teaching them Pohnpeian. In addition to her views on education, DI thinks that those from Pingelap on Mwoakilloa sound bad when they speak. Their way of speaking Pohnpeian and their languages get on her nerves so she often tells them "OK, you're saying it the wrong way." She believes that many Pohnpeians agree with her than Pingelapese and Mwokilese sound bad. Overall, DI has a negative view of Mwokilese and Pingelapese speakers and think that it would be better for them to speak Pohnpeian.

7.1.2.2.3 Attitudes toward English speakers

Most of the discussion about English in the data in this dissertation is about where English is spoken, who tends to use it, and its utility in employment and education. Very little, however, is discussed about attitudes toward English speakers. The questionnaires do not address this topic and only one interview participant, JN, addresses it briefly. Because of the brevity of data, the discussion in this section is quite short and an area for further research.

In Excerpt 6.17, JN associates language knowledge with particular mindsets. Knowing a language for him translates to having different behaviors. For him, being an English speaker is associated with being more “flexible,” “Americanized,” and capable of being managed by an employer. He associates these characteristics and English ability in general as positive things. His views about language are also influenced by his English-only education, his significant time spent abroad, and his affluent family who mostly can speak English too. Given that he is the only data point, it is unclear how common his views about language use are.

7.1.3 Discussion of analysis methods

As outlined in Chapter 2, this dissertation is framed by poststructuralist, postcolonial research frameworks. To that end the methods, described in Chapter 4, are designed to align with those frameworks. Since this dissertation heavily uses quantitative methods, it is an outlier in similarly framed studies. Because of their rarity, the methods themselves warrant a discussion, especially about their applicability to these frameworks.

Poststructuralism critiques notions of objective observations and seamless, overarching descriptions of realities. Instead, it focuses on where descriptions of reality break down to show both how they represent a limited subjective reality of the observers and how there are counter-explanations to those descriptions. A model or description of reality, then, is partial and contested. One way this is applied to language explicitly is heteroglossia, the idea that each speaker and community has many different ways of speaking, even if it is a so-called monolingual community. Many of the common quantitative methods used in social science research can miss this contested partialness of reality.

Regression modeling, which is used in this dissertation, assumes pre-defined categories (such as gender, age, or educational attainment) each have a single shared pattern, with each observation only slightly deviating from the mean. If those groups exhibit multiple patterns they can be missed altogether by regression modeling or the results can come out as non-meaningful because of too much variation. This is not to say, though, that regression modeling is not useful. As shown above in this section, regression modeling can display meaningful patterns that exist in a population. For example, in §7.1.1.2 the regression modeling shows how age, education, and other demographic variables can predict some patterns in language attitudes. In its own way, regression modeling shows the heteroglossia *between* pre-defined subgroups of the respondents. However, this is only the beginning of the analysis story.

Many postcolonial authors build upon poststructuralism by critiquing its focus on European problems. They instead aim to theorize about the problems faced by colonized peoples by in part giving a voice to them. Regression modeling because of its reliance on pre-defined categories often reifies

the (frequently) colonial categories used in the study, since they may be the most easily accessible data to use/collect. This use of colonial categories often misses the complexity that exists in those communities. Because of these limitations, this dissertation employs a cluster analysis that allows patterns and groups to emerge from the data *without* imposing any pre-imposed categories (other than the initial survey questions themselves).

Using the cluster analysis in this dissertation shows two different ideological groups among the respondents for many of the questions (see e.g., §7.1.1.3). These groups were determined primarily by the respondents themselves, since the analysis determined the number of clusters based on the variation within the data itself. Likewise, even within each cluster, there are some respondents who disagree with the cluster's general pattern for some questions. This analysis again shows the contested nature of language attitudes on Pohnpei both *across* ideological groups and *within* them. It also empowers local voices by allowing their different opinions to be heard.

7.2 Sociolinguistic scales on Pohnpei

The data in this dissertation show that Pohnpei is a place of much linguistic diversity. This diversity, however, does not develop out of nowhere. It is the result of the island's history of colonial occupations, eventual independence, and now globalization. The languages spoken on Pohnpei and how and where they are used are shaped by local forces that have developed over many years from its complex history and are still developing, as well as by regional and global forces that are out of the control of the people on Pohnpei. In order to both understand the results of these forces (both from Pohnpei and abroad) as well as to make sense of the complexity of language use, this section employs the use of the theoretical tool sociolinguistic scale as described in §2.1.7. Sociolinguistic scale examines how symbolic resources are distributed and valued unequally at different geographic levels, ranging from the smallest local unit to largest global unit (Blommaert 2007, 2010). Given Pohnpei's history and linguistic diversity, sociolinguistic scale helps provide greater meaning to language use phenomena on Pohnpei.

Sociolinguistic scale analyses typically starts at one end of the scale, so this analysis will start with the smallest level: the local. What does local mean on Pohnpei? This question is difficult to answer directly, because there is more than one possible answer. Geographically, the local is defined as the smallest unit of social interaction, which for most people would be the home and family. However, families on Pohnpei are often large and complex. People on Pohnpei often have close family who live in different kousapw or wehi or even abroad, which is becoming more and more common. Part of one's family may also be from different islands and speak different languages. In this sense,

family may be very local and also spatially very far away. Another way to view the local scale is not only by the geographic area that it covers, but also by examining the breadth of its control/influence. Local phenomena often only have social influence over a small geographic area or group of people. For Pohnpei, this analysis will use local to mean family and kousapw, the smallest political area on Pohnpei.

At the local level of scale, the data show a high level of linguistic diversity. The questionnaire data in particular demonstrates. When the respondents were given the chance to write whichever languages they wanted in the language use questionnaire questions (questions 2.9–2.17), they chose twenty-four different languages. However, the vast majority of this reported diversity is limited to a few areas of use: home, family, and friends. This clustering of diversity is visualized well in Figures 5.89 and 5.92. The language importance questions (questions 3.1.1–3.3.7) also show a similar story. The most diverse of those domains happen to be the most local as well: being happy in one's relationships, talking with neighbors, attending church, and talking with relatives who live in the U.S. (Figure 5.93). The interviews, likewise, complement the questionnaires for the local domains. For example, PR describes how she speaks Pingelapese at home with her family, at church, and with other Pingelapese in her community. MK similarly describes in Excerpt 6.6 how she grew up speaking English because her mother is American and also Pohnpeian because her father is Pohnpeian. In Excerpt 6.7 she describes how her son's father is Kosraean, so she expects his Kosraean family to teach him Kosraean and she will teach him Pohnpeian and English. All of the other interviewees also discuss speaking Pohnpeian at home as well as with friends.

It is unsurprising, though, that local domains are the most diverse. Local domains have the most autonomy and decentralized institutional control. Here the large number of symbolic resources are valued. Pingelapese, Pohnpeian, and English are equally valued as symbolic capital in the right local environments, such as with friends and family who share and expect certain languages to be used. Language use at the local level also plays a strong role in language identity formation. PR, for example explicitly defines her Pingelapese identity by her use of the Pingelapese language, which she only uses in limited situations, such as at home and with other Pingelapese.

What is surprising of the local scale is how localized church has become. Christianity is a foreign religion to Pohnpei whose early days of missionization were tumultuous, violent, and full of disdain for the local people, languages, and cultures. However, as Christianity became more popular on Pohnpei, it has become more Pohnpeian. There are Christian parishes all over the island and most are led by local people. Most of their services are conducted in the languages of the communities they are in. While still influenced by external theologies and institutions (especially the Catholic Church, which has strong external influences and control), Christianity in general (especially Catholic and

United Church of Christ in Pohnpei parishes) patterns as a local domain linguistically. It is also one of the few domains, where the interview participants expressed an interest in expanding local language use.

The next level up from the kousapw and family is the wehi, the next largest administrative unit on Pohnpei. At this level, the linguistic diversity decreases substantially. PR who typically speaks Pingelapese at home and in her kousapw, describes in Excerpt 6.40 how community events in her wehi, Sokehs, are often conducted in Pohnpeian, because she claims it is a common language shared by the Mwokilese, Pingelapese, Mortlockese, and Pohnpeians who live in that wehi. She explicitly says “we cannot speak Pingelapese, Mwokilese [at Sokehs community events], nor can they speak Mortlockese...It’s always Pohnpeian” (ln. 104, 106). Already at this slight increase of scale, Pingelapese, Mwokilese, and Mortlockese are not valued as symbolic capital. PR also does not question this, nor does she express a desire to change this situation. In addition to using Pohnpeian at wehi community events, there are additional symbolic requirements if individuals with high titles in the soupeidi system are present. Their presence requires the use of Meing. Using non-honorific Pohnpeian would be perceived by some as being disrespectful. PR as a Pingelapese does not feel that she has an adequate understanding of Meing, so she explains in Excerpt 6.33 that if she is talking at such community events, she uses English instead of Pohnpeian so that she does not inadvertently offend a high titled person. Pohnpeian is the expected language for wehi events, but requires complex ritual speech. PR avoids breaking protocol, by avoiding the system altogether and using English, which is also widely known and does not have a complex system of honorifics like Pohnpeian. By using English she can show respect by by-passing the expected linguistic norms.

Not only are Pohnpeian and Meing valued at the wehi level, but in particular regional dialects of Pohnpeian are valued. DI describes in Excerpt 6.45 how she is proud of her Kittu accent for showing that she belongs in Kittu. Her dialect, while understood throughout the island, is marked in other wehi and people comment about it. While her dialect is still useful all over the island, its use marks her as being a member of a certain wehi and is especially valued in that community and less so outside it.

The correspondence analysis (CA) for language importance (Figure 5.93) also provides evidence for a decrease in linguistic diversity at the wehi level. The activities that are associated with the wehi and the soupeidi system in general, such as a kamadipw, funerals, drinking sakau, and talking with chiefs have the highest levels of Pohnpeian and much fewer selections of other languages such as Pingelapese and Mwokilese.

The next level up of scale is the Pohnpei State level. This level is very similar to the wehi level. This level includes the Pohnpei State government, public schools, as well as discourses around Pohnpeian identity. At this level Pohnpeian is the most important language, but with increasing English

importance. Public schools on Pohnpei provide a great example of some of the Pohnpei State level discourses. The public schools are run by the Pohnpei Department of Education, which is part of the Pohnpei State Government. The curriculum for all public school in the state are very similar, regardless of where in the state they are located and regardless of the community's languages. PR in Excerpt 6.10 tells how her teachers in her public elementary school would use Pohnpeian as the language of instruction up through fourth grade, even though the teachers and students were mostly Pingelapese and Mwokilese. She was taught in those early years how to speak Pohnpeian and how it differed from her home language of Pingelapese. Her education experience was a way of forming her linguistically into a Pohnpei State resident, who is expected to speak Pohnpeian regardless of ethnicity. DI as an ethnic Pohnpeian exhibits similar language normativizing views in Excerpt 6.44. For DI, public schools should teach neighbor island communities Pohnpeian so that they can communicate with the rest of the state (i.e., Pohnpeians). Likewise, their retention of their first languages is of little concern for DI, as long as they know Pohnpeian, because in her view that is the one language that everyone in Pohnpei State should know. Public education is a way of instilling a Pohnpei State linguistic identity across the state's diverse population. The Pohnpei State Government also enforces Pohnpeian language use by only recognizing Pohnpeian and English as official languages, unlike Yap State whose constitution recognizes all "the indigenous languages of the State and English" as official languages (Yap State Government 2006).³ The results at the Pohnpei State level show similar findings to (Poyer 1993) who documented the struggles of a neighbor-island community on Pohnpei to maintain their own traditions against the pressure of the larger Pohnpeian community to adapt both linguistically and culturally to their ways.

The questionnaire results also link Pohnpeian use to Pohnpei State. 93.4% of the respondents agree that Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei. The CA results for language use show that the languages respondents spoke at school and languages spoken by elementary school teachers are evenly divided between English and Pohnpeian and very few other languages.

The next level of scale beyond Pohnpei State is the FSM. The sole language associated by the interviewees with the national level of the FSM is English, which is also the only official language of the country (FSM National Government 2005). In the interviews several of the respondents describe how they view English as necessary for the FSM. In Excerpt 6.51, TK describes how English has to be used in national government offices, which he finds to be a good thing. When asked, why not use Pohnpeian as the national language, he responded that it would not be good, because English is also used in many other countries too. For him, if everyone has to learn a language, it might as

³While Yap State legally recognizes all its indigenous languages as official languages, it is unclear if Yapese, like Pohnpeian still has ideological dominance over the other languages in the state. However, all the languages at least have equal legal standing in Yap.

well be a useful one in other places too. PR maintains a similar view to TK. In Excerpt 6.53, she describes English as being a necessary tool to unite a linguistically diverse country with both its constituent parts and with the outside world, which for her none of the country's indigenous language can do properly. At this level, even Pohnpeian, which is valued by almost of all of the people in the questionnaires and interviews, is not valuable as a symbolic resource. English, the colonial language promoted and enforced by the TTPI, is now seen as an essential Micronesian characteristic, instead of the indigenous languages. This is also supported by 88.7% of the questionnaire respondents agreeing with the statement of "in order to be Micronesian you have to speak English." English indexes a national/regional Micronesian identity.

Both private and public schools institutionally support the production of a Micronesian identity through the use of English-based instruction. All of the interview participants and a large majority of the questionnaire respondents indicated their support of English in education. None of the interviewee even questioned whether English should be used in schools or not. For them, English is necessary for communication within the country and abroad, and for getting a good job. Education, then, is the means of acquiring this tool. The language use CA supports this story, since as education level increases, it becomes more English-based with the language of high school and college teachers having many more English selections than elementary school.

The highest general scale is what will be called here the translocal. The term translocal, as adapted from Blommaert et al. (2005), Blommaert (2007, 2015), means phenomena that happen on a macro level beyond the control of any locality, such as globalization, capitalism, or international politics. For the people of Pohnpei, the translocal has been increasing important since their first interactions with westerners. Every colonial occupation has changed the island and imposed new demands outside of their control. Pohnpei and the FSM are now independent, but the effects of globalization are increasingly changing the island. Even since I first arrived on Pohnpei in 2011, the island has changed. Internet and cell phone access has rapidly increased and foreign goods are increasingly easier and cheaper to access. Because of these changes, Pohnpei is now more connected and dependent on the outside world. Many older Pohnpeians complain about how the island is changing rapidly, others now enjoy the fact that they can now more easily Skype with their relatives abroad. With this increased connectivity because of globalization comes the influence of English.

English is the translocal language par excellence. It can be used in virtually every country. It is widely used in commerce, international political organizations, the internet, global media (music, film, news), and is an official language for several powerful, wealthy countries. However, not all Englishes are valued equally. Certain Englishes, such as Anglo-American English or the British Received Pro-

nunciation, are afforded immense symbolic capital translocally (Blommaert 2007, Flores & Rosa 2015). At the translocal level, very few languages can compete with those Englishes (Blommaert 2007, 2010).

On Pohnpei, the translocal can be seen all over the island at the cinema in Kolonia, all of the stores with imported goods, the FM radio station that plays American and local music, all of the TV stations, the U.S. and Australian Embassies, the internet, the public library (the vast majority of the books are in English), all of the schools and colleges (the vast majority of textbooks are in English, produced in the U.S.), the foreign NGOs, the FSM government offices, and in many other places. Because of the symbolic capital associated with the translocal English, it is logical that people on Pohnpei and the FSM want to share in it.

This system of sociolinguistic scale (Figure 7.1), that ranges from the local level with much linguistic diversity to the wehi and Pohnpeian State levels that value Pohnpeian and English to the FSM and translocal levels that only value English, represents a systematic devaluing of symbolic resources. Bourdieu (1991), Heller & Martin-Jones (2001) describe such systems that devalue symbolic resources as symbolic violence that leads to symbolic dominance. For them, symbolic dominance is achieved when one language is seen to be ‘naturally’ better or more legitimate for use in some situation and these rules are enforced by some institution that convinces people that following those linguistic rules is in everyone’s best interest (see also §2.1.6). The sociolinguistic scale system on Pohnpei systematically engages in such as system of symbolic domination by making it seem, for example, that the languages valued at each level of scale are valued because that is where they naturally belong. As an example, the system views English as a necessary language to unite a linguistically divided FSM. In fact, this system arbitrarily values a specific language and devalues the rest, which simultaneously prevents those people who do not have access to the required symbolic resources from accessing that level. There is no linguistic reason then for why, for example, Pingelapese cannot be used as a language of education, government, or international politics. Instead, the reason is defined by translocal ideologies.

This entire described system of sociolinguistic scale with all its levels is latently present in every interaction on Pohnpei. Each level can be invoked depending on the situation. An example of this is the workplace. In §7.1.1.3.3, the interview participants are shown to use mostly English at work for work-related communications, both in person and written (email and documents). They justify their actions in three ways: (1) just because that is the language of work, (2) it is easier to use English because of the specialized vocabulary that they have learned in their education and job training, and (3) they have to interact with people from the other states of the FSM or foreigners who do not know Pohnpeian. For the interview participants then, working in an office is a mostly translocal place, where English is just assumed to be more natural. Even though most of their co-workers speak

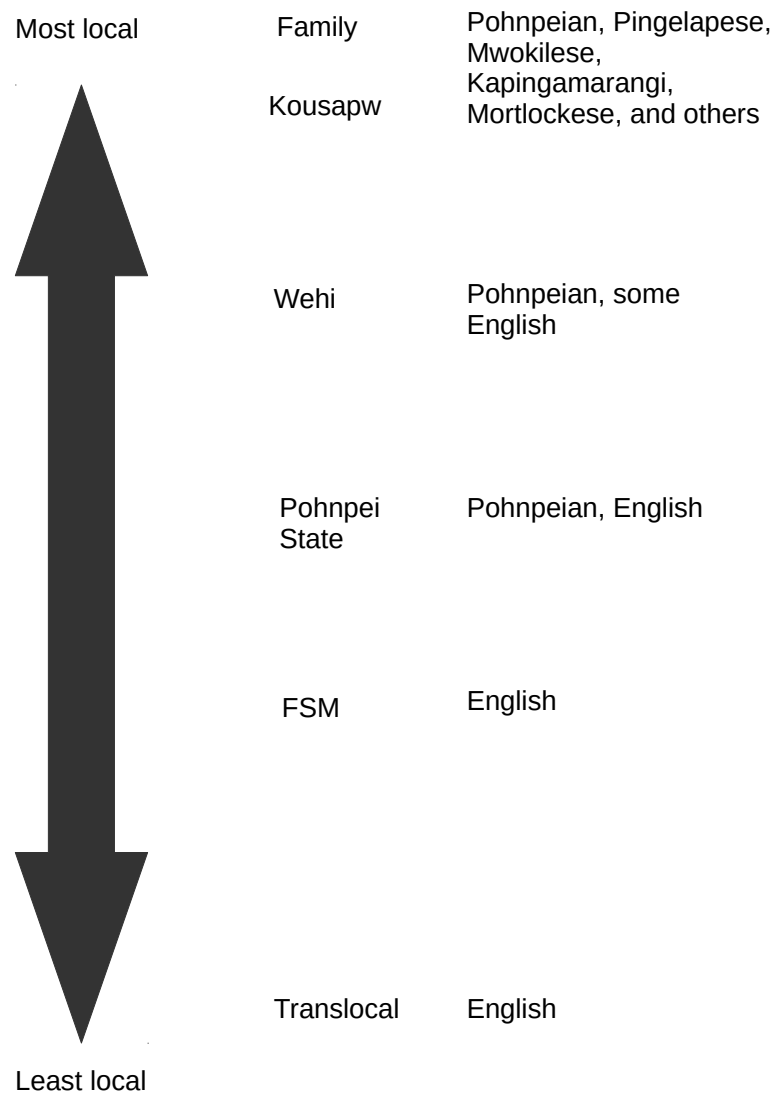


Figure 7.1. Sociolinguistic scale system on Pohnpei

Pohnpeian, they still feel that they have to perform an office-worker identity by speaking English in this space. The performative nature of this space is seen, when the assumed rules of the office are relaxed. During lunch breaks, RK describes how he and his co-workers will use Pohnpeian to talk about non-work-related topics. During these breaks, the performance of the translocal office space is put on hold and the space reverts to becoming a more local Pohnpeian space. In this Pohnpeian space, its rules take precedence, such as how RK feels obligated to speak to his boss using Meing because of her title in the soupeiidi system.

PR also experiences this shift in scale during work. She has to speak in English when she teaches at COM-FSM and also uses English with her colleagues from other FSM states. By doing so, she performs and thus re-creates an intentional Micronesian identity at the college that is indexed by English use. When speaking with some of her Pohnpeian co-workers, she describes how she finds herself speaking Pohnpeian. This indirect description of her language use as ‘finding herself’ shows how she does not consciously choose to speak Pohnpeian, but rather is called into that Pohnpeian identity by others from Pohnpei State. As fellow members of the same state, they expect her to perform that identity through using Pohnpeian. Her Pohnpeian co-workers thus enforce such an identity on her. Likewise, in Excerpt 6.14, she describes how Pingelapese students will seek her out, even if they have a different major or advisor, because they speak a shared language. These students, thus, relate to her in a way that they cannot with other instructors, just because they share a first language. Again these students reinforce her Pingelapese identity by orienting themselves toward her in a such a way that is mediated through the required use of Pingelapese. The students also choose to interact with her, because their L1 language skills are not valued elsewhere on campus, so see her as a natural ally. In any given work day, PR then navigates through the whole range of the sociolinguistic scales.

While this system of sociolinguistic scale exists across the island and institutional affects everyone, not everyone is able or perhaps even choses to not participant in the same way. The cluster analysis results presented above in §7.1.1.3 and 7.1.2.1 indicate two general different patterns of language use and importance: a monoglossic Pohnpeian ideology and a multilingual ideology. While both ideological groups indicate support for the importance of English, the monoglossic Pohnpeian ideological report a strong preference for Pohnpeian over other languages in all aspects of life. They are also strongly influenced by translocal language ideologies, since they view both English as being more complex than Pohnpeian and English speakers are essentially smarter. What this means is that this group of respondents does not follow the scaled language use to the same extent as the other group. The reason for this pattern are unknown, but could be either a conscious choice to prefer Pohnpeian over English, a lack of access to higher scaled symbolic resources (i.e., English), or a combination of both. Regardless of their actions, their use of Pohnpeian is not given the same symbolic value as English in this system, which precludes their participation in those domains. The other ideological group, the multilingual ideological group, report uses of English, Pohnpeian, and other languages that closely follow the sociolinguistic scales that are outlined in this section. Like the other group, why exactly they fit into this group is unknown, though it correlates with age, access to education, and employment. Many in this group, though, grow up with the expectations of multilingual use imposed on them by education, family, and economic demands. Regardless of group, this system of scaled lan-

guage ideologies affects all and involves the systematic symbolic dominance of local languages and the privileging of the translocal.

It must be noted that none of the interviewees questioned the role of English in the FSM. Likewise a very large majority of survey respondents supported the use of English. The closest rebuke comes from TK in Excerpt 6.57 where he fears that Pohnpeians “love Western style” (ln. 43) too much, which will cause the island to become like Guåhån where Chamorro is spoken much less than it was in the past.⁴ Even with this remark, he still supports the use of English for the FSM. Some of the hesitancy to critique the use of English stems from me, the interviewer, being an American and L1 English speaker and the interviewee’s desire to not appear to disrespect me. However, there also appears to be genuine support of English as the sole national language and a necessary language for education. [wa Thiong’o \(1994\)](#) describes similar views in his country Kenya, where years of colonialism have taught Kenyans that colonial languages are their only hope for survival, so much so that they have become the national languages of the now independent countries. Colonial languages were lauded as the necessary tools for uniting linguistically divided groups. PR demonstrates this view when she says “Because even we say we are Micronesians we rely on the English language to better understand...ourselves...we need English” (Excerpt 6.53, lns. 8, 19). For Thiong’o, the imposition of colonial languages, such as English and French, is a form of mental control that shifts how people perceive themselves and the world. These languages break the connection a person has with their history and culture. They also frame the creation and understanding of knowledge and identities as something foreign. The colonized see the world as “defined by or reflected in the culture of the language of imposition” (p. 17). Likewise, [Fanon \(2008\)](#) observed “[a]ll colonized people—in other words, people in whom an inferiority complex has taken root, whose local cultural originality has been committed to the grave—position themselves in relation to the civilizing language” (p. 2). In order to overcome this externally defined reality, Thiong’o insists that one’s understanding of the world must be redefined through the lens of one’s own language. Only then can one truly undergo the process of the decolonization. For Pohnpei and the FSM, this process has not happened. What it means to be ‘Micronesian’ is still defined externally by the language of the colonizer.

Another result of globalization on the sociolinguistic scales is the hybridity it produces. All of the interview participants discussed the so-called mixing of Pohnpeian and English. While they all did not associate the mixing with the same demographic groups, they mostly associated it with younger people (some up through age 40 or 50), Kolonia/Nett/Sokehs, private school education, and informal situations. These groups of people have been affected most by translocal language ideologies. Many of them, especially those who attended private schools, were required to speak only English

⁴Only 17.8% of the population on Guåhån in 2010 spoke Chamorro at home ([U.S. Census Bureau 2012](#)).

from kindergarten through 12th grade, 8 hours a day, five days a week for most of the year. This experience contrasts with their home life where they are often expected to speak their L1, which is typically Pohnpeian or another local language. These two ideological systems come together and can often clash in that individual. What that increasingly common experience on Pohnpei creates are what [Anchimbe \(2007\)](#) calls ‘linguabrids’, who exist between two, often competing, cultures and have their own unique linguistic patterns. This group on Pohnpei frequently translanguage ([García & Wei 2014](#)) with Pohnpeian and English. Their linguistic patterns break down the boundaries Pohnpeian and American cultures and are the result of them having to constantly live in between two worlds. Their translanguaging, represents a uniquely Pohnpeian creative response to the cultural and linguistic pressures that are placed on them and is the Pohnpeinization of the translocal via blurring the boundaries between the local and the translocal.

Almost all of the interview respondents viewed this group’s translanguaging in a negative light and equated it with the Americanization of Pohnpei and the ‘loss of culture.’ This view suggests that most of the respondents view culture as a binary, with having culture meaning maintaining historic ways of living and not having culture being Americanized and using imported technologies. This view of culture places the linguabrids in a precarious situation. They are expected to have two completely separate personae. On the one hand they are expected to perfectly preserve what Pohnpeians did in the past and on the other, they are supposed to learn to speak English perfectly and obtain a good job that provides well economically for their family. This contradictory expectation placed on them is unattainable. What is attainable and what is currently happening is an internal synthesis of the cultures and languages. This synthesis is looked down on by many, but is the logical conclusion of systems that were created and are well-supported by Pohnpeians, though of course also strongly influenced by colonial governments. As [Wendt \(1976\)](#) rightly points out, the traditional never existed, but is a fantasy often perpetuated for political reasons by colonizers and local elites. While English and translocal ideologies are becoming more powerful on Pohnpei and many are rightly concerned about the future of Pohnpeian and other local languages, there needs to be a critical re-evaluation of what that future should be. The current discourses create institutions (such as education) that place unachievable standards on its youth, which then punish them for inevitably not living up to them. As Wendt advises, there should be a vision for identities that critically examine the past, take what is good, leave the rest, and do not fear to change to meet the current needs. For him a culture that stagnates is doomed to fail. While it is not my place as an outsider to say what Pohnpeian culture should be, the results of this dissertation show that there should be more critical discussion about creating institutions that better serve the people of Pohnpei.

7.3 Language and education

As discussed in previous sections, Pohnpei has a dual system of formal education. On the one side are free public schools run by the Pohnpei State Government. Grades pre-kindergarten through fourth grade are taught bilingually in English and Pohnpeian, with each of those grades adding more English. The rest of the education years are taught solely in English. The majority of students attend these schools. The private schools charge tuition and are run by religious institutions, namely the Catholic Church, Baptists, and Seventh Day Adventists. Unlike public schools, the private schools only teach in English. At the college level, the College of Micronesia–Pohnpei campus and College of Micronesia–FSM campus both offer classes only in English. The colleges both charge tuition and are modeled on U.S. community colleges.

Based on the results of both the questionnaires and interviews, these schools do not currently meet the desires of the communities they serve. The vast majority of the questionnaire respondents, 91.2%, agreed that schools on Pohnpei should teach classes in Pohnpeian and 99.4% want their children to learn Meing. All but one of the interview participants expressed a desire for more Pohnpeian to be used in schools and in particular they want the schools to teach Meing. The current, mostly monolingual English approach to education goes counter to these desires of the community. The current educational system through its primary focus on English and its epistemologically American approach teaches children that their language and culture is inferior (Kupferman 2013). PR demonstrates its subtractive effects: “my kids, I see that they use more English than Pingelapese and I think part of it is because, they’ve been brought up in private schools where it’s all English...I’m scared. It’s a scary feeling because that is already an evidence that we’re losing much of our...culture” (Excerpt 6.12, lns. 11, 15). The public schools that use Pohnpeian in early grades use it mainly to transition students to learning English. All schools enforce the use of English and some, especially private schools punish students with detentions and/or physical punishments as described by DI and DE. By mandating English only in schools, the system reinforces the colonial ideology that local languages are not appropriate for education and associated activities such as reading, writing, and white collar employment. As such, it perpetuates the raciolinguistic ideology that only the language of the American colonizer can improve one’s status in the world (wa Thiong’o 1994). Kihleng (2008) in the poem “Lokaiahn Wai” (English), likewise, describes her own struggles as a Pohnpeian educator at COM to “decolonize” her students’ minds, which is limited by the institutionally mandated use of English in the classroom. Flores & Rosa (2015) have shown that education systems that focus on enforcing white American English as the most ‘appropriate’ language for certain situations cause harm to students by creating an unachievable standard for them, since they will still be judged to be inferior to the

white students. Such systems also teach them that their L1 is inferior to white American English. Instead of leading to greater equality, policing the speech of students leads to greater inequality by perpetuating a system that will always mark them as inferior. On Pohnpei, this system of education teaches students that their L1s are inferior to English. It shows them a broad world of knowledge in English, which tells the students that their first languages will never be as useful and ‘developed’ as English. This way of teaching English is subtractive because it instills in them an ideology that local languages and cultures are inferior to those in the U.S., which it enforces through physical and psychological punishments. This negative view is seen in how a majority of the respondents view youth as speaking both bad Pohnpeian and English. Rosa (2010) writes about a similar experience of Latin@ youth, where they are “expected to speak two languages but [are] understood to speak neither correctly” (p. 38).

Rehg (2004) observed two main issues with language education on Pohnpei. The first of which was an overemphasis on Pohnpeian orthographic standardization. While Rehg advised the committee responsible for creating a standard Pohnpeian orthography, he suggests that because of the political disagreements that orthography has caused, it would be better to allow students and schools to use whichever spelling convention that they feel is best. It is much more important for him that people actually use Pohnpeian to create content, rather than focusing on a specific form that may limit use. The other major critique is the focus on literacy as the main purpose of language education, both for English and Pohnpeian. For him, emphasizing ‘vernacular’ literacy does not address the desires of the local community. Rehg observes that many people are more concerned that their children are not learning Meing or certain grammatical forms in their language. The ‘vernacular’ education programs in public schools do not address these issues. Furthermore, he sees these programs as putting local languages in conflict with English. English has a massive corpus of written texts, whereas local languages have almost none. He claims that students will inevitably see this discrepancy and judge their own language negatively. Likewise, there are few economic or other benefits for learning local orthographies, so learning them is merely learning literacy for the sake of literacy. On top of these issue, public schools use local language literacy as a bridge to English education and literacy. Rehg thinks that this type of bilingual education will accelerate language loss, rather than facilitating the use of local languages.

The data in this dissertation and earlier observations from Rehg (2004) demonstrate how the education system on Pohnpei devalues the students’ symbolic resources when they enter school and continues to punish them for not speaking the correct form of English. This type of education is unfortunately all too common in the U.S. and around the world. Luckily, García & Leiva (2014) describe a system of education that values the students’ symbolic resources while also encouraging them to

learn English. Their approach is based on their theorization of translanguaging, which emphasizes the blurring of the boundaries between languages and the creative synthesis of them that reflects the knowledge created in the border areas between those languages and that is a symbol of the historical relationships of the cultures and languages in those areas. Such an educational system would recognize the value of the students' L1 by directly encouraging them to use those languages in the education process at every level, as well as the new language(s) that they are learning. This system does not teach students that one language is better than another, but shows them that their linguistic skills are valuable in all situations. It also does not police them when the students mix languages. Rather the students are allowed to express themselves and their identities in ways that they themselves feel is appropriate. In this system, the local is put on equal footing with the translocal. It allows them learn new symbolic resources (i.e., English), while also supporting what the students already know. Employing a translanguaging-based education system on Pohnpei would help meet the desires of the residents of Pohnpei, improve the educational experiences of students, as well as help maintain the use of local languages such as Pohnpeian. Such a system would require a major overhaul of the current one and a total redesigning of the curriculum, materials, and assessments, though this has been successfully done in other multilingual communities (see e.g., [Creese & Blackledge 2010](#), [Canagarajah 2011a,b](#), [Otheguy et al. 2015](#), [Makalela 2015](#), and [García et al. 2016](#)).

7.4 Future of the Pohnpeian language

One of the implications of this study is an evaluation of the linguistic vitality of Pohnpeian and other languages spoken on the island, since language attitudes have been identified as a major factor in language endangerment ([Bradley 2013](#)). Previous research has suggested that Pohnpeian is not an endangered language ([Simons & Fennig 2018](#), [Rehg 1998, 2004](#)). However, [Rehg \(1998\)](#) is only cautiously optimistic about the future of the language. He observed high levels of English bilingualism as well as many English borrowings into Pohnpeian. Despite this high level of bilingualism, he suggests that as long as Pohnpeian tiahk en sahpw, which necessitates the use of Pohnpeian, is still essential to the lives of Pohnpeians, then the language will survive. Other languages, such as Mwokilese and Pingelapese, are considered threatened by previous research because of their much smaller speaker numbers ([Alliance for Linguistic Diversity 2018](#)).

The data in this study show a mixed picture for the Pohnpeian language. First, the data show widespread support for knowing, using, and inter-generational transmission of the Pohnpeian language. But, there is also almost equally as strong support for English use on Pohnpei. The data also suggest a somewhat limited and perhaps decreasing number of domains in which Pohnpeian is

used. These domains are mostly limited to family, friends, church, neighbors, and for *tiahk en sahpw*. However, optimistically, based on the cluster analysis of the questionnaire data, about half of the respondents value Pohnpeian in almost all of the domains, which the other half value Pohnpeian mostly at home, with friends and neighbors, and for *tiahk en sahpw*, and English for all the other domains which is similar to what [Rehg \(1998\)](#) observed. Other languages such as Pingelapese and Mwokilese are even more limited to just family and friends who share that language, and church. The data, then, suggest that Pohnpeian is still being used by almost everyone on Pohnpei, though more people are using English in more domains. Many of the respondents, however, pointed out that younger people are speaking Pohnpeian differently than other generations, especially with their increased translanguaging with English. [Rehg \(1998\)](#) also observed a similar trend among young people, but the level of translanguaging and language change has increased since then.

In terms of language spoken at home, Pohnpeian is by far the most common on the island. However, when comparing the percentage of people on Pohnpei in this study who speak it at home with data from the 1994, 2000, and 2010 FSM Censuses, it appears that the percentage is slowly decreasing over time. Likewise, the percentage who speak English at home is increasing at a much faster rate. Though with such few data points, the linear regressions have wide confidence intervals, it is still quite probable that 50% of the population on Pohnpei will speak English at home by 2060. The percentages of people who speak English or Pohnpeian at home since 1994 are displayed in [Figure 7.2](#). The line represents the most probable (the mean) percentage of the population who speaks English or Pohnpeian at home in the given year, which was calculated by a linear regression model. The shaded areas represent the models' uncertainties. Any value within shaded areas is within the 95% confidence interval, which means that there is a 95% probability that true average value will fall somewhere within that area, given the current data.

Like previous research ([Rehg 1998, 2004](#)), I am cautiously optimistic about the future of the Pohnpeian language. The language though is currently undergoing generational change (like virtually all languages) and will be different in the future. The number of English speakers is also rising quite quickly. This is the biggest concern for the Pohnpeian language. As [Rehg \(1998\)](#) points out, bilingualism and even English bilingualism are not problems in themselves, but are often positives. What is problematic are the ideologies that surround English education that devalue local languages and promote English as an economic savior. While these ideologies are tempered by strong support for Pohnpeian *tiahk en sahpw* institutions, it is a delicate balance that could change quickly. English is also being increasingly used in domains that were exclusively Pohnpeian or other local languages, such as at home. English may no longer be just a language of power (e.g., government) and foreign institutions, but rather a language of solidarity that some use to connect with family and friends on

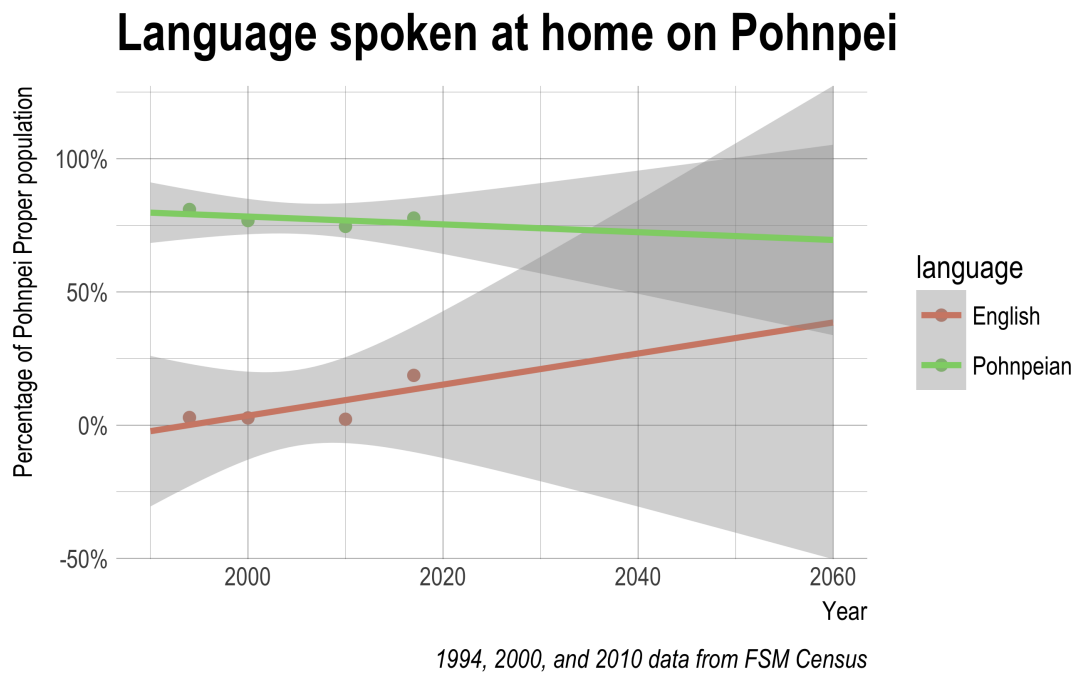


Figure 7.2. Percentage of Pohnpei proper population who speaks Pohnpeian or English at home over time

Pohnpei and abroad. In this regard, English is becoming more of a local language, which further endangers the use of Pohnpeian. This shift toward English can also quickly change because of increasing migration to the U.S. Pohnpeians abroad do not have the benefit of strong *tiahk en sahpw* institutions that can safeguard the use of Pohnpeian. Also, many of the interview participants described how they would speak in English or informal Pohnpeian with chiefs. While Pohnpeian and Meing are ideologically important for *tiahk en sahpw*, even there some people on Pohnpei are using English because they cannot speak Meing and they feel speaking English would be more respectful than informal Pohnpeian.

Pohnpeian is being maintained and passed on for now, but the seeds for language shift have been planted. Greater institutional support, especially in education, would help make the long-term success of the Pohnpeian language more certain. Without such support, it is possible that Pohnpeian may not be spoken in future generations. Other local languages, such as Mwokilese, Pingelapese, Mortlockese, Ngatikese, Nukuoran, and Kapingamarangi are all at much greater risk of endangerment because of their limited domains of use, small speaker numbers, little to know institutional support, negative attitudes about their languages and cultures from the dominant Pohnpeian community, as

well threats to their home atolls due to climate change. These languages, as well as Pohnpeian, should receive great support in education and at the Pohnpei State level.

7.5 Limitations of the study

This study, like all research projects, is limited in scope, design, and implementation. This section discusses some of this study's limitations for the sake of open research, as well as to encourage future improved research. The limitations are discussed first by design, then implementation.

Language attitudes are a very broad topic that incorporate almost every aspect of life. Any study that investigates them must necessarily limit what areas are studied in order to have a manageable study. This study was able to successfully study several aspects of language attitudes through both interviews and questionnaires. However, there are some gaps in the design that would have added to the data. In the questionnaires, there were no questions explicitly about attitudes toward other local languages such as Pingelapese and Mwokilese. Attitudes about them did arise in the interviews, but it would have been beneficial to compare those results with a much larger sample in the questionnaires. Likewise, since the questionnaires had to be administered on paper, given the limited internet access across the island, the software used did impose some spatial limitations. For the language importance questions (Questions 3.1–3.3), the program was only able to fit eight language choices for each question. It would have been useful to include other languages such as Kapingamarangi, Nukuoran, Ngatikese, as well as languages from other states and neighboring countries, such as Yapese, Ulithian, Marshallese, and Palauan. However, having all of those questions would have taken up too much space. Instead of using the program *SDAPS*, another format could have been used that would have allowed those extra languages, but having to manually code the responses would have greatly extended the data processing time, since it would not have been automated.⁵ It would have also been helpful to ask people to rate attributes about English and other local language speakers in addition to those of Pohnpeian speakers (Questions 3.6.1–3.6.30). Those questions could have provided a clearer picture of how the respondents differ in attitudes between different language speakers. However, given the current length of the questionnaires, it would have been extra burdensome for the respondents. A follow-up study would be appropriate to explore this more. Version two of the questionnaires also suffered from translation irregularities in Pohnpeian, which resulted in some potential pragmatic awkwardness in reading, as well as some questions being mistranslated altogether, or worded slightly differently from the English version leading to unexpected answers (such as questions 3.7–3.8). Hav-

⁵Since there were 301 respondents, 150 questions on the questionnaires, and 472 possible choices there were over 45,000 answers and 140,000 possible choices to process. Automation greatly helped reduce the processing time.

ing greater access to professional Pohnpeian translators and more time before implementation would have helped.

In terms of implementation, the main limitation was finding respondents. Overall, 1.3% of the adult population on Pohnpei proper was surveyed, which is a fairly large percentage given this type of study. However, when broken down into demographic groups, some were under-sampled. It would be better to have more respondents aged 65+, since there were only eight of them and only two aged 75+. Likewise two wehi, Uh and Madolenihmw, were slightly undersampled. Overall, women, those living in Nett, and those who completed a college degree were somewhat oversampled. The poststratification weighting helped to balance the effect of sampling issues, but a larger and more representative sample would always be better. For the interviews, only a few people agreed to be interviewed. Getting people to agree to an interview was much harder and more labor intensive to carry out and analyze than the questionnaires. The study would benefit from more interview participants, especially since there were no interview participants who patterned with the monolingual Pohnpeian cluster (cluster 2), as well as older people and those with high chiefly titles. Since the interviews from those who patterned with cluster 1 provided much insight into the complexity of their language attitudes, having interviewees who pattern with cluster 2 would undoubtedly provide much added nuance to their attitudes and experiences. It would also be helpful to overtly ask interviewees if they are aware of these different ideological groups and their attitudes toward each group.

The challenge of interviewing monolingual Pohnpeians stems from my inability to interview any monolingual Pohnpeian speakers because my Pohnpeian language abilities are not good enough for me to do so. There was also not enough time to train a research assistant to conduct interviews in Pohnpeian for me, nor funding to pay for the transcription and translation of Pohnpeian audio files.

Of course, when analyzing the transcripts of the interviews that I had done, there were several occurrences where I wished that I had asked a follow-up question or continued where the interviewee was going instead of changing the subject. Such limitations are easy to see in hindsight, but much harder to plan for.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This chapter concludes the dissertation. It first provides short summary answers to the main research questions in §8.1. This section is followed by a brief summary of the study in §8.2 as well its contributions in §8.3. Finally, directions for future research are presented in §8.4.

8.1 Research questions revisited

This sections revisits the research questions that are given in Chapter 1 and discussed in Chapter 7 by providing concise, summarized answers to them.

1. What languages are spoken on Pohnpei and in what domains are they preferred?

Answer: Over thirty different languages were reported by participants in this study. However, Pohnpeian and English were the two main languages reported, followed by Pingelapese, Mwokilese, Mortlockese, Chuukese, Marshallese, Kosraean, Ngatikese, Kapingamarangi, and Nukuoran. In terms of use, there are two general patterns with about half of the respondents following each pattern. In the first pattern, domains such as speaking with family, friends, and neighbors have the most linguistic diversity, with many language reported there. Domains tied to the Pohnpeian soupeidi system have mostly Pohnpeian responses, as well as wehi level domains. Pohnpei State level domains such as education and government have most Pohnpeian or English selection, with more English selection in education levels about elementary school. English is the most common selection in FSM level domains, such as the national government and COM-FSM campus. It is also common in highly translocally influenced domains, such offices and businesses in Kolonia. However, in the second pattern, Pohnpeian is the most commonly used language in every domain. These two ideological groups show that there is a widening distance between those who only use Pohnpeian and those who use English and other languages.

2. What are the attitudes of residents of Pohnpei toward the languages spoken?

Answer: Overall, attitudes toward Pohnpeian and English are overwhelmingly positive by both the survey respondents and interviewees. However, there are two different observed ideological groups. The first group highly values multilingualism, including knowledge of local languages, but the group believes that English is more important than Pohnpeian and other local languages. This group also does not believe that knowing Pohnpeian is essential for Pohnpeian identity. They also prefer English for education and view it as having a high utility for employment and making money both on Pohnpei and abroad. The second group also values multilingualism, but views Pohnpeian as more important than English. They also view Pohnpeian language ability as an essential aspect of Pohnpeian identity. This group also prefers Pohnpeian for education, but believes that Pohnpeian is simpler than English and that English makes one smarter. They also believe that English has a high utility both on Pohnpei and abroad, but do not find English to be more valuable than Pohnpeian.

3. What are the attitudes of residents of Pohnpei toward people who speak those languages?

Answer: Overall, the respondents had very positive views of Pohnpeian speakers. The majority of respondents agreed with the positive attributes and disagreed with the negative and most of the neutral ones. They also did not associate Pohnpeian speakers with being either rich or poor, young or old, or feminine or masculine. While not addressed by many of the interviewees, views toward neighbor island community languages, such as Pingelapese were mixed. Participants from those communities had very positive views of their language and its speakers. However, some Pohnpeians had very negative views toward those languages, in particular Pingelapese and Mwokilese, which they thought to sound like bad Pohnpeian. They also think it necessary for neighbor island communities to use Pohnpeian so that they can fit in with the rest of Pohnpei State. Few of the interviewees discussed views of English speakers, but those that did expressed positive views, especially about their economic abilities.

4. How do these attitudes vary across the island by demographic groups (such as age, gender, municipality of residence, education level, and types of school attended) and across them?

Answer: For language use, Pohnpeian is valued less (and English valued more) by respondents under 45 years old, those who have completed high school, who attended a private elementary or public high school, who have travelled abroad, and have spent less than 10 years on Pohnpei. Likewise, respondents who are male, lived on Pohnpei 20+ years, attended a public high school,

or live in Kitti or Sokehs have the highest reported Meing abilities. As discussed in the previous answer, the cluster analyses found two ideological groups in the survey responses that go across demographic group boundaries. The groups represent about half of the surveyed population each. One group in general values multilingualism and English use in some domains, while the other values Pohnpeian much more and reports using it in all domains.

5. How are these attitudes affected by local and translocal institutions and ideologies?

Answer: The sociolinguistic analysis of the language attitudes shows a general pattern of decreasing linguistic diversity as the level of scale increases from local to translocal. At the most local level, many languages are valued by different ethnic/family groups. At the Pohnpei State level only two languages are valued Pohnpeian and English. Pohnpeian, though, is still preferred. At the FSM and translocal levels, English is the only valued language. Government institutions, such as education, tend to enforce the monolingual use of English, which perpetuates the colonial ideology that English is the language of education, knowledge creation, economic success, and FSM national identity. Other institutions, such as the Pohnpeian soupeidi system and the Protestant and Catholic Churches, reinforce the importance of Pohnpeian and other local languages. However, the number of domains in which English is the most important language seems to be increasing as a result of strengthening translocal ideologies brought by a growing globalization.

8.2 Summary of the study

This study examined language attitudes of over 1.3% of the adult residents of Pohnpei through both questionnaires and interviews. The data were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively using a new combination of analytical tools. The analysis included quantitative methods of hierarchical regression modeling, cluster analysis, and correspondence analysis combined with a qualitative analysis of sociolinguistic scale and stance. In line with the title of the dissertation, Pohnpei sohte ehu ‘Pohnpei is not one’, the results showed two main different ideological groups both in terms of language use and language attitude patterns. Both groups highly value Pohnpeian, English, and other local languages in general. However, the first group values English over Pohnpeian and other local languages. They in general only use Pohnpeian to connect with Pohnpeians and in situations related to the soupeidi system, but use English for most other situations including education, work, media, and government. This group’s language use patterns with scaled-based language ideologies, where local levels of scale (such as family and kousapw) are highly multilingual, but become increasingly

monolingual as scale increases toward the translocal level. The other group, on the other hand, while still highly valuing English, finds Pohnpeian to be the most important language for them. Those in that group tend to find Pohnpeian to be the most important language in every domain.

The results of the study also have implications for Pohnpei's education system as well as the linguistic vitality of the Pohnpei State's languages. In terms of education, the current focus is on English language education in both private and public schools. This system reinforces colonial education ideologies and devalues the languages of its students. It also goes against the desire of the survey respondents to have more classes taught in Pohnpeian, as well as greater instruction of formal Pohnpeian, including Meing. Models of education that are based on translanguaging (García 2009a, García & Wei 2014, García & Leiva 2014) would most likely be more appropriate in schools on Pohnpei. Such an approach to education would effectively teach English while simultaneously valuing the linguistic abilities of the students. It would also much more effectively prepare students to navigate the complexities of being pluri/bilinguals and would not perpetuate harmful monoglossic English ideologies that have negative effects both on the students and the linguistic future of local languages including Pohnpeian. The ideological divide among the participants of this study shows that the Pohnpeian language and other local languages are currently still be passed on to new generations. However, the domains in which local languages are being used appears to be decreasing, while the number of domains for English is increasing. It is uncertain if the balance of language use is stable or if local language use will continue to decrease. Greater institutional support for local languages, including Pohnpeian, Pingelapese, Mwokilese, Mortlockese, Ngatikese, Kapingamarangi, and Nukuoran, especially in both private and public schools, will help the linguistic future of these languages.

8.3 Contributions of the study

This dissertation provides several contributions to the study of language attitudes, as well as the field of linguistics in general. The first major contribution is the dissertation's new combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative methods used in this dissertation are borrowed from other social sciences, such as political science and sociology, and can be immensely useful for language attitudes research and similar linguistic studies. The use of poststratification to create survey weights for questions was helpful to generate more generalizable results. Often in linguistic research having a sample of participants that represents the demographics of the general population is often forgotten. In larger scale projects, such as language attitudes, it is critical to have as representative a sample as possible in order to have a good sample of the diversity that exists in a given popula-

tion. The use of poststratification provides both a guideline for finding participants, as well as a means of correcting for sample bias. Using these poststratification weights in hierarchical regression modeling helps balance out the responses so that data more closely resemble the general population. Weighted hierarchical regression modeling, while useful in finding patterns based on pre-determined demographic group, can miss important patterns in the data. This dissertation uses multidimensional scaling and partitioning around medoids (PAM) clustering to find attitudinal patterns among the participants without regard to any pre-imposed structure. Using this type of cluster analysis allows patterns to emerge from the data that can transverse demographic groups, which regression modeling would miss. The PAM clustering in this dissertation found two different ideological groups that regression modeling did not observe. Clustering analysis is a potentially powerful explanatory and exploratory tool for finding emergent data patterns that can be very useful in other linguistic research, especially those that use categorical data. Likewise, the correspondence analysis (CA) displayed how the questions in a given series of the questionnaires related to each other based on their answers. The CA helped visualize similarities and differences among both the questions and answers. This was especially useful for the language use questions to see how the language answers and the domain questions patterned together. Without the CA, it would have been challenging to find those patterns among the data. Using a CA would be beneficial for other linguistic research that involves categorical data, especially survey analyses. CA and cluster analysis, because of their abilities to find emergent patterns in data, show how quantitative methods can also be successfully applied to poststructuralist research frameworks.

Using sociolinguistic scale to interpret the quantitative and qualitative language attitudes data was very insightful. Prior to using a scale-based analysis, the data appeared to be somewhat disjointed and there was little that seems to connect them together. Using sociolinguistic scale, as theorized by [Swyngedouw \(1996\)](#), [Uitermark \(2002\)](#), [Blommaert \(2007, 2015\)](#), [Blommaert et al. \(2015\)](#), [Collins & Slembrouck \(2009\)](#), [Collins \(2012\)](#), and [Canagarajah & De Costa \(2016\)](#), helped provide a connection between language attitudes and geographically-situated institutions and their ideologies. The previous disjointed language use patterns and attitudes around them became clear when they often correlated with institutions at different levels of scale. For example, the respondents acted differently around family than they did at school or at work, which have different institutions at play. Likewise, even within a certain domain, there can be differently scaled institutions that are invoked, such as using English while writing a work-related document vs. using Meing to speak with your high-titled boss during lunch. Using scale to research language attitudes shows how the attitudes can vary in any given situation based on the level of scale of the institutions being invoked and negotiated. Using sociolinguistic scale to understand language attitudes and language use pressures would also be

very useful for understanding language endangerment and shift. Such discussions, though, seem to be largely lacking in the literature about language endangerment (cf. Grenoble & Whaley (1998), Nettle & Romaine (2000), Crystal (2000), Mühlhäusler (2002), Miyaoka et al. (2007), Campbell & Belew (2018)).

In terms of its results, this dissertation is the first language attitudes study in Pohnpei and the FSM. It is also one of the few that exist in Oceania. It is also one of few language attitudes studies that make use of both multiple quantitative and qualitative analyses that complement one another, instead of being mere separate analyses. Likewise, it is one of the few language attitudes studies that come close to having a representative sample of its research community and well as a large (for research studies) percentage of the population.¹

8.4 Directions for future work

This dissertation has provided important findings about the language attitudes of residents on Pohnpei. Since it is the first of its kind in the FSM, the next logical step would be to conduct similar projects in each of the other states of the FSM and neighboring countries. On Pohnpei, it would be helpful to have a follow-up study that focuses more on attitudes by and toward neighbor island and immigrants communities on the island that overtly examines the potential social and ethnic hierarchies among the communities on the island, as well as a study with monolingual Pohnpeian speakers. It would also be important to follow up the study done in this dissertation in the future to track how attitudes change over time as well as a study about how salient the two ideological groups found in this dissertation are among the general population and what attitudes may exist about the two groups. Also given the increasing amount of migration to the U.S. by FSM citizens, it would be meaningful to carry out studies on the attitudes of residents of those immigrant communities to see how they compare to those in similar communities in the FSM.

¹This excludes some language attitudes studies that have a very small research community, such as a single school or classroom.

Appendices

Appendix A

Interview transcription system

Symbol	Meaning
(.)	untimed pause
-	orthographic word break (line final) or truncated word
#	uncertain word or syllable
@	any amount of laughter
,	added for clarity of transcription, non-systematic use
.	end of utterance (non-question)
?	end of question utterance

Appendix B. Survey instrument one

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

This questionnaire is automatically read by a computer program. Please use a pen for filling in your answers.

Check: ☒

You can check any number of boxes in selection questions.

Uncheck to correct: ☐

For questions with a range (1–5) choose the answer the mark that fits best.

Please take your time in answering these questions. If you have any questions, please ask. There are no right or wrong answers.

1 Personal Information

1.1 What is your age?

- ☐ 18–24
- ☐ 25–34
- ☐ 35–44
- ☐ 45–54
- ☐ 55–64
- ☐ 65–74
- ☐ 75 years or older

1.2 Sex

- ☐ Female ☐ Male

1.3 Where were you born?

- ☐ Pohnpei State
- ☐ Chuuk State
- ☐ Kosrae State
- ☐ Yap State
- ☐ RMI
- ☐ Palau
- ☐ Guam
- ☐ CNMI
- ☐ Hawai'i
- ☐ US Mainland
- ☐ Other

1.4 Which island are you from?

1.5 Which village are you from?



NONE

1.6 What is your citizenship?

- ☐ FSM
- ☐ RMI
- ☐ Palau
- ☐ USA
- ☐ Other

1.7 Which municipality in Pohnpei do you live in now?

- ☐ Nett
- ☐ Uh
- ☐ Sokehs
- ☐ Madolenihmw
- ☐ Kittu

1.8 Which village do you live in now?

1.9 How long have you lived in the FSM?

- ☐ 0–4 years
- ☐ 5–9 years
- ☐ 10–19 years
- ☐ 20–29 years
- ☐ 30–39 years
- ☐ 40 or more years

1.10 How long have you lived in Pohnpei State?

- ☐ 0–4 years
- ☐ 5–9 years
- ☐ 10–19 years
- ☐ 20–29 years
- ☐ 30–39 years
- ☐ 40 or more years



1137143689 0001

Appendix B. Survey instrument one

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

1.11 How long have you lived in your current place?

- ☐ 0–4 years
- ☐ 5–9 years
- ☐ 10–19 years
- ☐ 20–29 years
- ☐ 30–39 years
- ☐ 40 or more years

1.12 Have you ever travelled abroad?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

1.13 If you travelled abroad, where did you go and for how long?

1.17 How many children do you have?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7
- ☐ 8 or more

1.18 What is your occupation/job?

1.19 What is/was your mother's occupation/job?

1.14 What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? If currently enrolled, highest degree received.

- ☐ No schooling completed
- ☐ Kindergarten–8th grade
- ☐ Some high school, no diploma
- ☐ High school, diploma or GED
- ☐ Some college, no degree
- ☐ Trade/Technical/vocational training
- ☐ Associate degree
- ☐ Bachelor's degree
- ☐ Master's degree
- ☐ Professional degree (JD, MD, etc.)
- ☐ Doctorate degree

1.15 Which type of Elementary School did you attend?

- ☐ Public school
- ☐ Private school

1.16 Which type of High School did you attend?

- ☐ Public school
- ☐ Private school



NONE

1.20 What is/was your father's occupation/job?

1.21 Which island and village is your mother from?

1.22 Which island and village is your father from?



1137143689 0002

Appendix B. Survey instrument one

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

2 Language Background

2.1 What is your first language (mother tongue)?

2.2 What other languages do you speak well?

2.3 How well can you speak *meing*?

- ☐ Not at all
☐ Somewhat well
☐ Well
☐ Very well

2.4 What other languages do you speak a little?

2.5 What languages does/did your mother speak?

2.6 What languages does/did your father speak?

2.7 Do you want to know any languages better?

2.8 What languages do you want your children to know?

2.9 In kindergarten–8 grade, what languages did your teachers use in class?

2.10 In high school, what languages did your teachers use in class?

2.11 In college, what languages did your teachers use in class?

2.12 When you talk to your family what languages do you use?

2.13 When you talk to your friends what languages do you use?

2.14 When you talk to foreigners what languages do you use?

2.15 At work, what languages do you use?

2.16 At school, what languages do you use?

2.17 At home, what languages do you use?



NONE



1137143689 0003

Appendix B. Survey instrument one

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3 Language attitudes

3.1 In your opinion which language (pick only one (1)) is most important for ...

	Pohnpeian	Pingelapese	Mokilese	Chuukese	English	Kosraean	Mortlockese	Other
making friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
being successful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
getting a good education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
feeling happy in your relationships	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
getting money	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
reading	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
writing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
listening to the radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
watching TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
being accepted in Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
talking with teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.2 In your opinion which language (pick only one (1)) is most important for ...

	Pohnpeian	Pingelapese	Mokilese	Chuukese	English	Kosraean	Mortlockese	Other
talking with people in the villages of Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
attending funerals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
attending a <i>ka-madipw</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
drinking <i>sakau en Pohnpei</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
using Facebook	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
talking with people in Kolonia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
talking with a <i>Kaunen Kousapw</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



NONE



1137143689 0004

Appendix B. Survey instrument one

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.3 In your opinion which language (pick only one (1)) is most important for . . .

	Pohnpeian	Pingelapese	Mokilese	Chuukese	English	Kosraean	Mortlockese	Other
talking with government officials	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
getting a good job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
talking with friends from school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
going to church	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
going to the store	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
talking with your neighbors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
speaking with relatives who live in the US	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



NONE



1137143689 0005

Appendix B. Survey instrument one

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.4 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Agree	Disagree
It is important to know a local language.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is more important to know English than local languages.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People who know English are smarter.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English and Pohnpeian languages are very different.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People have to learn Pohnpeian before learning English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is more important to know Pohnpeian than English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Knowing Pohnpeian can help people get jobs in Pohnpei.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Knowing Pohnpeian can help people get jobs abroad.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Knowing English can help people get jobs in Pohnpei.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Knowing English can help people get jobs abroad.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Knowing many languages is easy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Knowing many languages is important.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Knowing only one language makes life difficult.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is more important to know English than Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel sad for people in Pohnpei who don't know Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel sad for people in Pohnpei who don't know English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel sad for Pohnpeians who live abroad who don't know Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I feel sad for Pohnpeians who live abroad who don't know English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Youths don't know how to speak Pohnpeian properly.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Youths don't know how to speak English properly.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All Micronesians need to know English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All Pohnpeians need to know English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Everyone who lives in Kolonia needs to know English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English, Pohnpeian, and other Micronesian languages can live together in Pohnpei.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pohnpeian is really unfashionable.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English is more valuable than Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Micronesian young people like to speak English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Older Micronesians like to speak English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Foreigners in Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pohnpeian young people like to speak Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Older Pohnpeians like to speak Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pohnpeian is important for Pohnpei.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Pohnpeian language is simpler than English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I had to choose only one language to speak, I would choose Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If I had to choose only one language to speak, I would choose English.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have positive feelings about Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In order to be Pohnpeian, they have to speak Pohnpeian.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pohnpeians who can't speak Pohnpeian are not really Pohnpeian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



NONE



1137143689 0006

Appendix B. Survey instrument one

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.5 Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: People who can speak Pohnpeian are

	Really disagree	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Really agree
quiet.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
stupid.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
loud.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kind-hearted.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
feminine.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bad-tempered.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
masculine.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
honest.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
modern.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
attractive.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
successful.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
peaceful.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
violent.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
young.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
old.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
rich.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
pretentious.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
proud.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
respectful.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
wise.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
patriotic.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
cultured.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
show-offs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
humble.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
generous.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
uneducated.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.6 Choose 5 words to describe the Pohnpeian language.

--

3.7 Choose 5 words to describe the English language.

--



NONE



1137143689 0007

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

This questionnaire is automatically read by a computer program. Please use a pen for filling in your answers.

Check: ☒

You can check any number of boxes in selection questions.

Uncheck to correct: ☐

For questions with a range (1–5) choose the answer the mark that fits best.

Menlau ahnki ansou mwahu oh sapeng kalehlapak kat. Mah mie sapwelmomwi kalehlapak de mehkot komw sto wehweki komw menlau kahlelapak. Sohte pasapeng pwung de sapwung. Mah komw pahn sapeng peidek kat, menlau patohwandi kilel en wad nan koakon pali koaiek. Mah komw sapwungala, komw menlau koaloarihla koakon sapwung o o komwi eri patohwandi kilel en wad nan koakon pwung o.

1 Ia mwomwen Komwi

1.1 Komw sounpar depe?

- ☐ 18–24
☐ 25–34
☐ 35–44
☐ 45–54
☐ 55–64
☐ 65–74
☐ Sounpar 75 kohda

1.2 Komwi dah men?

- ☐ Lih ☐ Ohl

1.3 Iawasa ipwidi ie?

- ☐ Pohnpei
☐ Ruk
☐ Kusai
☐ Iap
☐ Mwahsel
☐ Palau
☐ Kuam
☐ Seipahn
☐ Awai
☐ Amerika (mainland)
☐ Wasa teikan

1.4 Komwi sang menia sapw?

1.5 Menia kousapw komw sang ie?

1.6 Menia wehi komw sang ie? (citizenship)

- ☐ FSM
☐ Mwahsel
☐ Palau
☐ Amerika
☐ Wasa teikan

1.7 Menia wehi nan Pohnpei me komw ketketie nan rahnpwukat?

- ☐ Nett
☐ Uh
☐ Sokehs
☐ Madolenihmw
☐ Kitti

1.8 Menia kousapw me komw ketketie nan rahnpwukat?

1.9 Ia uwen reirei en omwi ketket nan FSM?

- ☐ Sounpar 0 lel 4 (0–4)
☐ Sounpar 5 lel 9 (5–9)
☐ Sounpar 10 lel 19 (10–19)
☐ Sounpar 20 lel 29 (20–29)
☐ Sounpar 30 lel 39 (30–39)
☐ Sounpar 40 kohda (40+)

1.10 Ia uwen werein omwi ketket nan Pohnpei?

- ☐ Sounpar 0 lel 4 (0–4)
☐ Sounpar 5 lel 9 (5–9)
☐ Sounpar 10 lel 19 (10–19)
☐ Sounpar 20 lel 29 (20–29)
☐ Sounpar 30 lel 39 (30–39)
☐ Sounpar 40 kohda (40+)

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

1.11 Ia uwen werein omwi ketket wasa me komw ketketie met?

- ☐ Sounpar 0 lel 4 (0–4)
- ☐ Sounpar 5 lel 9 (5–9)
- ☐ Sounpar 10 lel 19 (10–19)
- ☐ Sounpar 20 lel 29 (20–29)
- ☐ Sounpar 30 lel 39 (30–39)
- ☐ Sounpar 40 kohda (40+)

1.12 Komw ianger seiloak?

- ☐ Ei
- ☐ Soh

1.13 Ma komw seiloak ier, iawasa oh ia uwen werei?

1.14 Ia uwen laud en omwi sukuhl me komw lel? Ma komw ketket te nan sukuhl ia uwen laud me komw kanekehlar?

- ☐ Sohte sukuhl kaneknekla
- ☐ Pwihn kaiahn lel kawalu (K-5–8)
- ☐ Ekis sukuhl laud, sohte alehdi kisin likou
- ☐ Kisin likou en sukuhl laud de GED
- ☐ Ekis koalet, sohte alehdi kisin likou
- ☐ Trade/Technical/vocational training
- ☐ Associate degree
- ☐ Bachelor's degree
- ☐ Master's degree
- ☐ Professional degree (JD, MD, etc.)
- ☐ Doctorate degree (PhD, EdD, etc.)

1.15 Soangen elemenderi dah me komw iang?

- ☐ Sukuhl me sohte pweipwei (Poaplik)
- ☐ Sukuhl me pweipwei (Praipet)
- ☐ Koaros

1.16 Soangen sukuhl laud dah me?

- ☐ Sukuhl me sohte pweipwei (Poaplik)
- ☐ Sukuhl me pweipwei (Praipet)
- ☐ Koaros



NONE

1.17 Soangen pwukoah doadoahk dah komw kin wia?

1.18 Soangen pwukoah doadoahk dah omw tungoal nohno kin wia?

1.19 Soangen pwukoah doadoahk dah omw tungoal pahpa kin wia?

1.20 Omwi tungoal nohno sang menia sapw oh kousapw?

1.21 Omwi tungoal pahpa sang menia sapw oh kousapw?



3489615044 0002

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

2 Ia mwomwen Omwi Lokaia

2.1 Ia tehpín omwi lokaia?

2.2 Iahnge kan mahsen kan me komw patowan?

2.3 Ia uwen me komw kak pato meing?

- ☐ Sohte douluhl
☐ Ekis te ese
☐ Ese
☐ Uhdahn ese

2.4 Iahnge kan mahsen kan me komw kak patowan ekis?

2.5 Mahsen en ia me omw tungoal nohno kin patowan?

2.6 Mahsen en ia me omw tungoal pahpa kin patowan?

2.7 Menia mahsen me komw men esehla ma mie?

2.8 Menia mahsen me komw kupwurki sapwelomomwi seri kan en patowan?

2.9 Sang pwihn kaiahn lel pwihn kawalu, menia mahsen me omwi sounpadahk kin doadoangki nan perehn sukuhl?

2.10 Nan sukuhl laud, menia mahsen me omwi sounpadahk kin doadoahngki nan perehn sukuhl?

2.11 Nan koalet, menia mahsen me omwi sounpadahk kin doadoahngki nan perehn sukuhl?

2.12 Ma komw kin patoieng omwi penenei, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.13 Ma komw kin patoieng kempoakepahmwi, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.14 Ma komw kin patoieng aramas en liki, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.15 Wasahn doadoahk, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.16 Wasahn sukuhl, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.17 Ni tehnpas, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3 Pepehm en Mahsen

3.1 Nan omwi pepehm, menia mahsen (pilada ehu te) me keiou kesempwal ong ____

	Mahsen en Pohnpei	Pingelap	Mwoakil	Ruk	Wai	Kusai	Mwotlok	Ekei mahsen
Wiwiada	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kempoakepahmwi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kin pweida	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alehdi sukuhl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
mwahu								
Kin peren nan								
pwungen konwi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
oh ekei								
Alialehdi mwohni	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wie wadawad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wie intingting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koaroaronge redio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sasahkih (kiliki- lang) kasdo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wie alahllda nan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pohnpei								
Patpatoieng	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sounpadahk								



NONE



3489615044 0004

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey

Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.2 Nan omwi pepehm, menia mahsen (pilada ehu te) me keiou kesempwal ong _____

	Mahsen en Pohnpei	Pingelap	Mwoakil	Ruk	Wai	Kusai	Mwotlok	Ekei mahsen
Patpatoieng aramas nan kousapw	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kan nan Pohnpei								
Ketket ni mehla	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ketket ni	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kamadipw								
Koanoakoanoate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sakau en Pohnpei								
Wie doahdoahngki	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Facebook								
Patpatoieng aramas nan Kolonia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patpatoieng kaun en kousapw	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey

Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.3 Nan omwi pepehm, menia mahsen (pilada ehu te) me keiou kesempwal ong _____

	Mahsen en Pohnpei	Pingelap	Mwoakil	Ruk	Wai	Kusai	Mwotlok	Ekei mahsen
Patpatoeng tohn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
doadoahk en ohpis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alehdi doadoahk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
mwaku	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patpatoeng kem-	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poakepahmw kan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sang sukuhl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ketla ihmwi sarawi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ketla ni sidohwahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patpatoeng mehn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
mpe kan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patpatoeng	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
peneinei me mih	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
nan sapw en	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Amerika	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



NONE



3489615044 0006

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.4 Pwungki de sapwungki lokaia kan?

	Pwungki	Sapwungki
Kesempwal ken mwangih pein ahmw lokaia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kesempwal ken mwangih mahsen en Wai sang pein ahmw lokaia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aramas akan me mwangih lokaiahn Wai loalokong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en Wai oh mahsen en Pohnpei uhdahn wekpeseng	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aramas uhdahn anahne esehla lokaiahn Pohnpei mwohn lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kesempwal ken ese lokaiahn Pohnpei sang lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Esehla lokaiahn Pohnpei pahn sauwas alehdi doadoahk nan Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Esehla lokaiahn Pohnpei pahn sauwas alehdi doadoahk liki	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Esehla lokaiahn Wai pahn sauwas alehdi doadoahk nan Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Esehla lokaiahn Wai pahn sauwas alehdi doadoahk liki	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwangih mahsen tohtoh mengi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwangih mahsen tohtoh kesempwal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwangih mahsen ehu te wiada mour apwal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uhdahn kesempwal ken mwangih lokaiahn Wai sang lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I kin pahtoukihla aramas akan nan Pohnpei me sohte patowan lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I kin pahtoukihla aramas akan nan Pohnpei me sohte patowan lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I kin pahtoukihla irail mehn Pohnpei me mihmi liki me sohte patowan lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I kin pahtoukihla irail mehn Pohnpei me mihmi liki me sohte patowan lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aramas pwulopwul kan sohte patowan lokaiahn Pohnpei mwahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aramas pwulopwul kan sohte patowan lokaiahn Wai mwahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Micronesia koaros anahne patowan lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Pohnpei koaros anahne patowan lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koaros me patpato nan Kolonia anahne ese lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en Wai, Pohnpei, oh mahsen teikan nan Micronesia kak kousonpene nan Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lokaiahn Pohnpei ong men kawahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lokaiahn Wai kesempwalsang lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Micronesia me pwulopwul kan mwahuki lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Micronesia me mah kan mwahuki lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn liki kan me mih Pohnpei anahne ese lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pwihn pwulopwul en Pohnpei mwahuki lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Pohnpei me mah kan mwahuki lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en Pohnpei kesempwal eng Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en Pohnpei mengisang mahsen en Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma i pahn pilada ehu mahsen me i pahn lokaiki, i pahn pilada mahsen en Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma i pahn pilada ehu mahsen me i pahn lokaiki, i pahn pilada mahsen en Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I ahnki pepehm kehlail me pidada mahsen en Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ni mwomwen mehn Pohnpei men, irail anahne lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Pohnpei kan me sohte kak lokaiahn Pohnpei kaidehn uhdahn mehn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.5 Pwungki de sapwungki lokaia kan?

Ni ahmw pahn wia mehn Micronesia ke anahne ese mahsen en Micronesia
Ni ahmw pahn wia mehn Micronesia ke anahne ese mahsen en Wai
Aramas ekei me ese mahsen en Pohnpei loalokong
Mahsen en wai mengeisang mahsen en Pohnpei
Mahsen en Pohnpei karkarahsang mahsen en Wai
Koaros me kouson nan Kitti anahne ese mahsen en Wai
Koaros me kouson nan Kolonia anahne ese mahsen en Pohnpei
Koaros me kouson nan Kitti anahne ese mahsen en Pohnpei
I mwahuki nei seri kan en lokaiahn Pohnpei
I mwahuki nei seri kan en lokaiahn Wai
Eh kesempwal ong ie ien ese Meing
I mwahuki nei seri kan en eschla Meing
Koaros mehn Micronesia me patpato Pohnpei koneng lokaiahn Pohnpei
Sukuhl kan nan Pohnpei anahne kasukuhlki mahsen en Pohnpei
Mahsen en wai kesempwal ong Pohnpei

Pwungki Sapwungki

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



NONE



3489615044 0008

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.6 Menlau kasalehda omwi irair en utuht ong lepin lokaia pahnangi. Aramas akan me kak lokaiahn Pohnpei me

	Uhdahn sapwungki	Ekis sapwungki	Ekis pwungki	Uhdahn pwungki
Meleilei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sahliei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kat airong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loalamwahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwomwen lih	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwomwsuwed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwomwen ohl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loaloapoat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwomw kapw	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koanohrok	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pweida	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Onepek	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kouwiawi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pwulopwul	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Semwemwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mah	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kopwepwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kala	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kalaki	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eripit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Oaktuwahu ki omw wei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehlei eng tiahk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pohn mwahso	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aktikitik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kadek	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sohte sukuhl kaneknekla	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loalekeng	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kersuwed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaiahnda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix C. Survey instrument two, version A

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.7 Pilada lepin lokaia limau me pahn kasalehda mahsen en Pohnpei.

3.8 Pilada lepin lokaia limau me pahn kasalehda mahsen en Wai.



NONE



3489615044 0010

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

This questionnaire is automatically read by a computer program. Please use a pen for filling in your answers.

Check: ☒ You can check any number of boxes in selection questions.

Uncheck to correct: ☐ For questions with a range (1–5) choose the answer the mark that fits best.

Menlau ahnki ansou mwahu oh sapeng kalehlapak kat. Mah mie sapwelmomwi kalehlapak de mehkot komw sto wehweki komw menlau kahlelapak. Sohte pasapeng pwung de sapwung. Mah komw pahn sapeng peidek kat, menlau patohwandi kilel en wad nan koakon pali koaiek. Mah komw sapwungala, komw menlau koaloarihla koakon sapwung o o komwi eri patohwandi kilel en wad nan koakon pwung o.

1 Ia mwomwen Komwi

1.1 Komw sounpar depe?

- ☐ 18–24
☐ 25–34
☐ 35–44
☐ 45–54
☐ 55–64
☐ 65–74
☐ Sounpar 75 kohda

1.2 Komwi dah men?

- ☐ Lih ☐ Ohl

1.3 Iawasa ipwidi ie?

- ☐ Pohnpei
☐ Ruk
☐ Kusai
☐ Iap
☐ Mwahsel
☐ Palau
☐ Kuam
☐ Seipahn
☐ Awai
☐ Amerika (mainland)
☐ Wasa teikan

1.4 Komwi sang menia sapw?

1.5 Menia kousapw komw sang ie?

1.6 Menia wehi komw sang ie? (citizenship)

- ☐ FSM
☐ Mwahsel
☐ Palau
☐ Amerika
☐ Wasa teikan

1.7 Menia wehi nan Pohnpei me komw ketketie nan rahnpwukat?

- ☐ Nett
☐ Uh
☐ Sokehs
☐ Madolenihmw
☐ Kitti

1.8 Menia kousapw me komw ketketie nan rahnpwukat?

1.9 Ia uwen reirei en omwi ketket nan FSM?

- ☐ Sounpar 0 lel 4 (0–4)
☐ Sounpar 5 lel 9 (5–9)
☐ Sounpar 10 lel 19 (10–19)
☐ Sounpar 20 lel 29 (20–29)
☐ Sounpar 30 lel 39 (30–39)
☐ Sounpar 40 kohda (40+)

1.10 Ia uwen werein omwi ketket nan Pohnpei?

- ☐ Sounpar 0 lel 4 (0–4)
☐ Sounpar 5 lel 9 (5–9)
☐ Sounpar 10 lel 19 (10–19)
☐ Sounpar 20 lel 29 (20–29)
☐ Sounpar 30 lel 39 (30–39)
☐ Sounpar 40 kohda (40+)

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)

Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

1.11 Ia uwen werein omwi ketket wasa me komw ketketie met?

- ☐ Sounpar 0 lel 4 (0–4)
- ☐ Sounpar 5 lel 9 (5–9)
- ☐ Sounpar 10 lel 19 (10–19)
- ☐ Sounpar 20 lel 29 (20–29)
- ☐ Sounpar 30 lel 39 (30–39)
- ☐ Sounpar 40 kohda (40+)

1.12 Komw ianger seiloak?

- ☐ Ei
- ☐ Soh

1.13 Ma komw seiloak ier, iawasa oh ia uwen werei?

1.14 Ia uwen laud en omwi sukuhl me komw lel? Ma komw ketket te nan sukuhl ia uwen laud me komw kanekehlar?

- ☐ Sohte sukuhl kaneknekla
- ☐ Pwihn kaiahn lel kawalu (K-5–8)
- ☐ Ekis sukuhl laud, sohte alehdi kisin likou
- ☐ Kisin likou en sukuhl laud de GED
- ☐ Ekis koalet, sohte alehdi kisin likou
- ☐ Trade/Technical/vocational training
- ☐ Associate degree
- ☐ Bachelor's degree
- ☐ Master's degree
- ☐ Professional degree (JD, MD, etc.)
- ☐ Doctorate degree (PhD, EdD, etc.)

1.15 Soangen elemenderi dah me komw iang?

- ☐ Sukuhl me sohte pweipwei (Poaplik)
- ☐ Sukuhl me pweipwei (Praipet)
- ☐ Koaros

1.16 Soangen sukuhl laud dah me?

- ☐ Sukuhl me sohte pweipwei (Poaplik)
- ☐ Sukuhl me pweipwei (Praipet)
- ☐ Koaros



NONE

1.17 Soangen pwukoah doadoahk dah komw kin wia?

1.18 Soangen pwukoah doadoahk dah omw tungoal nohno kin wia?

1.19 Soangen pwukoah doadoahk dah omw tungoal pahpa kin wia?

1.20 Omwi tungoal nohno sang menia sapw oh kousapw?

1.21 Omwi tungoal pahpa sang menia sapw oh kousapw?



964757300 0002

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

2 Ia mwomwen Omwi Lokaia

2.1 Ia tehpín omwi lokaia?

2.2 Iahnge kan mahsen kan me komw patowan?

2.3 Ia uwen me komw kak pato meing?

- ☐ Sohte douluhl
☐ Ekis te ese
☐ Ese
☐ Uhdahn ese

2.4 Iahnge kan mahsen kan me komw kak patowan ekis?

2.5 Mahsen en ia me omw tungoal nohno kin patowan?

2.6 Mahsen en ia me omw tungoal pahpa kin patowan?

2.7 Menia mahsen me komw men esehla ma mie?

2.8 Menia mahsen me komw kupwurki sapwelomomwi seri kan en patowan?

2.9 Sang pwihn kaiahn lel pwihn kawalu, menia mahsen me omwi sounpadahk kin doadoangki nan perehn sukuhl?

2.10 Nan sukuhl laud, menia mahsen me omwi sounpadahk kin doadoahngki nan perehn sukuhl?

2.11 Nan koalet, menia mahsen me omwi sounpadahk kin doadoahngki nan perehn sukuhl?

2.12 Ma komw kin patoieng omwi peninei, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.13 Ma komw kin patoieng kempoakepahmwi, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.14 Ma komw kin patoieng aramas en liki, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.15 Wasahn doadoahk, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.16 Wasahn sukuhl, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

2.17 Ni tehnpas, menia mahsen komw kin doadoahngki?

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3 Pepehm en Mahsen

3.1 Nan omwi pepehm, menia mahsen (pilada ehu te) me keiou kesempwal ong ____

	Mahsen en Pohnpei	Pingelap	Mwoakil	Ruk	Wai	Kusai	Mwotlok	Ekei mahsen
Wiwiada	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kempoakepahmwi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kin pweida	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alehdi sukuhl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
mwahu								
Kin peren nan								
pwungen komwi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
oh ekei								
Patpatoieng	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sounpadahk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wie alahlda nan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pohnpei								
Sasahkih (kiliki- lang) kasdo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koaroaronge redio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wie intingting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wie wadawad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alialehdi mwohni	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



NONE



964757300 0004

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)

Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.2 Nan omwi pepehm, menia mahsen (pilada ehu te) me kejou kesempwal ong _____

	Mahsen en Pohnpei	Pingelap	Mwoakil	Ruk	Wai	Kusai	Mwotlok	Ekei mahsen
Patpatoiang kaun en kousapw	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patpatoiang aramas nan Kolonia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wie doahdoahngki Facebook	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koanoakoanoate sakau en Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ketket ni kamadipw	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ketket ni mehla	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patpatoiang aramas nan kousapw kan nan Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)

Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.3 Nan omwi pepehm, menia mahsen (pilada ehu te) me kejou kesempwal ong _____

	Mahsen en Pohnpei	Pingelap	Mwoakil	Ruk	Wai	Kusai	Mwotlok	Ekei mahsen
Patpatoieng mehn mpe kan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patpatoieng peneinei me mih nan sapw en Amerika	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ketla ni sidohwahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ketla ihm w sarawi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patpatoieng kem-poakepahmw kan sang sukuhl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alehdi doadoahk mwaku	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patpatoieng tohn doadoahk en ohpis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



NONE



964757300 0006

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)

Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.4 Pwungki de sapwungki lokaia kan?

	Pwungki	Sapwungki
Mehn liki kan me mih Pohnpei anahne ese lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pwihn pwulopwul en Pohnpei mwahuki lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Pohnpei me mah kan mwahuki lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en Pohnpei kesempwal eng Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en Pohnpei mengineisang mahsen en Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma i pahn pilada ehu mahsen me i pahn lokaiki, i pahn pilada mahsen en Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma i pahn pilada ehu mahsen me i pahn lokaiki, i pahn pilada mahsen en Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I ahnki pepehm kehlail me pidada mahsen en Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ni mwomwen mehn Pohnpei men, irail anahne lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Pohnpei kan me sohte kak lokaiahn Pohnpei kaidehn uhdahn mehn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Micronesia me mah kan mwahuki lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwangih mahsen tohtoh kesempwal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kesempwal ken mwangih pein ahmw lokaia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aramas pwulopwul kan sohte patowan lokaiahn Pohnpei mwahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Micronesia koaros anahne patowan lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Pohnpei koaros anahne patowan lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koaros me patpato nan Kolonia anahne ese lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en Wai, Pohnpei, oh mahsen teikan nan Micronesia kak kousonpene nan Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aramas akan me mwangih lokaiahn Wai loalokong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en Wai oh mahsen en Pohnpei uhdahn wekpeseng	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aramas uhdahn anahne esehla lokaiahn Pohnpei mwohn lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kesempwal ken ese lokaiahn Pohnpei sang lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Esehla lokaiahn Pohnpei pahn sauwas alehdi doadoahk nan Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Esehla lokaiahn Pohnpei pahn sauwas alehdi doadoahk liki	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Esehla lokaiahn Wai pahn sauwas alehdi doadoahk nan Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Esehla lokaiahn Wai pahn sauwas alehdi doadoahk liki	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kesempwal ken mwangih mahsen en Wai sang pein ahmw lokaia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehn Micronesia me pwulopwul kan mwahuki lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lokaiahn Wai kesempwalsang lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lokaiahn Pohnpei ong men kawahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aramas pwulopwul kan sohte patowan lokaiahn Wai mwahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I kin pahtoukihla irail mehn Pohnpei me mihmi liki me sohte patowan lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I kin pahtoukihla irail mehn Pohnpei me mihmi liki me sohte patowan lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I kin pahtoukihla aramas akan nan Pohnpei me sohte patowan lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I kin pahtoukihla aramas akan nan Pohnpei me sohte patowan lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwangih mahsen tohtoh mengei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwangih mahsen ehu te wiada mour apwal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uhdahn kesempwal ken mwangih lokaiahn Wai sang lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)
Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.5 Pwungki de sapwungki lokaia kan?

	Pwungki	Sapwungki
Mahsen en wai kesempwal ong Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sukuhl kan nan Pohnpei anahne kasukuhlki mahsen en Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koaros mehn Micronesia me patpato Pohnpei koneng lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I mwahuki nei seri kan en esehla Meing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I mwahuki nei seri kan en lokaiahn Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eh kesempwal ong ie ien ese Meing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I mwahuki nei seri kan en lokaiahn Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koaros me kouson nan Kitti anahne ese mahsen en Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koaros me kouson nan Kolonia anahne ese mahsen en Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koaros me kouson nan Kitti anahne ese mahsen en Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en Pohnpei karkarahsang mahsen en Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mahsen en wai mengeisang mahsen en Pohnpei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aramas ekei me ese mahsen en Pohnpei loalokong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ni ahmw pahn wia mehn Micronesia ke anahne ese mahsen en Wai	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ni ahmw pahn wia mehn Micronesia ke anahne ese mahsen en Micronesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



NONE



964757300 0008

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)

Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.6 Menlau kasalehda omwi irair en utuht ong lepin lokaia pahnangi. Aramas akan me kak lokaiahn Pohnpei me

	Uhdahn sapwungki	Ekis sapwungki	Ekis pwungki	Uhdahn pwungki
Kaiahnda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kersuwed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loalekeng	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Soht e sukuhl kaneknekla	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kadek	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aktikitik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pohn mwahso	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mehlel eng tiahk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Oaktuwahu ki omw wei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eripit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kalaki	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kala	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kopwepwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Semwemwe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mah	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pwulopwul	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Onepek	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kouwiawi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pweida	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Koanohrok	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwomw kapw	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loaloapoat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwomwen ohl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwomwsuwed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mwomwen lih	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loalamwahu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kat airong	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sahllel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Meleilei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix D. Survey instrument two, version B

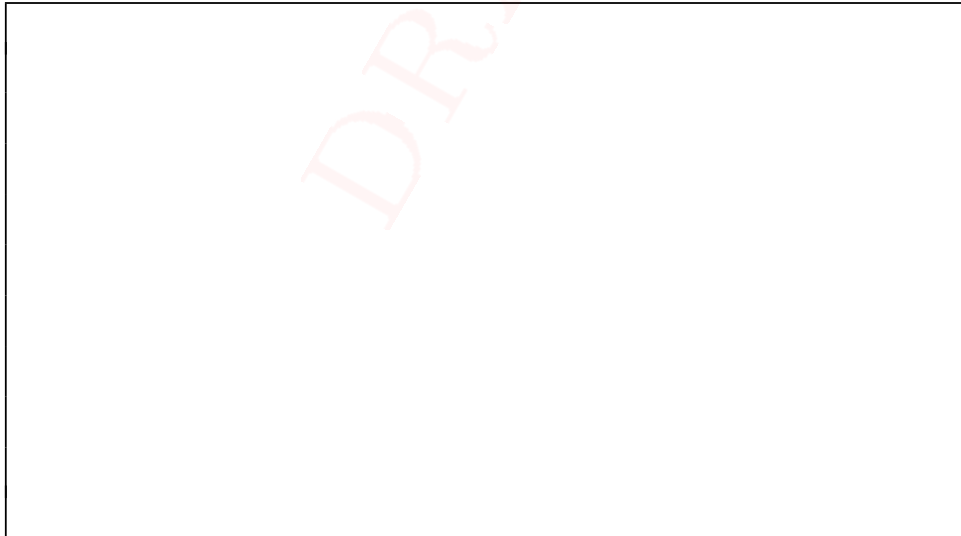
Pohnpeian Language Attitude Survey (version 2)

Bradley Rentz, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

3.7 Pilada lepin lokaia limau me pahn kasalehda mahsen en Pohnpei.



3.8 Pilada lepin lokaia limau me pahn kasalehda mahsen en Wai.



Appendix E. Interview with DE transcript

[BR1-21]

- 1 Brad: Alright, great. Um, so, today is August 2nd 2016. The time is 9:54 AM. So, I just have, uh, a couple personal questions, if that's okay with you.
- 2 DE: Okay.
- 3 Brad: Um- Which, uh, village did you grow up in?
- 4 DE: Yeah, I, I grew up in (.). The name of the village is Tamworoaloang in Kittu.
- 5 Brad: Mmm. Okay.
- 6 DE: Yeah, so, the village name is Tamworoaloang.
- 7 Brad: Okay. Uh, how long did you live there?
- 8 DE: Well, uh, since I was born I, I, I lived there. And then, uh, I grew up, went to school. Then in 1977, I went out to, to high school for four years, then I came back, and stayed there ever since.
- 9 Brad: Oh, okay. Wow. Um, how old are you, if you don't mind?
- 10 DE: Now?
- 11 Brad: Yeah.
- 12 DE: I'm 54.
- 13 Brad: Okay. Um, where did you go to high school?
- 14 DE: Xavier High School-
- 15 Brad: Oh, okay.
- 16 DE: (.). in Chuuk.
- 17 Brad: Oh, okay. Nice. Um, have you ever traveled outside of the FSM before?

18 DE: Uh, yes, uh, I, first I went to the Marshalls through Natural.
And then uh, after that I- I went to Guam. Then just recently
last year I was in the Philippines for six months-

19 Brad: Mmm. Okay.

20 DE: (.) for a training.

21 Brad: Mmm.

22 DE: So, like I've been to the Philippines, to Guam, and then to Ma-
juro, to Marshalls.

23 Brad: Mmm okay. Great. Um, So, when you were growing up, um,
what language did you speak at home with your family?

24 DE: Pohnpeian.

25 Brad: Um, and then at school, like elementary school?

26 DE: Elementary school at the same, at Pohnpeian. Um, we were
thinking like taking, uh, English, but not really. But like, what
do they call that? (.)

27 Brad: Mmm.

28 DE: And then when I went to high school, then that's when, uh,
we really-

29 Brad: Okay.

30 DE: Yeah.

31 Brad: And so at Xavier was it only English there, or-

32 DE: Yes, we were not supposed to speak our own languages. We
were not allowed. In fact, if, uh, they find speaking our
own language, then we, they give us, uh, they reprimand us
and today we take like, we work in the afternoon, and then
also, uh, take laps around the field if we speak our own lan-
guages. We were not allowed to speak, uh, so we're only En-
glish, Chuukese, we were, we were (.) it was like uh, we took
Chuukese for how many]. Our first year. We were supposed to
learn the Chuukese language. Then as part of the program we
go out into the communities and live with parents and you
know, these Chuukese people so we, we can learn the lan-
guage.

33 Brad: Okay. How well do you speak Chuukese now? Or c- do you
remember any of the Chuukese-

34 DE: Yeah some. Only some.

35 Brad: Some? Okay.

36 DE: Yeah. Only some.

37 Brad: So were you living in the dorms then at Xavier?

38 DE: Yes.

39 Brad: Or- but you also had a family that you-

40 DE: Yeah, yeah.

41 Brad: Okay.

42 DE: As part of our Chuukese program, language program-

43 Brad: Oh okay.

44 DE: We go out during weekends and live with the families, the
sponsors.

45 Brad: Okay, okay. Um, what did you think of the English-only at
Xavier part? Like when you were a student.

46 DE: Yeah, it was, it was uh, at least for us, it was good because we
wanted to learn the language. Especially grammar and also uh,
English literature. As part of the literature program we were
always writing essays and term papers, like this. So uh, it was,
you know (.) for somebody to survive and to learn something
at Xavier, we really need to speak English.

47 Brad: Hm.

48 DE: Mmm.

49 Brad: Okay. Um, and then when you came back, did you uh, go to
college anywhere?

50 DE: I was, I just attended the old, the former community college of
Micronesia.

51 Brad: Oh okay.

52 DE: Mmm.

53 Brad: Um, and what languages were used there?

54 DE: English also.

55 Brad: English, okay. Mmm.

56 DE: No, only, I had only two Pohnpeian teachers but the rest were
Americans, uh Indians-

57 Brad: Okay.

58 DE: Yeah.

59 Brad: Uh, did any of them speak Pohnpeian at all?

60 DE: No.

61 Brad: Okay, just English.

62 DE: Nah.

63 Brad: Okay. Um-

64 DE: Oh something, I sorry. One year, for one year at Xavier, at that
time we had this Japanese scholastic from, from Japan. So for
one year he taught us Japanese.

65 Brad: Oh okay.

66 DE: It was like uh, elective course for us. But uh, we (.) I, I took
Japanese but I, it was really hard for me to learn it, you know
that (.) but only the basic ones, at least for the grades. We did
it for, for the grades but not to learn. (laughs)

67 Brad: Okay got you. (laughs)

68 DE: Yeah.

69 Brad: Um, so do you know any other Micronesian languages? Be-
sides Pohnpeian and a little bit of Chuukese?

70 DE: Uh no.

71 Brad: Okay.

72 DE: Sure. (laughs)

73 Brad: It's okay. (laughs)

74 DE: Okay, they speak Pohnpeian. And then those that are already
grown, grown up they, they also speak English.

75 Brad: Mmm.

76 DE: And then Chuukese also, 'cause two of my, three of my kids
(.) one is living in Chuuk, then two they went to school uh-
one went to Xavier and then one went to this new college that
the bishop, the Caroline College and Pastoral Institute. It's a
college for the diocese uh run by Chaminade University.

77 Brad: Mm, okay.

78 DE: [crosstalk 00:07:44] so (.) so three of my kids they are just speak Chuukese.

79 Brad: Oh okay. Gotcha. Um, when you were, when they were little, um what languages did you want them to learn?

80 DE: Uh, only Pohnpeian.

81 Brad: Pohnpeian? Okay.

82 DE: Yeah.

83 Brad: Um, do you think it's um, or what, what is your view about uh, English here on the island? Do you think it's important for people to know? Not important? Um, a bad thing? A good thing?

84 DE: Yeah, yeah. Okay uh (.) it seems that in Pohnpei, or should I say in FSM, our uh, the only language that can connect us is English. Because Pohnpeian is different from Chuukese and Yapese and uh, Kosraean. So in order for us to communicate uh, we need to speak English, so that means English is our, what should I say (.) is it second or it's like, it's it's the language that uh make us (.) understand each other. So I would say that it is really important and it's a must that we learn English so that we can live together as a nation as the FSM government, in order for to understand each other and this we need to learn and speak English.

85 Brad: Mmm, okay. So it's good for um, talking to other people and joining together and-

86 DE: Yeah, yes.

87 Brad: Okay. Um, is Pohnpeian important or a good thing? Bad thing? For the island (.)

- 88 DE: Uh, it should be. It should be pohn- at least as a Pohnpeian, as a Pohnpeian I would say that it is, it's really important and I (.) I may be wrong but I think the younger generation, they're losing some of the languages sadly. Some of the Pohnpeian (.) some are mixing together English and Pohnpeian. It's like this uh, when, when, when they say, "Hey, turn on the lights." They speak Pohnpeian but they turn on the lights so (.) so it's uh, it's really important and I think we should do something about it. About the losing some of the important culture and this uh, this uh (.) especially language in Pohnpei.
- 89 Brad: Well what are somethings in specific that the young people are losing with Pohnpeian?
- 90 DE: Well, when they go out to school or to, to work, to work outside the FSM or Pohnpei and when they come back they (.) when they speak they, it seems that some of the, they, they completely forgot the language. Uh, or they're mixing the languages so (.) I would say that uh especially, maybe after 20 years we might not be speaking Pohnpeian anymore.
- 91 Brad: Okay. Um (.) how do you think you can change that? And if you could fix it, how would you fix it?
- 92 DE: Yeah. Uh (.) I, it's hard to (.) but I think, I personally think that the, the schools. The schools in Pohnpei specifically the elementary schools or the secondary schools they, they should incorporate something with the curriculum.
- 93 Brad: Mmm.
- 94 DE: And, and uh, not only the culture or custom of Pohnpei but, and the language also.
- 95 Brad: Mmm.
- 96 DE: The language side so that students will learn, not only learn English but also learn their own language so that they can uh (.) so that's, I think uh, it should start within the family. The immediate, their immediate family and then extend to the schools there.
- 97 Brad: Okay.

98 DE: That's my personal feeling, yeah.

99 Brad: So the school should be teaching the language?

100 DE: Yeah.

101 Brad: Um, so you (.) are you are a Deacon in the Catholic church.
Uh, how long have you been a Deacon?

102 DE: I was ordained September 2006, or September # it will be ten years.

103 Brad: Oh wow.

104 DE: Yeah.

105 Brad: Um, and, and your role as a Deacon, what languages do you use typically when, you know, talking with parishioners or in that church-

106 DE: Pohnpei, Pohnpeian.

107 Brad: Pohnpeian? Okay. Um, what do you think the uh, churches role with language and culture is?

108 DE: Yeah. Well I always believe and I will continue to believe that the, the church should also take part as I, I said the schools. They should take part. I think the church should also take part. The church should continue to help the people not, not only to grow spiritually but also physically and mentally. Men- mentally meaning they should learn something uh, not only about the faith or about god but also about their own, you know, their own origins. They're uh, what they grew up and also the language that they, they speak and (.)

109 Brad: Mmm.

110 DE: Mmm.

111 Brad: Um, how can the church do this? Like, do you have a, an idea of a program or something that you know, the church can implement?

- 112 DE: Yeah, like in our catechetical programs, uh teaching about the faith and also about the sacraments and this. I think we should uh, help with the (.) the language aspect of the, that because some of these Catholics, some of, some of us, the Deacons, we also when we speak, we speak like babies. Like some young, young children. In Pohnpei there are different uh (.) when you sp- you're speaking to uh, a nahnmwarki you should speak this way. Or to your friend you should speak this way. Or to little kids you should speak this way.
- 113 Brad: Mmm.
- 114 DE: So I think uh, yeah. I think with the church can come up with programs that will you know, preserve, preserve the language. Hm. Not only the, the spiritual growth of the people but also their uh, physical and health.
- 115 Brad: Mmm. Okay, um, how well do you know the, you know, the higher languages?
- 116 DE: Not really. Not really.
- 117 Brad: Mmm.
- 118 DE: But when I speak to, like the chiefs and the nahnmwarkis then I, I try my best to, you know, to remember what I was taught, that I was taught and then so I used it uh, hm.
- 119 Brad: How did you learn it? Who taught you?
- 120 DE: Well I, I, it came down from my parents and also from m- some, some friends that I had along the way.
- 121 Brad: Hm.
- 122 DE: And also uh, as part of our diaconate training we were also learning how to speak with, you know, the higher (.) um, so (.)
- 123 Brad: Mmm. So is that an important aspect of your job? To know how to, to use the high language uh, appropriately with people that you interact with?
- 124 DE: It should be, yeah. For me it should be to um (.)

- 125 Brad: Hm, okay. Um (.) so some other people that I talked to um, brought up the word 'Respect' a lot. Um, especially with Pohnpeian. Um, what, what are your views on like, how you show respect in Pohnpei and how that in- correlates with, or how that interacts with the language? Um, cause you talked about the high language and that's a way to show respect um (.)
- 126 DE: Yeah. Well, with regards to respect (.) I, I am different from these other people when, when it comes to respect because uh, I believe that that word respect is uh, it should be for everybody.
- 127 Brad: Mmm.
- 128 DE: We, we, or I should not separate or what did I say? How should I say? When I, I should treat everybody with the same respect that they deserve, for they (.) so I think uh, at least for me (.) I try my best to show respect to everybody. Uh, if the high-ranking, if it's these high-ranking or the, the, the nahnmwarkis, I do that also. But for our, so for younger ones I, I try my best to do it also. So as not to (.) how should I put it? Let people think that I respect this guy more than this guy.
- 129 Brad: Mmm, okay.
- 130 DE: I, I believe that I should treat them and respect them equally. They, they should be equal. Yeah. There shouldn't be any like, discrimination or what, between the younger ones or the low, low people and the high, high, high-class people.
- 131 Brad: Mmm. Okay. Um (.)
- 132 DE: 'Cause (pause) we are all created by god. We were created in his image. So I believe that I should respect everybody uh, the same. It shouldn't be uh (.) even if they're nahnmwarki or small ones, but they're, we're all created by god and we were all created in his image. So we should uh, respect uh-
- 133 Brad: Okay.
- 134 DE: Mmm.
- 135 Brad: Um, do you feel that you can be equally respectful using English versus Pohnpeian?

136 DE: In speaking to people?

137 Brad: Yeah.

138 DE: Yes.

139 Brad: Okay.

140 DE: Yes, yes.

141 Brad: Okay. Um so (.) a little bit different train of thought here. Um, but in what situations in daily life would you use English over Pohnpeian?

142 DE: Hm well (.) like, there are times that uh (.) like in, in gatherings. In gatherings of the community or something uh (.) if we have to say like, if we have to speak Pohnpeian or speak English, it depends on, on the context of what is going on. Like if it's a meeting with mixed, or if it's a workshop with this, mixed people or if it's all Pohnpeian then (.) when it's all Pohnpeian then we speak Pohnpeian. But when we're like a mixed group it's better to speak English so that everybody uh (.) we understand each other.

143 Brad: Mmm.

144 DE: So it depends on the context of um (.)

145 Brad: Would there ever be a situation when, if you were at a group with all Pohnpeians that you would speak English with them?

146 DE: Say yes, in some cases we do that also.

147 Brad: Mmm. Um, why is that?

148 DE: As I said, for the younger generator- generation, it is easier for them to speak English than Pohnpeian.

149 Brad: Mmm. Okay.

150 DE: Yeah, so it's uh, it's easier to conduct uh, the meeting or workshop (.) anything, in English than Pohnpeian.

151 Brad: Okay, okay. Um, so you said, like, again that the, the young people uh, you know, have this mixed language.

152 DE: Yeah.

153 Brad: Is that only in young kids living in Kolonia? Or do you think that's all over the island?

154 DE: All over the island.

155 Brad: Mmm.

156 DE: Mmm.

157 Brad: Um, and where, where does that come from? Like the, the school or other sources?

158 DE: Yes so, okay. I think the first is school. But then there are families that also they (.) even that they're Pohnpeian, but they don't speak Pohnpeian at their house they speak English. So it's, it's, it came from that also. From school, gong abroad for school and this. Then also within the family. They chose, they choose to speak English instead of Pohnpeian.

159 Brad: Mmm.

160 DE: So I know, I know some families that, at- at home they don't speak Pohnpeian. They speak English. That's also part of, so that the students, their children can learn English and then when they go out for like education it will be easier for them.

161 Brad: Hm, okay. So it's all about getting a good education.

162 DE: Yes mmm.

163 Brad: You know, a good job later.

164 DE: Yeah.

165 Brad: Mmm. Interesting. (.) Ok. Umm. (.) So when you, or what are some sources that you use for information or news about Pohnpei or you know the FSM?

166 DE: Hm. They- uh (.) there are (.) oh oh, like, the news. The newspapers (.) sorry. And then there are like at least for me I, I, I read the newspapers and then I also read the books that are written by some people about the history about these I, I- one of my teachers in high school was my favorite friend, Fran Hezel. I got to go see this (.)

167 Brad: And those would be in, in English typically? These papers-

168 DE: Yes.

169 Brad: Okay. Um (.) did you ever um, learn as part of schooling how to write Pohnpeian using the like, official government writing way? Official orthography?

170 DE: During our time when we were still in elementary we were, we were taught only like uh (.) not writing. Yeah I think it's not writing. It's also like, or a part of the (.) hist- history or Pohnpei and also the customs, and you know, the customs and their cultures that we should learn. The, the way to speak or so to speak to people. Uh and what else? There was this program on (.) was it on (.) reading. Reading Pohnpeian. I cannot remember if we were taught how to write um (.)

171 Brad: Okay.

172 DE: Mmm.

173 Brad: Um, do you- what are some things that you read in Pohnpeian? Like are there many things written in Pohnpeian that people read typically? I know the bible, it's a common one.

174 DE: Beside the bible what else? (laughs) Hm (.) well like this, short-stories written in Pohnpeian for like for, these myths] and also stories about, about Pohnpei, about when it was, when they started the (.) so but this is all like short-stories. Not really uh, like a, a book or what. Uh and short-stories on different topics and, and how, the, how Pohnpei was uh, came to be. Those boats that came in and then found # so it's uh (.) I think those are the things that I can remember reading but not uh, not really like, like this a book. Like (.)

175 Brad: Okay. Um if someone, if someone wrote a book in Pohnpei do you think people would read it here?

176 DE: Sure. Yeah, I think so. I think they would read it here.

177 Brad: Okay, great. Um well those are all the, the questions that I have. Do you have any other comments you'd like to share about Pohnpeian or English or you know, how people use it or your opinions about them or not?

178 DE: Yeah. No my, my only concern is (.) or like, what are you, want is? I wanted uh (.) I want people, like Pohnpeians to treat the language, languages, English and Pohnpeian (.) equally.

179 Brad: Mmm.

180 DE: They're both important. Plus one, Pohnpeian so, my roots.
And then English when I learn it shows that I, that, you know
for me to communicate with other people I need English. So I
think it should be (.) we should treat it uh, equally important.
One will show my roots and then one will show that as I am
growing up I learn something else to help me live. So I think
that's all I (.)

181 Brad: Okay.

182 DE: I don't know if I make sense or what but uh-

183 Brad: This is very good. Thank you so much.

184 DE: No problem.

Appendix F. Interview with PR transcript

[BR1-22]

- 1 Brad: Was there any English in elementary school? or #disla
- 2 PR: From what I can recall it was mostly the spe– the teacher spoke Pohnpeian, but the responses that students gave were Pingelapese Mwokilese because the elementary school was a combination of, uh children that came from Mokil
- 3 Brad: mmm
- 4 PR: because on that side of Sokehs, that was where (.) the Mokilese and the Pingelapese were relocated.
- 5 Brad: mmm
- 6 PR: as a result of the major typhoons in 18 hundr– I mean nineteen oh five nineteen oh six.
- 7 Brad: mmm
- 8 PR: (H) so, the teacher spoke in Pohnpeian,
- 9 Brad: mmm
- 10 PR: but responses by students were Mokilese and Pingelapese.
- 11 Brad: ok.
- 12 Brad: um, did you have a hard time understanding the teacher at all?
- 13 PR: no.
- 14 Brad: ok.
- 15 PR: because I think there is a mutual understanding between the languages of, the Pohnpeian language Pingelapese, (.) and the Mokilese languages.
- 16 Brad: ok.

17 PR: so even even when the teacher spoke in Mokilese or spoke in Pohnpeian, both the Mokilese students and the Pingelapese students could understand. But the teachers were Pingelapese and Mokilese.

18 Brad: mmm.

19 Brad: ok.

20 PR: yeah.

21 Brad: um:,

22 Brad: so i- in with your family you would speak (.) uh as a kid Pingelapese.

23 PR: In Pingelapese.

24 Brad: ok.

25 PR: mmm.

26 Brad: um:,

27 Brad: when you were older and you were speaking more Pohnpeian regularly, where would you tend to speak Pohnpeian? as opposed to Pingelapese?

28 PR: at work.

29 Brad: at work.

30 PR: Because my colleagues:— some of my colleagues are Pohnpeian, and, when I turn to my Yapese, because we have two other Yapese, when I turn to the Yapese (.) we speak English

31 Brad: mmm. ok.

32 PR: yeah. so at work, most of my colleagues that I interact with are Pohnpeians, and my- I found myself, speaking more Pohnpeian.

33 Brad: mmm. and where would you speak English in daily life? you said with your colleagues: from Yap.

34 PR: Here at work.

35 Brad: at work. OK.

36 PR: yes.

37 Brad: um, would you speak it at all: outside of work?

38 PR: sometimes with my children.

39 Brad: mmm.

40 PR: because they:- they've been- they- when they started pre-school and now basic education, I put them in private schools. and sometimes I find them speaking more English. than Pingelapese. so sometimes I find @ myself self speaking English when they speak English to me.

41 Brad: Mmm. mmm

42 PR: yeah, so now my kids I see that they use more English than Pingelapese. and I think part of it is because, they've been brought up in private schools where (.) it's all English.

43 Brad: mmm.

44 PR: yeah.

45 Brad: what do you think about that?

46 PR: I'm scared. @ it's a scary feeling because that is already an evidence that we're losing much of our cul- culture.

47 Brad: yeah? why?

48 PR: although the fact that we've been introduced to formal education which is good, you know you know I think there's a negative to everything. and the negative to this is (.) you know, although it's good that they're learn- learning English which is: a universal language, that we have to know when go: to other places, it's negative in the sense that, you know, our young children, and the future generation will eventually lose language which is part of our identity.

49 Brad: mmm.

50 PR: #ok. You know like the experience that I have with my kids when I tell them to list the days:, in Pohnpeian,

51 Brad: mmm huh.

52 PR: or in Pingelapese which is the same, uh same for Pohnpeians and Pingelapese, you know they say:, they would say Monday. in Pohnpeian and Pingelapese. But then they forget, how we say Tuesday Wednesday, but if you tell them to list them in English, no it's not a problem.

53 Brad: mmm.

54 PR: and the same goes for numbers and naming objects events in
Pingelapese and Pohnpeian

55 Brad: mmm.

56 PR: #now #and that's part of their identity right there.

57 Brad: mmm.

58 PR: so, when they bring their homework, say a listing of words.
What I tr- try to do is as they learn about it in English I also
@ make sure that they know it in Pingelapese.

59 Brad: mmm.

60 PR: you know and I think, that's one thing that especially parents,
can do to help preserve that.

61 Brad: mmm.

62 PR: but it's it's a scary feeling.

63 Brad: yeah.

64 PR: @

65 Brad: um:, this is a, part of that, what role do you think? English
should play? In the islands like in Pohnpei?

66 PR: mmm. In knowing our Micronesian background especially the
geography of our islands, you know we've- we are, a place:, a
nation and a state where, you know, we will be exposed we are
exposed to people from different places because we are divided
by, you know a vast ocean.

67 Brad: mmm.

68 PR: and there's, #you #know, it there will be a lot of confusion if we
say we're just gonna use Pohnpeian. Because you know, We
can it's evident that, We're seeing Yapese, We have Chuukese,
We have Kosraean, And it won't work if we say (.) we're gonna
use Pohnpeian.

69 Brad: mmm.

70 PR: And that's where the importance of, the English language
MUST come in.

71 Brad: mmm.

72 PR: Because even we say we are Micronesians (.) we rely on the English language. To better understand you know ourselves. And the people who come into Pohnpei.

73 Brad: mmm.

74 PR: so although we are all Micronesians, we need (.) English.

75 Brad: mmm.

76 Brad: Do you think every Micronesian should learn English?.

77 PR: Not necessarily. @

78 Brad: mmm.

79 PR: mmm.

80 Brad: Who should and who shouldn't? Or what's the criteria for that?

81 PR: I said earlier that you know I use mostly English when I'm at work.

82 Brad: mmm.

83 PR: And my colleagues understand me when I, you know communicate, with them to them in English, and I think people who work, people who working in places that have a variety people from different ethnic background, should use English should learn to use English. Also if people who aspire to go abroad and pursue, (.) you know, (.) better careers, or further their education they also need English. Because if they want to learn about what's out there, they should know that they NEED to know English so they can (.) survive.

84 Brad: ok. umm, where does their first language their like local language come in to play with that?

85 PR: I think if they want to identify to themselves as a Micronesian or a Pohnpeian, you know their language is also important. I think, our language is key. To our- our identity.

86 Brad: mmm.

87 PR: Because if I'm a Pohnpeian or a Pingelapese speaking to another Pingelapese in English, and this other Pingelapese learns that I don't know Pingelapese and I claim to be Pingelapese, they will look down on me if I don't know how to speak Pingelapese.

88 Brad: mmm.

89 PR: Because they know that it's of what identifies us as Pingelapese. So it's really important in what defines you.

90 Brad: mmm.

91 PR: As a Pohnpeian or a Pingelapese.

92 Brad: ok.

93 PR: Though although we look up to the English language as something that can help us survive and interact with our peers our colleagues in the office place or, um in the educational arena like especially at the college level I think, there's a need to also preserve our local language. Because that's part of our identity.

94 Brad: mmm.

95 PR: and it it it gives us that respect. People respect us when they know that we still know our language. You know, and it connects us to, either a Pingelapese or to a Pohnpeian.

96 PR: Because at least based on my own experience and observation people look down on you if you claim to be a Pingelapese and @ you can't speak Pingelapese.

97 Brad: @ mmm

98 PR: @

99 Brad: @ ok. umm.

100 PR: @

101 Brad: How do you balance the two then? Either either at a personal level or? in the state level or national how do you keep local language and make that a positive thing and then also keep English?

102 PR: It's mostly personal. But, I don't think there is a clear line between being a professional and being, you know just an individual person. You know, sometimes although, to me the Pingelapese language is being lost because I feel that there is a NEED to preserve the Pingelapese language. Sometimes I use my professional background to, like, I'm the type of person who works very closely with youth. So using my professional background, and my status as a WOMAN, I try to use what I know, as a professional to see how,

103 Brad: mmm.

104 PR: You know I can get the young people to appreciate the Pingelapese language. yeah, so.

105 Brad: mmm.

106 PR: so it's mostly personal but then,

107 Brad: mm Mmm.

108 PR: mm.

109 Brad: (H:) um:,

110 Brad: What do you say to those- to peop- some you know,

111 Brad: I've I've talked to some people,

112 Brad: and and,

113 Brad: some may might think that,

114 Brad: um:,

115 Brad: you know if I want to:,

116 Brad: get ahead I have to know English very well. right, like [for a job] whatever.

117 PR: [yes:.]

118 Brad: um:,

119 PR: [yes.]

120 Brad: but some might go even further in saying,

121 Brad: well,

122 Brad: maybe I'll only speak English to my kids.

123 PR: mm.

124 Brad: because that will make them have the best job.

125 PR: mm.

126 Brad: um and so the kids don't speak Pohnpeian Pingelapese what-
ever their language is.

127 Brad: wha- what do you think of [that?.]

128 PR: [and I'm] opposed to that.

129 Brad: [and why?.]

130 PR: [@@@@]

131 PR: (H),

132 PR: I'm very opposed to that idea because,

133 PR: you know,

134 PR: being a psychologist,

135 PR: and especially knowing the biological aspect of how we think,

136 PR: you know, our brains are,

137 PR: biologically trained to where we can we can take in many
things. [right.]

138 Brad: [mm.]

139 PR: (H) and especially as children,

140 PR: they have that flexibility to learn,

141 PR: you know the different things that come in.

142 Brad: mm.

143 PR: s: and it's best to teach them different languages at that age
you know.

144 Brad: mm.

145 PR: and they won't be confused.

146 PR: they're actually fortunate if we teach them English and Pohn-
peian at the same time.

147 Brad: mm.

148 PR: and if we say we want t- to have them learn English only that's
denying them.

149 PR: who they are as a Pohnpeian or a Pingelapese.

150 Brad: mm.

151 PR: so if they have that potential,

152 PR: you know,

153 PR: I don't see,

154 PR: I don't see that English is more superior,

155 PR: than Pingelapese or Pohnpeian. I think those are both superior
 in the sense that,
 156 PR: we need to know English.,
 157 PR: so that we can pursue a higher educational,
 158 PR: career.
 159 PR: or a professional career. We need English. There's no,
 160 PR: denying that.
 161 Brad: mm.
 162 PR: but as a Pohnpeian,
 163 PR: or as a Pingelapese,
 164 PR: we also NEED,
 165 PR: our own local language.
 166 PR: and I don't see any conflict.
 167 PR: between teaching them English and Pingelapese.
 168 Brad: mm.
 169 PR: (H) because you know and I can relate to that using my own
 experience with my siblings.
 170 PR: When I graduated from college my father decided to move the
 whole family to Missouri.
 171 PR: (TONGUE CLICK) and,
 172 PR: my youngest brothers and sisters some of them were,
 173 PR: the youngest one was two:,
 174 PR: and,
 175 PR: the next one was five.
 176 PR: so they went to an English speaking elementary school and
 then to high school,
 177 PR: but when they come back home, when they came back home
 we spoke Pingelapese.
 178 PR: To this day they speak English very well better than me.
 179 PR: and they can also speak Pingelapese so there's no problem with
 [that.]
 180 Brad: [mm.]
 181 PR: Some I think some claims that parents have is,
 182 PR: we don't wanna confuse our children.

183 Brad: mmm.

184 PR: I think that's an excuse.

185 Brad: ok.

186 PR: %yeah.

187 PR: we can teach them to (.) learn English.

188 PR: because it's important,

189 PR: and we can also teach them to learn Pingelapese or Pohnpeian.

190 Brad: mm.

191 PR: because it's also important.

192 Brad: ok.

193 PR: as a Pingelapese.

194 Brad: mm.

195 PR: Yeah, I, I think, I think so.

196 Brad: Do you think that's kind of a widespread view?

197 PR: Yes.

198 Brad: OK. It's either one or the other.

199 PR: Because I hear this from a lot of parents, we don't want to confuse our children especially at that age, but not knowing that that's the best (.)

200 Brad: Mmm.

201 PR: That's the best age to, to expose them to the different languages.

202 Brad: Mmm. OK.

203 PR: And honestly I think the curriculum in every elementary school should be changed.

204 Brad: Mmm. How so? I was just gonna ask that question.

205 PR: @

206 Brad: @ So what, what is it currently, and what should it be like?

207 PR: Currently from preschool what is known as early childhood education, from preschool to fourth grade they learn in, um, in their local language.

208 Brad: Mmm.

209 PR: They have to speak Pohnpeian and or learn Pohnpeian. And then from grade five and on, that's when they start using English, but I think it should be reversed.

210 Brad: Mmm. @

211 PR: @ Or if not, both, especially at, at the basic level.

212 Brad: Mmm.

213 PR: I think children should be exposed to English and Pohnpeian as early as, early childhood education.

214 Brad: OK.

215 PR: And I can use my children as examples. @

216 Brad: @

217 PR: My children are speaking English fine. They're speaking Pingelapese fine.

218 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

219 PR: You know, as a parent, we just have to take on more to assure that, you know, they're keeping their ability to speak Pohnpeian and Pingelapese as they're learning English.

220 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

221 PR: You know, I don't see any problem with that.

222 Brad: OK. Um, so you would find it, take issue with some of the private schools that teach only English from K-5 through high school, um, that don't have any classes in any of the local languages?

223 PR: I think they should also teach (.)

224 Brad: Mmm.

225 PR: In one of those grades should teach the children, you know, vernacular.

226 Brad: Mmm.

227 PR: Teaching the vernacular because it's sad that when you ask a, you know, a child from private school about the colors in the local language they won't know.

228 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

229 PR: Most of them won't know.

230 Brad: Really?

231 PR: Yes.

232 Brad: Mmm.

233 PR: So, so we are concerned, like I am that we are losing our language. I think the education system, both the private and the public need to reevaluate the curriculum.

234 Brad: Mmm.

235 PR: I think there's a need to (.)

236 Brad: Mmm.

237 PR: Evaluate that.

238 Brad: Yeah. Um, what was the follow-up question I was gonna ask? Um.

239 PR: XX

240 Speaker 1 : @

241 Brad: @ So, with, um, I just lost my train of thought with that question. Um, so at (.)

242 Speaker 2 Sorry.

243 PR: It's OK.

244 Brad: At the, the college level, here at COM, wh-what's, how does, how do the local languages fit into the curriculum here at all, if at all? Or is it only in English?

245 PR: Again, based on my own observations, I have found that sometimes when a student is uncomfortable speaking English and especially sharing concerns or if they have questions over, uh, matters that relate to a subject, I found that they are more comfortable speaking to another instructor who speaks the same local language as they do.

246 Brad: Mmm.

247 PR: That's where their local language would be more important. Like I have found myself in situations where a Pingelapese student who has a different major, has a different advisor, advisor, comes to me because she wants to share a concern, and she feels more comfortable sharing it in Pingelapese.

248 Brad: Mmm. Do you ever use Pingelapese or Pohnpei when you teach in like an actual class setting?

249 PR: Not, not in the classroom.

250 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

251 PR: Never in the classroom.

252 Brad: OK. Are there, are there classes here about Pohnpeian or te-
like, there's a big education program like you've heard of teach-
ing teachers, right? Um, uh, do teachers get training here in
how to teach Pohnpeian in first through fourth, fourth grade
or earlier or training in like how to write Pohnpeian or any
like vernacular education training?

253 PR: Those folks would be the right person. @

254 Brad: @

255 PR: They're the teacher.

256 Brad: OK.

257 PR: But I know we have a language class.

258 Brad: Mmm.

259 PR: Maybe Sue can respond to that question, if you don't mind.

260 Sue: What's up?

261 PR: His question is, you know, given that we have an education
program here, and you wanna restate that?

262 Brad: Yeah, so given that there's an education program here and that
the public elementary schools teach in Pohnpeian up through
fourth grade.

263 Sue: Mm-Mmm.

264 Brad: Is there vernacular training here like teaching teachers how to
like teach local grammars or local orthographies, things like
that.

265 Sue: Um, yeah. There are two courses here that we do that in. I
do that in, um, Reading Methods. We do everything in the
students' local languages, not just Pohnpeian (.)

266 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

267 Sue: But whatever languages are represented in the class they do
everything, how to teach, like, um, uh, their orthography, the
sounds, the (.)

268 Brad: OK.

269 Sue: The comprehension skills, the decoding skills, everything is done in both languages. And she might be able (.) This is Sylvia. She might be able to (.) Uh, you've taught Language Arts, so you co-taught it with Robert, right?

270 Sylvia: Yeah.

271 Sue: You do the same thing in language.

272 Sylvia: We do the same thing in Language Arts so (.)

273 Brad: Oh, OK.

274 Sylvia: It's depending on where the students are from, they do that in their own languages so.

275 Brad: OK. Cool.

276 Sylvia: Yeah.

277 Sue: So, that's good.

278 PR: They came in at the right time.

279 Brad: All right, all right. Thank you.

280 PR: By the way [crosstalk 00:06:33] that's Susan, Professor Susan Moses.

281 Brad: Oh, OK.

282 PR: She's with the Education Division.

283 Brad: Hi, I'm Brad:.

284 PR: And Sylvia Henry.

285 Brad: I'm Brad: Rentz at, a PhD student at UH.

286 Sylvia: Ah, OK.

287 Brad: So I'm just here for some research so.

288 PR: She's the division chairperson.

289 Brad: Oh, OK.

290 PR: With the education.

291 Sylvia: Yeah, she's my boss.

292 PR: @

293 Brad: Oh. @

294 Sylvia: So, I, I would stay and be helpful to you if I could but I have a meeting right now so.

295 Brad: OK. All right. Go ahead.

296 Sylvia: I'll see you later.

297 Brad: OK.

298 Sylvia: Brad:?

299 Brad: Brad:, yeah.

300 Sylvia: Brad:.

301 PR: @

302 Sylvia: Nice to meet you, Brad:.

303 Brad: Nice to meet you. @

304 Sylvia: OK, thanks.

305 Brad: All right. See you.

306 PR: They came in at the right time.

307 Brad: Yeah. OK, that's good to know. Um, are there any (.) In, uh, in social sciences, are there any, um, like linguistic classes or like do you talk about language with history or with (.)

308 PR: Yes.

309 Brad: Or like sociology or anything like that?

310 PR: Yes. In soc-, I know we cover it in sociology, it's also one of the major topics is in cultural anthropology, and then there's a little bit of it whi- which there should be a little bit more, in our Micronesian Cultural Studies.

311 Brad: Mmm.

312 PR: But yes, uh, students learn about the basic concepts of how language, uh, not only define but describes identity and how it's conveyed, you know, using the difference that is in (.)

313 Brad: Mmm.

314 PR: In societies.

315 Brad: Mmm.

316 PR: And culture.

317 Brad: OK. That's good. Um, did you (.) You said (.) this is kind of going back a little bit. Um, you had education like the elementary school in Pohnpei and Pingelapese kind of thing.

318 PR: Yes.

319 Brad: Um, were, did you ever (.) As part of that, was there formal training in how to write Pingelapese or Pohnpeian using the standard orthography or how to understand local grammar and things like that?

320 PR: Yes. Uh, this was when, uh, I was from seventh grade to eighth grade, that's when we were actually, um, required to write in Pohnpeian.

321 Brad: Mmm.

322 PR: Although we learned about it early on in basic education, I recall that the writing was actually towards the end.

323 Brad: Mmm.

324 PR: And that this was in seventh grade and eighth grade.

325 Brad: OK.

326 PR: And this is where we had to learn because there (.) because of the political structure, the difference that is in the Pohnpeian society. And this was Pohnpeian, not Pingelapese.

327 Brad: OK.

328 PR: All children will go to both, all public schools in Pohnpeian must learn about the Pohnpeian, so although I learned about it I didn't speak it.

329 Brad: OK.

330 PR: Back in elementary school, but the writing was where we had to learn about the different levels of language, like if you are talking to a Pohn-, uh, a Pohnpeian with rank (.)

331 Brad: Mmm.

332 PR: You would use a different set of, uh, words, just as if you're talking to a commoner, you know, there is a way that you also communicate with that person.

333 Brad: Mmm.

334 PR: And that's what we learned, the different ways in which you converse with people of different status.

335 Brad: Oh, OK.

336 PR: Yeah. So like if you're saying if one person is a commoner, you can just say kohdo.

337 Brad: Right.

338 PR: But if it's a person of high status, especially the paramount chief, you say ketdo.

339 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

340 PR: Yeah.

341 Brad: OK.

342 PR: So.

343 Brad: So, how well do you think that you speak it now like the high languages?

344 PR: @ I would say pretty, pretty well.

345 Brad: Yeah.

346 PR: But I wouldn't be comfortable speaking to a person with rank because there is always that fear of, you know, making a mistake.

347 Brad: Right, right.

348 PR: I still have that fear so.

349 Brad: Mmm.

350 PR: I'm more comfortable speaking to a person of the same status.
@

351 Brad: @ OK. Um, and that knowledge, is that solely from being taught in the schools how to do it or have you acquired this knowledge in other ways?

352 PR: We knew this ahead because even in the Pingelapese system the people were of different status. There is a strata in I think in all Micronesian society.

353 Brad: Mmm.

354 PR: So if you are speaking to the person of the, to a person of the same status, you know, there is a, there are words that you can speak to the person of same status and there are different ones that you speak to others who are (.)

355 Brad: Mmm.

356 PR: It's even in our Pingelapese language like you can say mwenge which is eating to anyone, your kids or people of the same status, but if you are say- speaking to a person of high status, you say mwesei.

357 Brad: Hmm, OK.

358 PR: So, so the languages that you use differ for the different statuses.

359 Brad: Mmm.

360 PR: And even to this day.

361 Brad: Hmm, OK.

362 PR: @

363 Brad: @ Um, do you think young people know this as much?

364 PR: No. And they don't use it as much.

365 Brad: Mmm.

366 PR: That's why we as parents we are always telling our children, "You are so rude."

367 Brad: @

368 PR: @ But no, and that's part of my fear.

369 Brad: Mmm.

370 PR: Because I feel that, you know, since more of them are losing that knowledge or not aware, you know, we are, we are complaining that children of today are disrespectful, but I think part of it is also our fault.

371 Brad: Mmm.

372 PR: We are not teaching them. Like yeah, they can just say anything to, to anyone, even to our parent or an elder because elders are very much respected, but today, you know, our young people can just say anything, whatever to our elders.

373 Brad: Mmm.

374 PR: And they don't know that's why.

375 Brad: Mmm.

376 PR: Mmm.

377 Brad: Why do you, why do you think it is that they don't know? I mean you said maybe parents aren't teaching, but is there, are there any other reasons why all, all of a sudden because maybe, you know, when, when you were a kid, like didn't those people know this? Like (.)

378 PR: Yes.

379 Brad: And so like what, what changed between that time and today?

380 PR: Our homes have changed, and I think most of the parents today are not teaching their children, you know, that there is a certain way to speak to elder people.

381 Brad: Hmm, OK.

382 PR: People coming from different status. And, you know, if you go to different homes, you know, some parents are just, you know, I don't know if they've neglected their roles as parents, but I think because most parents are working today, you know, there is rarely anyone home to also make sure that children should know this, our kids should know this shit, they should be doing this.

383 Brad: Mmm.

384 PR: So it's not necessarily about language also, but teaching them the appropriate behaviors that, you know, children should show.

385 Brad: Mmm.

386 PR: Especially in the presence of older people.

387 Brad: Mmm.

388 PR: So even the young parents, I think the parents today are the younger, they are part of the younger generation.

389 Brad: Hmm, OK.

390 PR: You know. They are, they have also lost that.

391 Brad: Mmm.

392 PR: You know, and I think that's part of it. And I, I think the perception that parents have today is they think that just like I said earlier, they think that if they expose their children to English and the local language at the same time they will confuse their children.

393 Brad: Mmm.

394 PR: And the perception that, you know, the English language is better, is better than the local language. So why should we teach them something that is less superior.

395 Brad: Mm-Hmm.

396 PR: Or something that is not equal. It's inferior. I, I sense that there is that attitude.

397 Brad: Mmm. Mmm.

398 PR: Hmm, you know, when children, when kids communicate with their parents today, they can just speak to them, you know, just like they are talking to a person of the same status.

399 Brad: Hmm.

400 PR: But as a kid I could never speak to my parents like that. I could never question them.

401 Brad: Mmm.

402 PR: If they say, "You go wash that dishes." And they don't ask, they say, they, they command you.

403 Brad: Mmm.

404 PR: "Go wash that dishes." We don't question, we just go.

405 Brad: Mmm.

406 PR: But today our kids can @

407 Brad: @

408 PR: They can talk back.

409 Brad: Mmm.

410 PR: OK @

411 Brad: @ So I've heard, um, some people say, especially people that have more education in English like bachelor's, master's #.

412 PR: Mmm.

413 Brad: That they often feel more comfortable talking about their re-
search or other things in English.

414 PR: Mmm.

415 Brad: Rather than the local language because they might not have
the vocabulary or they don't, might not know how to say
things.

416 PR: Yes, which is true.

417 Brad: Do you feel the same way?

418 PR: I feel the same way because the local language, especially the
Pingelapese language is very limited. And, um, because of the,
the limitations that we have in our local language it, sometimes
we find ourselves very uncomfortable to share our research or
whatever it is that we want to share to a larger community.

419 Brad: Mmm.

420 PR: So if we are speaking to a larger community, we find ourselves
speaking English over the local language.

421 Brad: Mmm.

422 PR: And you are right, when I'm addressing a larger community
I'm more comfortable speaking in English.

423 Brad: Mmm. Why do you think there is this more limited vocabu-
lary?

424 PR: Um, I think most of it is because of our culture.

425 Brad: Mmm.

426 PR: And I think the fact that more we are, the limit is I think in
the past, you know, it was just Pohnpeians or just Pingelapese,
and the resources that they were exposed to were very limited.

427 Brad: Mmm.

428 PR: Which is, which can be a reflection of the limitation in their
language.

429 Brad: OK.

430 PR: Because one example that I can use is there is no word for light
bulb because back in the day there was no such thing.

431 Brad: Mmm.

432 PR: There is no local word for a car because back in the day there
was no such thing.

433 Brad: @

434 PR: Just as a boat, OK.

435 Brad: Mmm.

436 PR: An airplane. So the words that they have combined to, to de-
scribe an airplane are two, two western words. som which
comes from boat.

437 Brad: Mmm.

438 PR: Pihr which is fly. @

439 Brad: @

440 PR: Yes.

441 Brad: OK.

442 PR: But I think quite a bit is a reflection of their history and their
culture.

443 Brad: OK.

444 PR: You know, very limited, resulted in limitation (.)

445 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

446 PR: On their language so.

447 Brad: OK. Um, do you think part of it as well is that the languages
aren't really used in higher education?

448 PR: I think yes, but I think that reason is recent. I think that started
to be a, an issue and a problem when our island started to be
exposed to many foreign (.)

449 Brad: Right.

450 PR: Influences.

451 Brad: Mmm. Um, I mean, I can, can draw, you know, living in Hawaii,
um, Hawaii, the Hawaiian language has, uh, kind of it's been
disappearing for a long time.

452 PR: Mmm.

453 Brad: And there are people that are trying to revive it and bring it
back into use.

454 PR: Mmm.

455 Brad: Um, and so, you know, like, you know, Pingelapese or Pohnpeian, Hawaiian spoken, you know, like in 1800s or earlier didn't have all these words for technology.

456 PR: Hmm, sure.

457 Brad: Light bulb, other things like that.

458 PR: @

459 Brad: So they made a committee and they had these people, they say, "OK. How can we (.) We'll make these new words and make a list of words, but let's make it in Hawaiian, let's take ideas in (.)"

460 PR: Sure. Mmm.

461 Brad: You know, like flying, you know, combining things together (.)

462 PR: @

463 Brad: And like let's make it. Um, do you think that would be something possible for Pohnpeian or people, you know, [inaudible 00:19:51] like?

464 PR: I think there is a possibility. And the possibility can only be realized if more and more Pohnpeians are concerned.

465 Brad: Mmm.

466 PR: That much of our language has been lost, OK, but there is a possibility there. Yeah. I'm definite that there is a possibility.

467 Brad: Mmm.

468 PR: So if more people like me (.) @

469 Brad: @

470 PR: And other get together.

471 Brad: Yeah.

472 PR: In fact, you know, right now for our Pingelapese community, there is a committee that's been put together to translate the bible.

473 Brad: Mmm.

474 PR: Into Pingelapese language. It's a five-year work. So this is the third year.

475 Brad: Mmm.

476 PR: The book has been in writing, but, you know, those are the things that we can do to preserve our language.

477 Brad: Mmm.

478 PR: And since, um, the majority of the population, you know, are Christians, you know, that's one way that we can, because people read the bible.

479 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

480 PR: So, you know, they can still retain their knowledge of Pingelapese by, you know, using the bible. There is also a local dictionary in Pingelapese. I don't think the work was completed but it started, it got started.

481 Brad: Mmm.

482 PR: Mmm.

483 Brad: Is there a desire amongst many Pingelapese to do other, like to keep doing this and to make more things?

484 PR: I know a few, a few people who, who are working to, and most of them are part of this committee.

485 Brad: Mmm.

486 PR: Who is translating the (.)

487 Brad: Mmm.

488 PR: The Bible into Pingelapese.

489 Brad: Mmm.

490 PR: But there are efforts.

491 Brad: Mmm.

492 PR: To revive the Pingelapese language.

493 Brad: How many people are working to translate it like roughly speaking?

494 PR: Um, you may be familiar with the, the, the different Pingelapese communities on Pohnpei.

495 Brad: Mmm.

496 PR: There is one community in Sokehs, there are, there is a whole lot.

497 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

498 PR: But they are dispersed in Kolonia.

499 Brad: Mmm.

500 PR: And then there is another Pingelapese community in Madolenihmw.

501 Brad: Mmm.

502 PR: But the committee has been divided amongst the three group, there is one in, uh, Kolonia , there is one in Sokehs.

503 Brad: Mmm.

504 PR: And there is one in Madolenihmw.

505 Brad: OK.

506 PR: So they work individually as within their own groups, and then once a month they meet in one of those communities.

507 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

508 PR: But yeah, so there is a representative from, from the three Pingelapese communities.

509 Brad: OK. Mmm.

510 PR: So there is, there is more than 20 actually. Most of them are Pingelapese elders.

511 Brad: OK. Um, (.) You know Sokehs is, um (.)

512 PR: Is a confused municipality @.

513 Brad: It's an (.)

514 PR: @

515 Brad: Yeah, interesting place in terms of like, you know, you have all these languages (.)

516 PR: Yes.

517 Brad: That have been maintained for such a long time.

518 PR: Mmm.

519 Brad: Like you have, you know, Pohnpeian spoken but also you have Pingelapese.

520 PR: Yes.

521 Brad: Mwokilese.

522 PR: Mmm.

523 Brad: Mortlockese, you know.

524 PR: @

525 Brad: All these. Do you, like are the kids still maintaining? It seems like some kids don't, you know, speak Pingelapese as well but (.)

526 PR: Yes.

527 Brad: Do you still see people, like younger people still speak in Pingelapese?

528 PR: Yes.

529 Brad: OK.

530 PR: Because it's still true where they go to elementary school the teacher is still speaking in Pohnpeian.

531 Brad: OK.

532 PR: But outside of the classroom they are still speaking Pingelapese, Mwokilese, still speaking Mwokilese. They've even picked up Mwokilese.

533 Brad: Mmm.

534 PR: Our Pingelapese kids. And the Mwokilese kids have even picked up Pingelapese.

535 Brad: @

536 PR: Because outside of the classroom they speak their own local languages. Even the Pohnpeians coming from this side of Sokehs, they are also speaking Pingelapese and Mwokilese.

537 Brad: @ OK.

538 PR: But I, I can never understand why our Mwokilese and our Pingelapese students cannot speak Mortlockese.

539 Brad: Mmm.

540 PR: But the ones from this side they speak the Mwokilese and the Pingelapese. So that's, that's one question that I still can't think. @

541 Brad: OK. Um, so do you speak, um, Mwokilese well?

542 PR: My mom is quite Mwokilese.

543 Brad: OK.

544 PR: I speak some Mwokilese.

545 Brad: OK.

546 PR: Yes.

547 Brad: Oh, can you understand it?

548 PR: Yes, very well.

549 Brad: OK. How, in your opinion, how close are Pingelapese and Mwokilese?

550 PR: Very close. I'd say very close and part of it is because of their geographical proximity.

551 Brad: Mmm.

552 PR: And, you know, they shared the same past experiences because their people were relocated from their islands to the same portion of Pohnpei.

553 Brad: Mmm.

554 PR: So the Pingelapese and Mwokilese are very close. And that's why when a Mwokilese speaks to a Pingelapese, the Mwokilese doesn't have to learn Pingelapese to be able to communicate to them because they have a mutual understanding in (.)

555 Brad: Mmm.

556 PR: Um, their language.

557 Brad: OK.

558 PR: So you can understand Mwokilese just like a Mwokilese will understand you as a Pingelapese.

559 Brad: Mmm.

560 PR: There they have a lot of cultural similarities and they shared a lot of history. You know, even the legends, the stories that they tell, they have @

561 Brad: @

562 PR: So their past is from way back.

563 Brad: Mmm.

564 PR: So there is a lot of similarities.

565 Brad: Mmm.

566 PR: Mm-Mmm.

567 Brad: So when you, this is the hypothetical question, but when you are in Sokehs and you are walking down the road and you meet someone, you know, who is a local person, but you don't know, you don't know the person, you don't know what language they speak.

568 PR: Yes.

569 Brad: How do you, like what language do you speak to them at first?

570 PR: Pohnpeian.

571 Brad: So you (.)

572 PR: Not Pingelapese.

573 Brad: So you start with Pohnpeian.

574 PR: @

575 Brad: And then, then what happens?

576 PR: So if I learn that the, if the one person is a Mwokilese I start speaking Pingelapese.

577 Brad: OK.

578 PR: Yeah. Just as if the Mwokilese finds that I'm Pingelapese, then Mwokilese will start speaking Mwokilese.

579 Brad: OK.

580 PR: But if you are unsure and you know the Pohn- the person is from Pohnpei, somewhere in Pohnpei, whether from Ngatik or Nukuoro, first you start with Pohnpeian.

581 Brad: Hmm, OK.

582 PR: Mmm.

583 Brad: And then you figure it out actually then switch.

584 PR: Yes. Yes.

585 Brad: OK. Hmm, interesting.

586 PR: @ But if the person is from Ngatik or from Nukuoro though, you have to continue speaking Pohnpeian.

587 Brad: Mmm.

588 PR: Because they won't understand Mwokilese or Pingelapese.

589 Brad: Hmm, OK.

590 PR: Mmm.

591 Brad: Can you understand Ngatik, Ngat- Ngatikese?

592 PR: I, um, some of it.

593 Brad: Mmm.

594 PR: Mmm.

595 Brad: But it's different from, yeah.

596 PR: Yeah, it's different.

597 Brad: OK.

598 PR: It's very different.

599 Brad: Mmm.

600 PR: Because if you listen to Ngatikese, it's a combination of English, Pohnpeian. So much of their language has been influenced by English.

601 Brad: Mmm.

602 PR: It's so much like Pidgin English.

603 Brad: Hmm, huh.

604 PR: You know, it's an interesting language. @

605 Brad: @ Yeah.

606 PR: I have a friend, very close friend from Ngatik, but we speak in, we converse in Pohnpeian.

607 Brad: Oh, OK.

608 PR: Yeah. @

609 Brad: @ Um, do you understand Mortlockese at all?

610 PR: No. @

611 Brad: OK. And so how does that work with, uh, since the other side of Sokehs is a lot of people from the Mortlocks.

612 PR: OK. So if there is a community gathering, municipal gathering, the language is Pohnpeian.

613 Brad: Hmm, OK.

614 PR: Yeah. We cannot speak Pingelapese, Mwokilese, nor they, can they speak Mortlockese.

615 Brad: Mmm.

616 PR: It's always Pohnpeian.

617 Brad: Mmm. So are there, since not many people, not many Pingelapese that learn Mortlockese is, not many Mortlockese or Pingelapese?

618 PR: No.

619 Brad: Just both learn Pohnpeian.

620 PR: Yes, they have to learn Pohnpeian.

621 Brad: OK. Is there ever a situation with the, where you would speak English with people from Pohnpeian that you know also speak Pohnpeian or Pingelapese or a language that you understand?

622 PR: Yes, like if I'm at work, sometimes even when I know the person is Pohnpeian but we find ourselves conversing in English.

623 Brad: OK.

624 PR: Like my colleagues here.

625 Brad: Mmm.

626 PR: Many times we speak English. I don't know why, but it just happens. @

627 Brad: @ Would you speak (.) So if you had a big community event in Sokehs (.)

628 PR: Yes.

629 Brad: Would you ever speak English there if everyone there also knows Pohnpeian?

630 PR: I think it depends on what I'm presenting.

631 Brad: OK.

632 PR: Like we talked earlier about how, um, individuals with, um, degrees or who have pursued (.)

633 Brad: Mmm.

634 PR: A higher education would be more comfortable speaking in English. And, and, you know, if that was the case then I'd speak English.

635 Brad: OK.

636 PR: And I also said earlier that sometimes I'm afraid that I'd say the wrong thing especially if I'm speaking to a, a person with high status.

637 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

638 PR: I'd be more comfortable speaking English.

639 Brad: Mmm.

640 PR: In this type of crowd.

641 Brad: OK.

642 PR: Then I'd be Pohnpeian.

643 Brad: OK. Mmm.

644 PR: Because of the fear that I may offend (.)

645 Brad: Mmm.

646 PR: The people with higher status if I speak.

647 Brad: Mmm. So you are less likely to offend people if you speak in English.

648 PR: That's what I feel.

649 Brad: OK.

650 PR: Mmm.

651 Brad: Do you know if other people feel the same way?

652 PR: Yes.

653 Brad: Like if that's a, if that a, is it a, a common thing?

654 PR: Especially people from the outer islands.

655 Brad: Mmm.

656 PR: They would feel the same thing.

657 Brad: OK.

658 PR: Because they are not comfortable speaking Pohnpeian and especially we say that the Meing (.)

659 Brad: Mmm.

660 PR: Is the language we use for the, um, people in chiefly statuses.

661 Brad: Mmm.

662 PR: So people from outer islands are not very familiar with the, the Meing language. So they find themselves more, they would be more comfortable if they just speak in English.

663 Brad: OK.

664 PR: Yeah. So for me I'd speak English if I know that the chief is there.

665 Brad: Hmm, OK.

666 PR: Mmm.

667 Brad: Are there chiefs that are Pingelapese in Sokehs?

668 PR: Yes, because in the Pingelapese society we have our own political system.

669 Brad: Right.

670 PR: We also have a paramount chief and we have lesser chiefly titles.

671 Brad: Mmm. Would you speak English to a chief that who is Pingelapese?

672 PR: No, I'd speak Pingelapese, or I'd offend him if I speak English. @

673 Brad: Mmm. So why, why is, how is that different from that are Pohnpeian?

674 PR: I think if I conversed in English to a Pohnpeian, a chiefly Pohnpeian, he would understand why, especially if he knows that I'm a Pingelapese.

675 Brad: OK.

676 PR: Yes. But if a Pingelapese chief knows that I'm Pingelapese and I'm speaking English to, to him, he'd find it very offensive.

677 Brad: Hmm, OK.

678 PR: Mmm.

679 Brad: And so do you know the, how well do you know the higher form of Pingelapese, like the respectful Meing?

680 PR: You mean the individuals or the titles?

681 Brad: For the titles.

682 PR: Um, well enough to know that, um, there are less than 10 titles in the ranking system.

683 Brad: Mmm.

684 PR: And, uh, well enough because the paramount chief is an uncle of mine. @

685 Brad: OK.

686 PR: So I'm comfortable if I'm asked to say something about the ranking system.

687 Brad: OK. Oh, and you are comfortable talking like in the high language in Pingelapese?

688 PR: Yes.

689 Brad: OK.

690 PR: Mmm.

691 Brad: OK. Um, what do you, if a Pohnpeian were to speak English to
a Pohnpeian chief, do you think that would be different?

692 PR: I think the chief would be offended.

693 Brad: OK.

694 PR: Because he expects the Pohnpeian to know the Meing lan-
guage.

695 Brad: Hmm, OK.

696 PR: The respectful language.

697 Brad: Hmm, OK.

698 Brad: What's the respectful language called in Pingelapese? Is there
a name for it?

699 PR: Wahu

700 Brad: Wahu

701 PR: Wahu which also means respect.

702 Brad: OK. Is it at all similar to Meing?

703 PR: Very similar.

704 Brad: OK.

705 PR: But the way we speak it is different, but I think that they are
equivalent.

706 Brad: OK.

707 PR: Yes.

708 Brad: Mmm. Um, interesting. @

709 PR: @

710 Brad: This is good. Um, so kind of changing slightly, so, uh, many,
uh, people from Pohnpeian now are living in Hawaii, Guam,
in the US mainland or whatever.

711 PR: Yes.

712 Brad: Um, is it important that they still keep their language living in
the US? Is it important for the kids to still know Pingelapese,
Pohnpeian, even though they are living in the US or, you know,
lived there potentially for the rest of their lives?

713 PR: If it's, if, if you are asking for my opinion.

714 Brad: Yes.

715 PR: @ I think if they plan to come back it's very important. And I also think that if they think that their identity as a Pohnpeian or a Pingelapese is important, I think they should retain, you know, their Pingelapese language.

716 Brad: Mmm.

717 PR: If they know how important the Pingelapese language is.

718 Brad: Mmm.

719 PR: You know, last year my brother, my younger, actually was the youngest when we moved abroad.

720 Brad: Mmm.

721 PR: He was, he was two when we moved away, but when he came to visit me last year he conversed all in English.

722 Brad: @

723 PR: He was able to understand Pingelapese, but he had lost this, you know, his ability to speak Pingelapese.

724 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

725 PR: And he, he was, he was, he was envying his other cousins for knowing Pingelapese but (.) @

726 Brad: Mmm. Mmm.

727 PR: So I think when he came back he felt that he was at a loss.

728 Brad: Mmm.

729 PR: You know, if, if all Pohnpeians, Pingelapese eventually would feel that, I think they need to because he came back and he realized that he have that other identity.

730 Brad: Mmm.

731 PR: And he didn't feel fit, you know, he felt like he was out of the loop because his other cousins were speaking Pingelapese and he was the only one speaking English so.

732 Brad: Mmm.

733 PR: He felt out of place.

734 Brad: Mmm.

735 PR: Mmm.

736 Brad: Do you think that, do you think people here realize that the language is changing or people are not using it the same way?

737 PR: Yes.

738 Brad: Um, so I think, you know, I, I know from my experience of a few people that, a few people from Pohnpei and Chuuk that I know in Hawaii.

739 PR: Mmm.

740 Brad: They definitely feel it more and they see their kids not using it the same way.

741 PR: Mmm.

742 Brad: So I think it's like it's a lot more, people are a lot more aware of it in the US.

743 PR: Mm-Mmm. Mmm.

744 Brad: That they are losing things.

745 PR: Mmm.

746 Brad: And maybe it's easier not to see it here as much. I don't know.

747 PR: [inaudible 00:35:48]. I know people know that we are losing our ways and I don't, I, I can't really say if they see that is the language aspect of it.

748 Brad: Mmm.

749 PR: But people know and, and most elders say, "Oh, these kids today are disrespectful," right.

750 Brad: Mmm.

751 PR: Because they don't know how to do this, they can't say the right thing to an elder, but they are aware, but I'm not really sure if they know if it's the language part of it or the traditional practice part of it but people are aware.

752 Brad: Mmm.

753 PR: And you, you- you are correct when you say that people abroad are more, more aware of this loss.

754 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

755 PR: But people here know.

756 Brad: OK.

757 PR: Because they say, "Our kids today are so disrespectful."

758 Brad: Mm-hmm, OK.

759 PR: "They can't even do what we used to do back in the day."

760 Brad: Mmm.

761 PR: So.

762 Brad: Mmm.

763 PR: Yeah.

764 Brad: Um, when you were living in the US for school and other things, um, how often would you be able to use Pingelapese? Like did you have families staying with you when you were at school?

765 PR: It was mostly at home.

766 Brad: Mmm.

767 PR: Because my whole family moved to the US. I'm the only one who came back to this day.

768 Brad: Oh, OK.

769 PR: But all my siblings, my nieces, my nephews, most of my nieces and nephews have been born and raised there.

770 Brad: Mm-hmm, OK.

771 PR: So I'm the only one with my kids back home again.

772 Brad: OK.

773 PR: Yeah, so when I was there it was all Pingelapese when we were at home.

774 Brad: Mmm.

775 PR: But now when I call they are speaking English.

776 Brad: @

777 PR: @ I spoke Pingelapese and they'd speak back in English, but they understand.

778 Brad: Mmm.

779 PR: They understand Pingelapese.

780 Brad: OK. What was your impression when you got to the US for when you were living, when you first got there?

781 PR: Mm-Mmm.

782 Brad: What were some things that you were thinking?

783 PR: I was impressed.

784 Brad: Yeah.

785 PR: I mean with, with a lot of things that we didn't have here on Pohnpei, but I was more scared when I started school because I looked around and I was the only Pingelapese. The school I went to, in fact I was the only Micronesian who went to that school, and I was more scared than impressed when I started school.

786 Brad: Mmm.

787 PR: Because I realized that it was going to be the first time that I'm going to speak English. And I was- I wasn't really comfortable speaking English at that time, although I spoke at COM, I knew that I wasn't very comfortable because I knew that if I had questions, I had problems I, I'll have to speak English to a professor or a counselor.

788 Brad: Mmm.

789 PR: So I was more scared, especially given the new experience I had known that it's going to be now all in the western (.)

790 Brad: Mmm.

791 PR: You know, ways of doing things, but yeah. At first I was very impressive with the technology, the advancement, but when I started school a few months later because I had applied before our family moved.

792 Brad: Mmm.

793 PR: I was more scared.

794 Brad: Mmm.

795 PR: So.

796 Brad: And how long did that last you think?

797 PR: When I started making friends.

798 Brad: Mm-hmm, OK.

799 PR: I, I, I had friends and then befriended, um, a female professor who was very understanding because she noticed that I was the only international student, and she approached me the first week and she offered that, you know, "If you ever needed help, you know, I'd be here."

800 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

801 PR: So she became like a mother to me.

802 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

803 PR: Even after I graduated we still communicated.

804 Brad: Mmm.

805 PR: [inaudible 00:39:53] because she, when she was doing her research she went to most, I think her research was in non-western society. She went to Africa, she went to this part of the Pacific.

806 Brad: Mmm.

807 PR: And I guess she understand that I felt (.) @

808 Brad: @ Right. Nice.

809 PR: So I was, I was lucky.

810 Brad: Mmm.

811 PR: That she offered to help me, but yeah.

812 Brad: Mmm.

813 PR: @

814 Brad: So you had a different experience, and if you didn't have that (.)

815 PR: Yes.

816 Brad: So yeah, Mmm.

817 PR: And I even befriended the cooks in the cafeteria who were Pilipino, so I was, I felt that they were part of, you know, coming from the Pacific so @.

818 Brad: @ Nice.

819 PR: Yeah. @

820 Brad: Um, did your use of English change at all, like while you were a student there?

821 PR: Yeah, that I think I, yeah, I used it more often @.

822 Brad: OK.

823 PR: [inaudible 00:40:51].

824 Brad: Um, what about like your views of your own language having, being in a place where you had to use English all the time? Didn't that changed the way that you thought about your, about Pingelapese or about how that was part of your identity or not or?

825 PR: I wouldn't say changed, uh, you know, being a person who is so proud of where she comes from.

826 Brad: Mmm.

827 PR: And I guess that's why I moved back right when I finished school.

828 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

829 PR: @ I, I didn't sense that there was a change in how I felt about my language.

830 Brad: Mmm.

831 PR: Because I, I felt that I was still Pingelapese although I acknowledge the fact that, you know, much of me was influenced by the western ways, especially the American way. I didn't feel any change as a Pingelapese and as a person who speaks Pingelapese.

832 Brad: OK.

833 PR: Yeah.

834 Brad: Mmm.

835 PR: I think I felt more Pingelapese.

836 Brad: @ OK.

837 PR: And I couldn't wait to come back.

838 Brad: Hmm, OK.

839 PR: @ Because will tell, even my dad said I was crazy when I told him I was ready to come back. He said, "No, we are, we are here to stay."

840 Brad: @

841 PR: And I said, "No. My plan, ever since I was a child was to come back to the islands and, you know, to give back."

842 Brad: Mmm.

843 PR: @ And I think there are very few who can do that, but yeah.

844 Brad: Mmm.

845 PR: And that was back in 1995, that's when we moved.

846 Brad: Mmm. So how long were you in the US before you came back?

847 PR: Seven years only.

848 Brad: Seven years, OK.

849 PR: And I wanted to come back. @

850 Brad: @ So what was that like when you first came back?

851 PR: It felt different, you know. @

852 Brad: Yeah.

853 PR: When I came back I, I, I think I developed the an attitude, I sort of looked down to what we had here. I was, I was so, I was always comparing as, you know, "Back in the states we had this, we had this, we had," you know.

854 Brad: @

855 PR: When I took shower there was hot water, there was warm water.

856 Brad: @

857 PR: I was always comparing, "Ah, the traffic here is lousy." @

858 Brad: @

859 PR: I had that attitude, I, I was comparing, I was looking down up on, you know. @ But then I, I readapted, yeah, but yeah, the impression was I looked down on what we had when I first came back.

860 Brad: Mmm.

861 PR: Ah, they, those people, you know, I complained when I went to the hospital, I complained that people didn't know about customer service. Even when I went to the stores when I waited a few minutes and no one asked for, if I asked if I needed help I also complained because I was so used to the customer service back in the states.

862 Brad: Right.

863 PR: I mean, you know, the, the clerks came after you, right, and they asked if you needed any help, you know.

864 Brad: Mmm.

865 PR: But back here you actually look for help, you know. @

866 Brad: @

867 PR: So I complained about that.

868 Brad: @ Mmm.

869 PR: I was always, I was comparing, when I first came back.

870 Brad: @

871 PR: "Aw, we had this, we had that, but you don't have this here."
@

872 Brad: @

873 PR: But that didn't change my mind to move back.

874 Brad: OK. @

875 PR: @

876 Brad: What was it like shifting away from English, uh, like things
from how people expect English to back to Pngelapese and
Pohnpeian?

877 PR: When I first came back, when I conversed to people, sometimes
I find myself refusing English languages like if I had to describe
something it was mostly in English, I had to say it in English.

878 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

879 PR: But overtime I, I switched back.

880 Brad: OK. @

881 PR: @

882 Brad: Mmm.

883 PR: And I know some of them thought that I was, the Pohnpeian
word we say for this is lioasoahs like we look down on.

884 Brad: Mmm.

885 PR: We pretended to be like westerners but, you know, and for
seven years that was a long time, so when I first, to me at least
when I first came back I had to, you know, when I described
or I, most of it was I had to use English words to, you know, to
describe something.

886 Brad: Mmm. Mmm.

887 PR: So yeah, I, I was more like an American when I came back. I
was so spoiled, I complained about mostly everything. @

888 Brad: @

889 PR: Not in a bad way that Americans complain but (.) @

890 Brad: @

891 PR: I'm sorry.

892 Brad: No, no, Americans complain everything.

893 PR: @

894 Brad: Yep. Mm-Mmm.

895 PR: I got so used to, you know, the, the good life back in America that when I came back to what I knew I, you know (.)

896 Brad: Mmm.

897 PR: I thought it was not as good. @

898 Brad: @ Yeah. Um, what do you think the linguistic feature of Pohnpei would be or of Sokehs in maybe 20, 50 years or so in your opinion?

899 PR: @ That's a very hard (.)

900 Brad: @

901 PR: Hypothetically.

902 Brad: Hypothetically, yeah.

903 PR: Given that the compact will expire in 2018, and given that there is no certainly if ever some decides to (.)

904 Brad: Yeah.

905 PR: Partner with a, a totally different nation, you know, that's, you know, I don't know.

906 Brad: Mmm.

907 PR: I don't know, but, you know, if you speak to our young people, you know, they are, they are very proud of their relationship with the US.

908 Brad: Mmm.

909 PR: And, you know, they, if you ask especially young people if they prefer US over China, most of them if not all will say US.

910 Brad: Mmm.

911 PR: So if US should stay and if their relationship continues I think we'll lose the local language over English.

912 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

913 PR: Yeah. That's what I see.

914 Brad: OK.

915 PR: If the relationship continues.

916 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

917 PR: So (.)

918 Brad: Do you think it will be a quick change or it will take awhile to, to lose language?

919 PR: I think it will be just the rate, the rate of change that we [inaudible 00:47:33], it will be gradual.

920 Brad: Mmm.

921 PR: If we maintain that relationship, but there will be major losses.

922 Brad: Hmm, OK.

923 PR: Because, you know, we are seeing this in our homes, you know, even when you go to, when I go to like I take my children to Sunday school. And, you know, when I have observe these kids, you know, when they talk they, now it's a mixture.

924 Brad: Mmm.

925 PR: Of English words, something like this, like if you, if they are telling you to turn off the lights, they don't use the local language, but they say onda offdi.

926 Brad: Mmm.

927 PR: So da means up.

928 Brad: Up. Yeah, yeah.

929 PR: Di is down @. So now it's, you know (.)

930 Brad: Mmm.

931 PR: Our children today are changing it.

932 Brad: OK.

933 PR: When they ask you to open that door, they don't use because there is a local language for opening, but they say openda, closedi. So (.)

934 Brad: OK.

935 PR: Yeah, I think, you know, we are losing and we'll continue to lose it.

936 Brad: Mmm.

937 PR: Yeah, unless efforts are made to help us preserve.

938 Brad: Mmm.

939 PR: But yeah, even our kids today whether they go to public school or private school we are (.)

940 Brad: Mmm.

941 PR: We are losing that.

942 Brad: What do you think can be done to stop it, stop the change or to reverse it?

943 PR: I think we should teach our children to appreciate, first learn to appreciate our language.

944 Brad: Mmm.

945 PR: Because most children think that, you know, the local language is, right, is down there.

946 Brad: Mmm.

947 PR: And the English language is up here.

948 Brad: Mmm.

949 PR: And, you know, and I think part of it is because of what they are exposed to, right, technology, you know, they are using Facebook and with these technologies that they have there, they are exposed to the media, many kinds of media.

950 Brad: Mmm.

951 PR: So, and, you know, and they see that language is very important in using these things. So to them they, they feel that language is the more relevant language to them.

952 Brad: Mmm.

953 PR: You know, so (.)

954 Brad: Mmm.

955 PR: Mmm.

956 Brad: Are there any organizations here that are talking about the important of local language, um, so I was thinking of like island food it talks about.

957 PR: Yes.

958 Brad: Eat local and how that's, that's an important thing. But does,
is there an equivalent for language like, you know, use Pohn-
peian or something, you know.

959 PR: Not that I know.

960 Brad: Mmm.

961 PR: Mmm. Not that I know.

962 Brad: Mmm.

963 PR: The historical preservation of this may, may have something
but (.)

964 Brad: OK.

965 PR: At least for me, I don't know.

966 Brad: Yeah. But it's not like everyone else was (.)

967 PR: It's not like the island [crosstalk 00:50:33] community
[crosstalk 00:50:34].

968 Brad: Hmm, because everyone goes out [crosstalk 00:50:36] mo-
ments, yeah.

969 PR: Hmm, Mmm. All I know is that each, each, um, each ethic
group like Mwokilese are also doing the same thing that the
Pingelapese the doing, translating the bible.

970 Brad: Mmm.

971 PR: So those are the only groups that I'm familiar with.

972 Brad: OK.

973 PR: But something that is equivalent to island food community, not
that I know.

974 Brad: OK.

975 PR: Mmm.

976 Brad: Well, those are all the formal questions that I have.

977 PR: @

978 Brad: Do you have any (.)?

979 PR: I hope I was helpful. @

980 Brad: No, it was very helpful. Thank you. Uh, do you have any like
last comments or anything about like language identity, any-
thing else you like to share that we haven't talked about?

981 PR: You know, I think, um, uh, you know, as a person who works
with closely with young people, and I shared this earlier, I'm
very scared. And I think more efforts I, I, it is my hope that the
larger organizations, especially our government, you know,
can create an effort to help us preserve our language. And
not, I think not only the language but part of what defines us.

982 Brad: Mmm.

983 PR: As Micronesians or as Pohnpeians or as Pohnpeian, I mean, as
Pingelapese.

984 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

985 PR: Because, you know, our islands are very unique. We claim to
be a whole but if we look at the geography we were different
ethnicities, different identities.

986 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

987 PR: So if we want to preserve that particular aspect of our ethnicity
and our identity, you know, I'm glad that the smaller groups
like the Pingelapese, the Mwokilese are doing something, but
even a larger effort can be made because I'm really scared.

988 Brad: Mm-Mmm.

989 PR: And I'm, I'm so proud of my identity, my ethnicity that I think,
you know, more attention should be given to preserve who we
are, what we are as Pohnpeians or Micronesians on a larger
scale.

990 Brad: Mmm.

991 PR: So, um, you know, when, when I see an opportunity, I try to
use that opportunity to convey (.)

992 Brad: Mmm.

993 PR: Like over the summer we did a training with our students to
tell the story of Nan Madol when it was now nominated on the
World Heritage site.

994 Brad: Mmm.

995 PR: So we did a one week training, we had one person from PREL to do the training, but after the training the students, you know, reflected and they really appreciated. They came to learn more about, not just Nan Madol, but other oral histories because we invited, you know, different case speakers to talk about the history and, you know, how Nan Madol came to be.

996 Brad: Mmm.

997 PR: But I tried to take any opportunity to, so when I teach my contemporary issues class, I try to emphasize on issues and (.) @

998 Brad: @

999 PR: But at the same time linking it to history.

1000 Brad: Mmm.

1001 PR: But, you know, and I try not to tell them that, "Oh, the Japanese way is not good," but I try to let them see how important it is because we cannot avoid change.

Appendix G. Interview with TK transcript

[BR1-23]

- 1 Brad: Alright, today is July 30th, 2016. Time is 1:30 p.m.
- 2 TK: All right, uh (.) When I was young I was born and raised up in an isolated island town of Kitti, and then I moved to Kolonia for maybe (.) 10 years.
- 3 Brad: OK.
- 4 TK: Then after that we moved, um, to this place.
- 5 Brad: OK.
- 6 TK: And I was stationed in three areas, Diadi, Kolonia, and this is the last. Here I was living here for, uh, almost 20-some years.
- 7 Brad: Oh, wow. OK.
- 8 TK: I am teaching at Palikir Elementary School. Last December, this guy and I, we graduate- graduated from COM. He, he was graduated from Micronesian Studies, and I was graduated from pre-teacher prep (.) and I was still continue on my education, maybe this December I will graduate from my third year. And then I'll go back to teaching.
- 9 Brad: Mm. OK. Great. Uh, have you traveled outside of Pohnpei before?
- 10 TK: Uh, I went to Philippine on medical referral two times.
- 11 Brad: OK.
- 12 TK: I have, uh, severe #, so I went to Philippine, and on my second referral I came back and stopped by in Guam for one week, then I (.) returned to Pohnpei.
- 13 Brad: OK, [inaudible 00:02:18]. So you never lived in the U.S. at all?
- 14 TK: No.

15 Brad: OK.Um. So you speak of course Pohnpeian and English. Any other languages?

16 TK: Some languages are clearly understood, like Mwokilese and some Pingelapese. And this guy's, uh, second language, the Mortlockese is quite, not really clear. Some I unders- understood some but not most of it.

17 Brad: OK, but you don't really speak it, like-

18 TK: Yes, I don't speak.

19 Brad: OK. Um, let's see.

20 TK: Yes, uh, it is one of the pride of any people around the world, speaking their own language, but in Pohnpei, since we are adapting your culture so rapidly, we are integrating your language into our very own language, and now we are creating somewhat like a (.) Pidgin Pohnpeian English.

21 Brad: Mmm.

22 TK: We, mostly the young youths, they speak a language that kind of mixed with Pohnpeian and English. And (.) maybe what I, what I see sadly, it's kind of sad, is that most of these, uh, youths, they really don't understand, uh, their language, and it's kind of vanishing and/or diminishing.

23 Brad: Mmm.

24 TK: Maybe, if we keep doing this, uh, integrating of English language into our very own language, maybe we'll lost this language.

25 Brad: Mmm.

26 TK: And it is a sad one. We'll be like Guam.

27 Brad: Mm. Can you give me an example of this, like the pidgin, like like what it might sound like?

28 TK: OK, since we are using electricity nowadays, we, we don't say kaukehda or koakul. We say, "On-da, off-di." Which is both the English and Pohnpeian. "On" means "turn it on," and "da" means "on." So we put those (.) words together, which is "on," but we put them together as one language, "on-da."

29 Brad: Mm.

30 TK: And also "off" (.) di means a negative of "on." So we say "off-di," means "turn it off."

31 Brad: Mm, m-kay.

32 TK: Mm.

33 Brad: M-kay.

34 TK: And (.) some words I've heard at COM. Ekis mah move means (.) Ekis means "a little bit." "Move" means "kohwei." Instead of "Ekis mah kohwei", we say "Ekis move mah."

35 Brad: Mmm.

36 TK: So we are integrating this language.

37 Brad: Mm.

38 TK: Yes, sometimes I use that because it's much easier.

39 Brad: Mmm.

40 TK: And faster.

41 Brad: OK.

42 TK: Before (.) no. Maybe some, but nowadays it's the younger generations are using this language.

43 Brad: Mmm, OK.

44 TK: I would say it's bad because (.) if we keep integrating these, uh, English language into our very own language, then some of these words will be forgotten. And we might really lost.

45 Brad: Mmm, OK.

46 TK: I could say that I'm a Pohnpeian, but instead of speaking Pohnpeian language, I'm a Pohnpeian speaking English language, which is quite different because there is a very (.) unique language of our very own. But if we keep integrating, then (.) who knows what will happen.

47 Brad: Mmm.

48 TK: Maybe we sure- surely lost this.

49 Brad: Mm.

50 TK: This, uh, shifting of generation if we keep, uh, integrating, we might surely lost the old language. Yes.

51 Brad: Mmm.

52 TK: It was, uh, Guam, it didn't take many years to change their language also.

53 Brad: Mmm.

54 TK: Since Guam, they have their very own language, but today they are speaking English. There are Guamanians , but they are speaking English.

55 Brad: Mmm. So you think Pohnpei will be like Guam, over time?

56 TK: Yes.

57 Brad: Um, what do you think the, the cause is for the people speaking more English?

58 TK: The cause is it's, it's true the adaptation of the culture. We are, before, we used to live in extended family. Whole family living together. And since we are adapting this culture and this, uh, system of, uh, democratic government, and then we shift from extended family to nuclear family. So, today we have to work 8 hours a day to earn money. So in this shift, great shift of occupation and (.) culture, it's, that's what's really taking the language away.

59 Brad: Mmm.

60 TK: That's what I think.

61 Brad: Mmm. I mean what, what caused that shift? Like, that culture shift.

62 TK: Maybe we love Western style.

63 Brad: Mmm.

64 TK: Maybe we love your culture.

65 Brad: Mm.

66 TK: It seems simple, it's parent and their children living together. Maybe that's why.

67 Brad: Mmm, OK.

68 TK: Yes. That's, mm, one of the great impact on this language. Because, in Pohnpei, the education, uh, curriculum and framework, we have to teach English, o-, vernacular, or Pohnpeian language from first grade to third grade. And from third grade all the way to university we have to learn English. And we have limited years to learn our language. So, while we are learning English, and it's, it's, English is over-powering our very own language.

69 Brad: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

70 TK: We begin to learn more of the English language than our very own.

71 Brad: Mmm. So do you think (.) schools should teach Pohnpeian longer, past third grade?

72 TK: Yes.

73 Brad: Uh-

74 TK: All the way through college.

75 Brad: Mmm.

76 TK: Since we have, uh, our COM here, we can integrate courses in (.) the four languages of the FSM. So, through elementary, high school, and college, the students can keep learning their language, so it won't fade away.

77 Brad: Mmm.

78 TK: No, there's no-

79 Brad: There's no what?

80 TK: There's no curriculum.

81 Brad: What is the Micronesian Studies Program like? Do you (.) do you use any of the vernacular languages there?

82 TK: Mostly we are learning about the history of Micronesia.

83 Brad: Mm, OK.

84 TK: We don't, we don't learn our language. Or such, there's no linguistics courses.

85 Brad: Mmm.

86 TK: None. We only learn the history, the periods of these, uh, of those, uh, foreign nations who govern the islands.

87 Brad: Mmm.

88 TK: Yes.

89 Brad: Mmm.

90 TK: Every time you will ask if Pohnpeian people if they love Pohnpei, they wanna keep Pohnpei, they will usually say yes. But through the adaptation of this culture, we are greatly shifting to your very own culture.

91 Brad: Right.

92 TK: So it means that, we say we love Pohnpei, but we greatly in love with you.

93 Brad: Mm. OK.

94 TK: @.

95 Brad: So it's like you say one thing, but do something else?

96 TK: Yes, yes, we're doing another thing.

97 Brad: OK, interesting.

98 TK: I (.) I don't understand. But I would say the U.S. Embassy. Because before, uh, there's a program at COM, the Bilingual Education under Linguistic Program. It was, uh, funded by the U.S. government to (.) help the students of Pohnpei learn their language properly. And then (.) after a few years, the fund that the U.S. government sent was depleted, and COM, FSM, and Pohnpei state government, they could not afford the money to keep the program running, so it's (.) kind of collapsed.

99 Brad: Mmm.

100 TK: And (.) and it's back to where we start from. Learning English always.

101 Brad: Mmm. OK.

102 TK: During my lecture times, I use both English and Pohnpeian.

103 Brad: OK.

104 TK: All our activities, our reading, our language arts, maths, science, social studies, are all in English language. So I have to teach those lessons all in (.) Pohnpeian English.

105 Brad: OK.

106 TK: So I will give them the Pohnpei-English language, and then I will try to translate and explain it in Pohnpeian. But I keep urging our Pohnpei state specialist to change our class lessons to Pohnpeian language, but I don't know what happened.

107 Brad: Mmm.

108 TK: All our tests, assessments, and uh (.) summative and formative assessments are all in English language. So (.) I think we are teaching the students the English language rather than the Pohnpeian language.

109 Brad: Mmm. OK.

110 TK: What's that?

111 Brad: W- when did you start learning English as a kid?

112 TK: Oh, I myself?

113 Brad: Yeah.

114 TK: I started learning English (.) in school.

115 Brad: Which grade?

116 TK: First grade.

117 Brad: First grade.

118 TK: Mm-hmm (affirmative), I never had #.

119 Brad: Oh, OK. Uh, what, what kind of, what school did you go to?

120 TK: I went to Ohmine Elementary School.

121 Brad: OK.

122 TK: Until fourth grade. Then I moved down to Palikir Elementary School.

123 Brad: Mmm. And did you have, uh, Pohnpeian teachers, or mehn wai, or (.) other people?

124 TK: In (.) elementary, before, there's a Peace Corps volunteer (.) uh, I forgot her name. Larry? And then in high school, most of them are Pohnpeians. And I have only one mehn wai teacher, Mr. Massy. He's teaching book-keeping and accounting.

125 Brad: Mmm, OK.

126 TK: But still, only, when I, when I reached college, then that's the day when I start socializing with the mehn wai teachers.

127 Brad: Mmm, OK. Where did you go to high school?

128 TK: PICS High School.

129 Brad: PICS, OK. Great.

130 TK: That's a very difficult question for me. Uh, until now I don't know.

131 Brad: Mmm.

132 TK: Because both English and Pohnpeian I, I still have struggle with these two languages.

133 Brad: Mmm.

134 TK: Sometimes I don't understand some of the words that's being spoken to me.

135 Brad: Mmm.

136 TK: So maybe learning these two languages better than any other language, till now.

137 Brad: OK.

138 TK: Some Pohnpeian language because, Pohnpeian language, we have three levels of speaking, which is, uh, the first one is commonly used by us, and the second one is # pato, the second level, and third level is when we speak to the Nahnmwarkis or the high titled people. It's kind- it's different. And this I, uh, level of speaking. Most of them I don't understand.

139 Brad: Mmm. So you don't use it yourself very often, and-

140 TK: Yes.

141 Brad: Mm.

142 TK: Only when I was in seventh grade and I prayed (.) we used to have a college program, also funded from the U.S. government, and that (.) branch also (.) out of funding and they didn't run it anymore.

143 Brad: Mmm, OK.

144 TK: So (.) most of the Pohnpeians, they are losing their very own levels of language. And there's ano- there's another, two ways of speaking Pohnpeian language. It's much more like a, a code. [side conversation] There, there were two languages, Pohnpei s- spoken by the Pohnpeians, it's kind of, it is s- sylla- syllabal- ized from the base word. Like, "kohla" means "go." Instead of saying "kohla," they would say "korko," means "go" So "kohla" means "korko" means (.) Mmm. It's much more like a code.

145 Brad: Ah, OK. When would you use this, or who would use this?

146 TK: I never use that, but some of these people they are using-

147 Brad: Like, young people, or just anyone?

148 TK: Some older people, they are very master in it.

149 Brad: Ah, and why would, why would they use that as opposed to the other ways?

150 TK: To (.) keep a secret from the others.

151 Brad: Ah, OK.

152 TK: Because if I wanna speak to you, and I, I don't want these people to understand what I'm telling you or saying to you, so I will use that word.

153 Brad: Ah, OK. So you use it with, like, people that you're close with but also know it, like as a secret.

154 TK: Mm-hmm (affirmative)

155 Brad: Ah, OK. OK, interesting.

156 TK: There were two of (.) this, uh, way of speaking.

157 Brad: Do (.) so it's like a, like an, older people know it better?

158 TK: Some of these older people, they are very fluent with it.

159 Brad: OK, but younger people (.) do they use it much?

160 TK: No. Nowadays, no.

161 Brad: OK, so it's kind of a dying out-

162 TK: Only, only nowadays the, some of, some of them are practicing but (.) they're not really good at the-

163 Brad: OK. What, what's that, does it have a name?

164 TK: No.

165 Brad: It's got, OK. OK.

166 TK: I have dozen of them! One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, [crosstalk 00:21:15] eleven, twelve @.

167 Brad: That's right, you said that. That's right. Um, how (.) uh, what languages do you want your kids to speak?

168 TK: Both Pohnpeian and English.

169 Brad: OK. Um, why English?

170 TK: Because (.) every day learning is English.

171 Brad: Mmm.

172 TK: In the schools.

173 Brad: M-kay. Uh, and why Pohnpeian?

174 TK: Because they are Pohnpeian. They have to know their language perfectly and then English so they can learn and further their education.

175 Brad: Mmm. Um, do you think Pohnpeians who can't speak Pohnpeian are still Pohnpeians? Or is that, are they somehow less Pohnpeian?

176 TK: They are still Pohnpeian.

177 Brad: Mm.

178 TK: You cannot deny them that they are Pohnpeian, but the only thing is they are lacking their own language.

179 Brad: Mm. Um (.) do, do you think it's important for Pohnpei to still keep Pohnpeian?

180 TK: Yes.

181 Brad: Why?

182 TK: It is a unique culture from the other, other cultures around the world. And this language is (.) what also identifies and shows that we are all from this island, Pohnpei.

183 Brad: Mmm.

184 TK: So I (.) I think it's one of the pride of the island.

185 Brad: Mmm.

186 TK: The language.

187 Brad: So if (.) Pohnpei were to lose the language, it would lose part of (.)

188 TK: Part of the culture.

189 Brad: Part of the culture. 'Cause (.) the two are connected?

190 TK: Yes.

191 Brad: Mmm. Um, what do you think, how (.) so you kind of talked about what the different levels of Pohnpeian, um, can (.) so part of that is with, is showing respect through the language, right?

192 TK: Yes.

193 Brad: Is it possible to show respect here without using Pohnpeian, but with English or some other language, or is something lost?

194 TK: Yes, we can (.) ask, um (.) inform those higher ranking people to forgive them 'cause we don't understand how to speak the higher level. So they will permit us to speak the lower level.

195 Brad: Mmm.

196 TK: And these nahnmwarkis nowadays, they are, they are good.

197 Brad: Mmm.

198 TK: Because they are allowing people to use the common language.

199 Brad: Mmm.

200 TK: In order to communicate clearly.

201 Brad: Do all nahnmwarkis do that, or only some? All- allow people to speak the common language?

202 TK: Nowadays, mostly, yes, all of them.

203 Brad: OK. Mmm. Um, what kind of people do you think, like, still know the, the high language? Like the respectful?

204 TK: Nowadays, it's the youths, the young generation, they, they really lost this, uh, speaking the higher level.

205 Brad: Mmm.

206 TK: Because I myself, I am not teaching them because I don't know.

207 Brad: Mmm.

208 TK: Both of them. And they didn't even learn in elementary school. But that's why, rarely you see that.

209 Brad: Mmm.

210 TK: But some people are really good in speaking that language.

211 Brad: Mmm.

212 TK: The higher level.

213 Brad: So some people still know, know it.

214 TK: Yes.

215 Brad: OK.

216 TK: Mostly the older people, they are really understand.

217 Brad: Mmm. Mmm. If you had the opportunity to learn, would you want to?

218 TK: Yes.

219 Brad: You s- still think it's useful to know and-

220 TK: Yes.

221 Brad: OK. Mmm.

222 TK: In everyday life? Well, when I'm teaching, when I'm attending college.

223 Brad: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

224 TK: And when I'm speaking to those people who can't speak (.) Pohnpeian. And mostly you will come and get # language courses.

225 Brad: Mmm, right. Um, so wait, do you, you speak English with other Micronesians?

226 TK: Yes, I speak English with Kosraeans, Chuukese, Yapese.

227 Brad: OK.

228 TK: Mostly those people who really don't understand the Pohnpeian language.

229 Brad: Mmm.

230 TK: And I don't understand their language.

231 Brad: Mmm.

232 TK: We use to communicate with English.

233 Brad: OK. Mmm.

234 TK: Maybe the language, yes (.) It's up to them. But how to (.) socialize and interact with the Pohnpeians through the Pohnpeian culture, that's what they really need.

235 Brad: Mmm, and you think that's true also for mehn wai, they should learn Pohnpeian? If they live here?

236 TK: No, I don't.

237 Brad: Mm.

238 TK: It's up to them if they wanna learn.

239 Brad: Mm.

240 TK: But, it doesn't matter if they (.) don't learn it or not.

241 Brad: Mm.

242 TK: Or, I don't know, it's up to that person.

243 Brad: OK. Um (.) so when you, where do you get information, get news, like what are your sources for, for that?

244 TK: English (.) Or-

245 Brad: Just an- anywhere on the island, like, where do you get any kind of news information?

246 TK: OK. OK, from people, from the internet.

247 Brad: Mmm.

248 TK: And mostly today, Facebook, eh?

249 Brad: Ah, OK.

250 TK: Yes @.

251 Brad: So when you use, uh, Facebook, what, what languages do you use?

252 TK: I use (.) Pohnpei and English.

253 Brad: OK. When would you use English on Facebook?

254 TK: When I'm talking to (.) my friends, sometimes I speak in both Pohnpei and sometimes I speak English.

255 Brad: OK. Um, are any of these friends Pohnpeian that you would use English with?

256 TK: No. Some of my friends, they don't speak, uh, Pohnpeian language, so I have to use English.

257 Brad: OK. OK. Um, is there ever a situation when you would use English with someone from Pohnpei, and that, and that, who also speaks Pohnpeian?

258 TK: Yes.

259 Brad: When would that situation be?

260 TK: When I was, uh, using this Pohnpeian, and then that, that Pohnpeian word is longer than the English word, I use the English word rather than the Pohnpeian.

261 Brad: Mm. Can you give me an example, do you know of any-?

262 TK: Mm (.) For example, this, uh, this word, uh, mwenge, there are many letters in it, but in your language it is only three letters. So sometimes, that's what I do. Pop out the Pohnpeian word, and use the English because it's shorter.

263 Brad: Mmm, OK (.) So, can you use that in a sentence?

264 TK: Using that, this word in, in a sentence?

265 Brad: Yeah.

266 TK: Yes. Like (.) but this is, this, this is not the word that I usually use.

267 Brad: Mm.

268 TK: But when I come across a word that is longer in the Pohnpeian, I use the English.

269 Brad: Oh, OK.

270 TK: But this word eat is come and eat.

271 Brad: OK.

272 TK: Means, because Pohnpeian language, kohdo mwenge is kind of longer than come and eat.

273 Brad: Mmm, OK. Thanks.

274 TK: kohdo mwenge #, something like that.

275 Brad: Mmm. Oh, I f- also forgot to ask, um, if you don't mind. How old are you?

276 TK: I'm 45 years old.

277 Brad: Great. Thank you. Great.

278 TK: As for me, was uh (.) Yes, I was lucky to learn the English language also, because this is what I learned in school, and all my instructions and all my activities are based on English, so I was happy that I know more about English language so I can do my studies more clearly.

279 Brad: Mmm, OK.

280 TK: I would gladly describe in very simple, basic way so they can clearly understand how important it is.

281 Brad: Mmm. Um, and how would you, or like wh- what, uh, words would you use to describe English to s- someone here, you know, a Pohnpeian who doesn't know anything about English? How would you describe the English language?

282 TK: It'll be also the same way as I explained the Pohnpeian language.

283 Brad: Mmm.

284 TK: Because English within the FSM is our second language and in every (.) offices we have to communicate using English, so it's kind of both.

285 Brad: Mmm. Do you think, since English is the second language of the country, right, um, do you think it would be better if, instead of English being the second language, maybe Pohnpeian were the official language of all of the FSM, or Chuukese or Kosraean or some other Micronesian language instead? Do you think that would be better than English?

286 TK: The Pohnpei State government and the National government, the optional language is English.

287 Brad: Yeah.

288 TK: So I would say yes.

289 Brad: So you would say it, it would be better if it were English? Or-

290 TK: Yeah.

291 Brad: Than changing it to something else?

292 TK: Mm-hmm (affirmative). English is the best.

293 Brad: Why is that? O- why is that better than if, if Pohnpei were the official language of the national government?

294 TK: Because (.) within the FSM, there are four states within the FSM, so each of those, uh, four states learning the Pohnpeian language is, maybe it's good, but they cannot use Pohnpeian language in the other foreign countries. But using and adapting this, uh, English language, you can use everywhere around.

295 Brad: Mmm. So it's more useful to learn English-

296 TK: Yes.

297 Brad: You can use it other places.

298 TK: Since English is much more like a universal language today.

299 Brad: Oh, OK. OK, great. Well, thank you for taking this time out
and, and sitting here, and asking my questions and stuff-

300 TK: Mmm, OK. And thank you, kalahngan. I, maybe I didn't really
fulfill what you really need to know, but if further questions,
you can come back, so we can talk about it over.

301 Brad: Yeah.

302 TK: Thank you very much

303 Brad: Yeah.

304 TK: Kalahngan en komwi #Koaron

305 Brad: Can, can I ask one last thing? How, how can I spell your name
properly? It's like #.

306 TK: I used to have a very long name.

307 Speaker 3 How long, four feet?

308 TK: Three yards @.

309 Speaker 3 @.

Appendix H. Interview with MK transcript

[BR1-25]

1 MK: OK.

2 Brad: Today is Tuesday, July 19th, 2016. The time is 11:38 a.m. OK.
Um, so, just a couple of (.) you already answered some of these
questions, but, uh, just as a quick background. So, um, what is
your age? If you don't mind saying.

3 MK: 37

4 Brad: 37. Um, and how long have you lived in Pohnpei overall?

5 MK: Um, well, I have lived in Pohnpei off and on. Um, I was born
in the US and raised here in Pohnpei when from the age two
up until the age 13. Then I lived in Illinois to go to high school,
um, for about four years and then (.) But, would come back
during the summer. Um, and then went off to college, um, in
Omaha, Nebraska for four years, and ended up living there a
total of six years. And then came back, actually, in 2005, so
I've lived here for 11 years now.

6 Brad: OK.

7 MK: Without going back to the states or living in the states, so.

8 Brad: OK.

9 MK: So I would say, total of, like, almost 20 plus years.

10 Brad: OK.Mmm.

11 MK: Great.

12 Brad: Um, so what languages do you speak, then?

13 MK: I just, I just speak Pohnpeian and English. Um, I would say
those are my fluent, the languages that I know fluently.

14 Brad: OK.

- 15 MK: And speak fluently. But, then I play around with the other languages.
- 16 Brad: OK.
- 17 MK: The other Micronesian languages.
- 18 Brad: Such as?
- 19 MK: Well, Kosraean, Chuukese, Marshallese. Um, trying Palauan, but that's really hard and Yapese is very difficult, but, yeah.
- 20 Brad: OK. Great. Um.
- 21 MK: Oh and I do know a little bit of Spanish.
- 22 Brad: Oh.
- 23 MK: I took Spanish in college and in high school, so.
- 24 Brad: Oh, OK. Wonderful. Um. So when did you start learning Pohnpeian or speaking it? Did you learn it as a child?
- 25 MK: Um, I learned it as a child. English was actually, I guess, my first language, um, but that was 'cause we were living in the states, and then when I was two years old we moved to Pohnpei and I totally forgot English and I only spoke Pohnpeian. And then I started learning, um, English when I was going to school. My mother's, my mother is American, um, so she would speak English to me, but I never understood what she was saying, so it forced her, um, learn how to speak Pohnpeian. So that we could communicate.
- 26 Brad: OK.
- 27 MK: Um, but, yeah. So I actually say Pohnpeian is my, um, first language. Then, yeah, learned English along the way.
- 28 Brad: OK. Did you ever use Pohnpeian in the schools here?
- 29 MK: Um, with my friends. I went to a private school, so it was only English, though, we were taught in English. Um, teachers were Americans, principal was American. We only had two teachers that were Pohnpeians at the time. Um, so it was mostly English. Yeah.
- 30 Brad: OK. Um, what do you think of that? Of schools that only teach in English here?

- 31 MK: Um, private schools (.) I think there is also, I mean, it's, it's great that they teach the kids English and how to speak it properly, how to write it properly, correctly. But, then, um, I still think that they need to also teach the Pohnpeian language. Um, well, depending on what island you're from. Uh, like if you're from, or this school is in Pohnpei, the Pohnpeian language. If the school is in Chuuk, Chuukese language. They need to teach that Micronesian island's language, um, because a lot of the students are from that island and when they're done with eighth grade, um, some of them don't even know how to, um, write. They know how to speak their own language, but they don't know how to read it or write it themselves.
- 32 Brad: Mmm.
- 33 MK: So they end up trying to teach their, themselves how to read and write and usually that's wrong.
- 34 Brad: OK.
- 35 MK: Because, yeah, they write it incorrectly. Um, so, yeah. I think it's great for kids, especially if they're looking at going to school in the states or working in the government, national government or anything, to learn, to learn English right away, but it's also very important to also teach them their local language, as well.
- 36 Brad: OK. Can you write Pohnpeian using the standardized orthography? The writing system?
- 37 MK: Mmm, yeah.
- 38 Brad: And how did you learn to do that?
- 39 MK: Um, I basically taught myself and with the assistance of my father.
- 40 Brad: OK.
- 41 MK: Mmm. And my family, my local family.
- 42 Brad: Mmm.
- 43 MK: Um (.) But, he, when we were going to school, he would give us, like, Pohnpeian stuff to read and, you know, not only be only reading English books and stuff.

44 Brad: So what kind of-

45 MK: Sorry. Sorry. ((Cell phone rings))

46 Brad: No, that's OK.

47 MK: ((Talks on phone in Pohnpeian))

48 Brad: It's OK. OK. Um, so what kind of things would you read in Pohnpeian as a kid?

49 MK: Um, well, of course the bible. @ Um, we did a lot of, like, we went to our Catholic mission, you know, um, is, um, in Pohnpeian and you had to get com- what is it? Communion in Pohnpeian, so that was, um, Pohnpeian. Learned the prayers in Pohnpeian. Um, read (.). Even his own writing, 'cause he, uh, worked for historic preservation. He did, um, reports and stuff in Pohnpeian, so we'd read that. Um, my grandmother only wrote Pohnpeian, so. Well, I guess she wrote, um, Japanese, but she never wrote Japanese, so since we can't read Japanese. Um, but, yeah, she wrote in Pohnpeian. Um, posters, books, just about everything and anything billboards, I guess, at that time. Songs. Yeah.

50 MK: OK, OK. Um, do you know how to speak Min-Ming?

51 Brad: A little, not, not fluently.

52 MK: OK.

53 Brad: Mmm.How did you learn that?

54 MK: Um, basically, we were taught it as a young age. But, because we were young at that time we didn't really care about learning. Um, now I find that it's very important to learn it. And, so I'm just learning through my uncles and aunties. Um, and asking them questions along the way. Um, but, yeah. Basically just through them.

55 Brad: OK.

56 MK: And listening to other people speaking it.

57 Brad: OK.

58 MK: Mmm.

59 Brad: Um, so when you were young, your parents that were teaching it? Or other family members?

60 MK: Yeah, my, yeah, my father, uh, my grandmother. Just different family members. Mmm.

61 Brad: OK. um, how often do you use it?

62 MK: Um, surprisingly, now, quite often. Um, I use very minimal, but, um, it's a lot because I have a cousin who is our traditional chief for the community that I come from, the village that I come from. And so, yeah, we have to use Meing with him.

63 Brad: OK. In what kind of situations would you use it with him? Or in general?

64 MK: Just even saying, "Hi, hello, how are you" you have to use ia iromwi and not just ia iromw. You know.

65 Brad: Mmm.

66 MK: Like, just simple, every day.

67 Brad: Mmm. OK.

68 MK: Mmm.

69 Brad: Um, if you could learn any language right now, which one would it be?

70 MK: Um, besides the ones that I already know?

71 Brad: Mmm. Or if you want to learn any better than you currently speak?

72 MK: Uh (.) I'd probably say, I don't know. Maybe Japanese.

73 Brad: OK. And why do you say that?

74 MK: Well, Jap, Japan is another country that is quite strong and influential in the world. Um, and if I'd ever want to go work in Japan I'd have to know Japanese.

75 Brad: OK.

76 MK: No, no, but, yeah. Um, out of the Asian countries, I think Japan is more, um, respected and more, I guess, a lot of people work with Japan more. Or at least here in the FSM. We work with Japan a lot and it'd be just good to be able to communicate with them at their level.

77 Brad: OK.

78 MK: Mmm.

79 Brad: All right. Um (.) This is a very subjective question, but do you think that any languages sound beautiful or ugly or not?

80 MK: I think yeah. I mean, there are languages that sound really ugly. Can't think of them right now, but there are some that are just, like, very rapid and, like, just doesn't make any sense.

81 Brad: Mmm.

82 MK: Um, but there are languages that are more rhythmic and, like, you know, like, I don't know, singing so we have of course. Um (.) Every language is different.

83 Brad: Mmm.

84 MK: It's just the way you perceive it, I guess. Yeah. I'm trying to think what language. I don't think I have a favorite language. I love Pohnpeian, of course, because I am a proud Pohnpeian. But, of course, that's being biased. @ Um (.) Yeah, I think (.) Work with a lot of Australians. I'm finding their accents not very nice.

85 Brad: Mmm.

86 MK: Like, there's some words that they say that's nice. Others are kinda, you know, just the way they speak. Um (.) Yeah, I can't think of any.

87 Brad: OK. Um, what about with Micronesian languages? Do you, like, find some more beautiful than others or more ugly? Or (.) What do you-

88 MK: Well, of course I love the Pohnpeian language. @

89 Brad: Right, of course.

90 MK: Um, I don't, I don't find the languages to be ugly. I just find it's more difficult to say. Like the Yapese, um, language to me, it's harder for, for me to get my tongue to just say what it, you know, wrap around the word that they're trying to, uh, make me say. But, there's no real language that I find to be ugly.

91 Brad: OK. Interesting.

92 MK: It's very interesting, I think.

93 Brad: Yeah.

94 MK: The different languages.

95 Brad: OK.

96 MK: Even, you know, Micronesia.

97 Brad: Mmm. So how are you learning or have you learned other Micronesian languages?

98 MK: Just by going to the places or I have friends from there that, you know, they'll teach me a few of their words.

99 Brad: Mmm.

100 MK: Um, yeah. I wouldn't (.) But, um, I bring a lot of, uh, volunteers from Australia to the other, um, Micronesian islands and, so, through that I try to learn, um, the language. Or at least a few words so I can make them chuckle.

101 Brad: OK. Uh, do you have any kids at all? Or-

102 MK: I have one.

103 Brad: OK. Um, do you want that, your kid to be multilingual at all? Or-

104 MK: Yeah. I think it's important 'cause I'm Pohnpeian and I'm also American. Um, so I believe it's very important for him to learn Pohnpeian, know Pohnpeian. Speak it, write it, um, and same as English. He's also Kosraean. Um, so, hopefully, um, his Kosraean family will be able to teach him Kosraean. Um (.)

105 Brad: OK.

106 MK: Or speak to him more in Kosraean 'cause I think it's important that he also knows his other language.

107 Brad: OK. Um, are there languages that you don't want him to learn? Or not to?

108 MK: No, no.

109 Brad: OK. OK. Um, so you said you worked with Australian volunteers. So what exactly do you do for your job?

- 110 MK: I'm the country representative, um, for the Australian Volunteers International North Pacific Program. Um, we work with different, um, different organizations to bring in volunteers from Australia, so. In, besides just creating assignments for the, our volunteers, um, we're also doing orientation for them. Um, bringing them into country and then teaching them about the traditions, cultures, from, in each island country.
- 111 Brad: OK. Great. So at work in the office, what language or languages do you use?
- 112 MK: Um, English and Pohnpeian, depending on who I'm speaking with.
- 113 Brad: OK. Um, so give me an example of when you would use English or when you would use Pohnpeian.
- 114 MK: Well, I would definitely, um, use English when I'm speaking to my Australian volunteers.
- 115 Brad: Mmm.
- 116 MK: Um, but if I'm calling the, you know, Marshall Islands, or, um, Chuuk, or any other non-Pohnpeian speaking, um, island or speaking to someone that's not from Pohnpei, I would use English. Usually when I'm speaking to someone from Pohnpei, I speak Pohnpeian.
- 117 Brad: OK. Is there any time when you would use English with Pohnpeians?
- 118 MK: If the Pohnpeian doesn't really understand Pohnpeian. Or maybe was born and raised in the US and came back and doesn't, you know, doesn't really speak Pohnpeian. Um (.) Or sometimes I might use Pohnpeian when, or English when you can't really describe what you're trying to say in Pohnpeian because there's no such word for such things.
- 119 Brad: Mmm. Can you give me an example?
- 120 MK: Uh (.) On the spot, I can't think right now. Um (.)
- 121 Brad: OK.

- 122 MK: Well, like, even (.) Let me think. What were we (.) What were we talking? We were talking about child protection policies with Pohnpeians about two weeks ago and just the concept of having a child protection policy. You know, we have this, for English it's child protection policy, you have three, nice, easy words that people understand. Um, in Pohnpeian, we don't have (.) You can't translate it to just three simple words. It's more of a paragraph. So you describe it to them. Describe it to the Pohnpeians.
- 123 Brad: Mmm.
- 124 MK: And then just get, um, feedback, uh, from them to know if they really did understand what you were trying to say. Yeah.
- 125 Brad: OK.
- 126 MK: Yeah.
- 127 Brad: OK. Um, do you feel that you use a lot of English words when you speak Pohnpeian? Borrowed words?
- 128 MK: Um, no 'cause I think I'm more aware of the borrowed words. Um, so I, yeah, I don't usually use, like, "use."
- 129 Brad: Mmm.
- 130 MK: I'm not using my zorries or whatever.
- 131 Brad: OK. So you try not to use English words, like you're saying? Like, you're conscious about that and (.)
- 132 MK: Yeah, yeah. 'Cause I think, um, nowadays we're mixing it so much that it's becoming harder for people to actually speak their own language 'cause we're, yeah, what, what we call soup. Mixing the two languages together.
- 133 Brad: Mmm.
- 134 MK: Um, and then we don't form our, you know, we just use the way we speak.
- 135 Brad: OK.
- 136 MK: Through that. We're forgetting words, I think.
- 137 Brad: Mmm. So what kind of people do you think generally use more English words in Pohnpeian?

- 138 MK: Um, kind of people? Ones that work in government build- government offices a lot. Um, people who have gone off to school in the US or have lived in the US for a long time. Um, come back, maybe their vocabulary has become very limited and so they, you know, mix.
- 139 Brad: OK.
- 140 MK: Um, yeah.
- 141 Brad: So you wouldn't find that as much, like, in Kitti or # parts of the island?
- 142 MK: Yeah, you wouldn't use, yeah. You wouldn't see that mostly in the, yeah. More in the villages, in town, you would. I guess.
- 143 Brad: OK.
- 144 MK: Yeah, the people in town, you get a lot of mixing.
- 145 Brad: OK. And do you feel this is limited, like, by age at all? Or, um, like do older people use a lot of English, too? Or is it more, like, younger people in a particular generation?
- 146 MK: Like, how old are you talking about? Like, I would say maybe 40, 50, yeah there's a mixing. Um, but usually about 60 and over, they're not mixing their languages.
- 147 Brad: OK.
- 148 MK: Mmm.
- 149 Brad: OK. Um (.) What do you think of, like, how would you describe the language situation in Pohnpei, in general? Like, what languages are used, where are they used, et cetera.
- 150 MK: Um, well Pohnpei has (.) Since Pohnpei is, um, houses the capital of the FSM, we have people from the four states here working. And, so in the workplace, especially in the government, um, or, I don't know, where there's more Kosraeans, they're, they speak more Kosraean to each other. Um, Yapese speak more, you know, tend to speak Yapese to one another. Um, it's a very mixed language. Um, the, I guess the Pohnpeian. And we just speak it according to the situation. Did I answer the question? What's the question again?

- 151 Brad: Um, how would you describe the language situation in Pohnpei?
- 152 MK: Uh, just mixed and (.) I don't know. Very mixed. And people (.) Yeah, people just tend to speak the language that they were born speaking, um, unless it's, you know, to a Pohnpeian or Kosraean or talking, then they'd speak English, automatically speak English to each other.
- 153 Brad: OK. Um, what about, like, in Sokehs? What would you describe that as? What's, like, with the outer islands? Like, Pingelapese, Mwokilese?
- 154 MK: Well, in Sokehs, the, um, they're pretty much broken into s-different sections. And so the people from the Mortlocks on one end, um, the people from Mwoakilloa and Pingelap are from, are in other, you know, sections. Um, so it's not (.) I don't think it's not (.) It's, it's structured, I guess. Um (.) Uh, it's not confusing, you know, it's not chaotic or anything like that. People know where they're from and they speak the language that they're from.
- 155 Brad: Mmm.
- 156 MK: Um, people from Mwokil and Pingelap, they tend to, if you're from Pingelap you can speak Mwokilese to the, uh, Pingelapese and they can kind of talk to each other. Um, still understanding each other.
- 157 Brad: OK. Um, what do you think about the linguistic future of the islands? Like, what do you, in, you know, ten, twenty, fifty years, what do you think it will be like here?
- 158 MK: I think there is a movement to make it stronger, so, um, it'll still be Pohnpeian. Um (.) With the adopted words. Um (.) I, I don't know. It might not be as strong as it is now 'cause a lot of kids are (.) More tending, tending to speak more English, I guess, maybe. But, no, it's still, I don't know. I think the communities, in the communities it's still very strong. That's, I mean, they're taught in Pohnpeian. They're taught to read, write, speak Pohnpeian, so it's, yeah, I think it'll still be.

159 Brad: OK.

160 MK: But, I don't think it'll be ruined. Yeah.

161 Brad: OK. Um, do you think other Micronesians living on Pohnpei should learn Pohnpeian?

162 MK: No. um, but they should know their own language. Um, but they, if they want to, because the Pohnpeian language is widely spoken here in Pohnpei, um, so it would be good to at least understand. They don't need to know it fluently, but good to understand. I mean, after all they're here in Pohnpei.

163 Brad: OK.

164 MK: If I went to Kapingamarangi I would want to learn Kapingamarangi, so I could be able to communicate with them better.

165 Brad: OK. You think that's a commonly held view of amongst the people living in Pohnpei, that if I live someplace else I want to learn their language?

166 MK: No.

167 Brad: OK. Um, so you think, do you think overall that Pohnpeians want to preserve Pohnpeian in the future?

168 MK: Yes, of course.

169 Brad: Um, and what do you think, like, that foreigners want for Pohnpeians, like, language future? Um.

170 MK: Um, I don't think foreigners, um (.) Well, what do you mean foreigners? Like, the, the (.) The western man? Or (.)

171 Brad: So, like, um, maybe governments with embassies here or people that will affect policies.

172 MK: Oh, they definitely need to learn Pohnpeian or at least try to understand the Pohnpeian culture. I work with people from, you know, like the diplomatic, um, communities, and they come in with a sense of thinking that their countries are right and ours is still a very developing culture and we don't know any better.

173 Brad: Mmm.

174 MK: Um, so I think they need to learn at least a little Pohnpeian. Well, not even, I mean, not really Pohnpeian, but more the culture than the language.

175 Brad: Mmm.

176 MK: But, through the language you learn the culture, so.

177 Brad: Mmm. Do you think they want to preserve Pohnpeian? Or do you think they have a different interest in mind?

178 MK: They say they want to preserve Pohnpeian, but I think they have a different interest in mind. @

179 Brad: @ Yeah. Um (.) Where do you, um, typically find (.) Like, where are your sources of information for, um, like, events that are happening here, happening in the world? Um, where do you find news and other, like, current events?

180 MK: Um, well, for Pohnpei news, it's in the sakau Bars @. Or, basically through friends 'cause you hear things. Um, so you talk to your friends, your family, find out through them. Um, through the radio station, um, newspaper.

181 Brad: OK.

182 MK: Um (.)

183 Brad: In what languages are these in, typically?

184 MK: Um, in the, on the radio it's usually, um, Pohnpeian, except for the world news. They also, they translate it into, um, English. Um, then we have CNN, as well, so.

185 Brad: Mmm.

186 MK: Get a lot of that. And then internet, of course. Um (.) Uh, but mostly it's in Pohnpeian.

187 Brad: OK. Um, when you use social media, like Facebook, do you typically post things or write things in English or Pohnpeian or another language or?

188 MK: Uh, depends on who I am trying (.) Who I want them, who I want to know what I'm talking about. If it's, um, if it's directed to Pohnpeians, then it would be mostly Pohnpeian. If it's directed to Pohnpeians, Kosraeans, Americans, everyone, it'd be in English so that everybody understands.

189 Brad: OK.

190 MK: Um, but, yeah. It really depends on who you're, who I'm talking to.

191 Brad: OK. Great. Um, yeah, those are the, the questions that I have so far. Um, is there anything else that you want to comment about, uh, language in Pohnpei or usage or, um-

192 MK: Um.

193 Brad: Your goal for the future or whatever?

194 MK: Pohnpeian, I would say, I think, without the language, without our own language, we would lose our culture. Um, so it's very important for us to learn our language, um, to maintain our culture and our traditions. Uh (.) Uh (.) I guess we are seeing that with, like, the Ming, um, language. Um, we're not speaking it enough and it's being used improperly now. Um, but we're hoping that we can record all of that. All of the, you know, all of that knowledge and those, the vocab, the vocabulary so that we know how to use it in the future once our elders have passed. Um, so we're, there's a few communities that are trying to preserve, you know, write down, record everything. Um, it's taking a lot of time, but, of course, it's a huge language.

195 Brad: Mmm.

196 MK: Um, yeah, so. I think that's it.

197 Brad: OK. Well, thank you.

198 MK: All right, thank you.

Appendix I. Interview with RK transcript

[BR1-26]

- 1 Brad: So today is July 19th, 2016. The time is 12:10 pm. And the location is Pohnpei. OK, so, um, how old are you, again?
- 2 RK: I'm 28.
- 3 Brad: 28?
- 4 RK: Yeah.
- 5 Brad: OK. Um, and are you originally from Pohnpei or (.)?
- 6 RK: Or born here, grew up here.
- 7 Brad: OK.
- 8 RK: Uh, #.
- 9 Brad: Uh, and so how long have you been living total in Pohnpei?
- 10 RK: For about uh (.) I've been here all my life. Like 28 years so.
- 11 Brad: OK. Uh, have you ever traveled abroad or (.)?
- 12 RK: Uh, never been (.) traveled abroad. Yeah.
- 13 Brad: OK. Um, so how would you describe the language situation in Pohnpei? Like what languages are spoken? What, when, when people speak them, etcetera?
- 14 RK: Uh, you mean the Pohnpeian language, or (.)?
- 15 Brad: Yeah, Pohnpeian language and other languages that people here in Pohnpei speak.

16 RK: Well, this from what I see today is a lot of, you know, folks
(.) or even um, like in the situation where, where I am right
now, it's (.) their (.) the language, Pohnpeian language kind
of like, um, it's never there. Or mostly English, people using
English. The youngsters, they use straight, they use English.
And I'm pretty much the (.) I'm sure they use English for, you
know, use only uh, uh, Pohnpeian language at home, when
you congregate through families.

17 Brad: OK.

18 RK: Yeah.

19 Brad: So when you um, talk to your friends, what language do you
typically use?

20 RK: Our own kind of like, mix.

21 Brad: OK.

22 RK: We use the both language, Pohnpeian and English.

23 Brad: OK.

24 RK: Yeah.

25 Brad: OK, OK. Um, so when did you start learning English?

26 RK: When I was in high school.

27 Brad: In high school.

28 RK: Yeah.

29 Brad: Did you go to a, a public school, or a private school.

30 RK: Uh, I went to a public school.

31 Brad: OK. Um, and when (.) So you started learning (.) so Pohnpeian
was your first language?

32 RK: Yeah, Pohnpeian was my first until-

33 Brad: Until you learned it at home with your-

34 RK: Yeah.

35 Brad: (.) parents and family.

36 RK: Sure, yeah.

37 Brad: OK. Um (.) do you uh, know how to write in Pohnpeian, using
like the official way of writing?

38 RK: Yeah.

39 Brad: OK. H-how did you learn that?

40 RK: Uh, through, going through, uh, you know, I've been (.) Working with my dad kind of (.) Is he write the (.) Uh, uh, what's that, uh (.) When he preached for the church thing.

41 Brad: Mmm.

42 RK: He has, uh, a title in the church thing, and he write them pretty much, uh, uh (.) It's kind of like, formal way of you know, writing Pohnpeian language, and then-

43 Brad: Mmm.

44 RK: (.) I can kind of like go through his stuff and then learn how to do it.

45 Brad: OK.

46 RK: Yeah. And, also by hanging out with the uh, leaders or the chiefs, and they, they would talk and I would listen through, you know (.) over ah, through over sakau feast. And that's how I learned how to use the language and how to write it.

47 Brad: OK.

48 RK: Yeah.

49 Brad: Um, and do you know how to speak uh, uh, Meing?

50 RK: Excuse me?

51 Brad: The high language?

52 RK: High language? Yeah, I can. In some ways I can do it. When communicating to the uh, paramount chiefs, yeah.

53 Brad: Um, how well do you speak it then? Like if you-

54 RK: Not pretty good, but-

55 Brad: But, enough.

56 RK: Yeah, yeah, enough to talk to the (.)

57 Brad: Alright, and how did you learn that?

58 RK: Uh, by, like, you know, teaching myself in the traditional ways of you know, the feast and everything that we offer to our chiefs or the paramount chiefs-

59 Brad: Mmm.

60 RK: (.) I've been (.) You know, I hear them talk and I listen and try to practice it, and (.)

61 Brad: Mmm. Uh, how often do you typically use it?

62 RK: Well, as of right now, my situation here, there's, you know (.) I worked with a, she's a, I mean she's, she's a, you know, she has a title, the Luhk, Luhkpein. And I use English also, and I use the uh, you know, Meing and Pohnpeian too, just to address her.

63 Brad: OK, so whenever you speak to her in Pohnpeian-

64 RK: Yeah.

65 Brad: you use-

66 RK: I use Meing.

67 Brad: Meing?

68 RK: Yeah.

69 Brad: OK. Um, so if you could learn any language right now? What language would you choose?

70 RK: I would cover Japanese.

71 Brad: Japanese?

72 RK: Yeah.

73 Brad: And wh-why would you do that?

74 RK: Well (.) They have their (.) It's, it's kind @ of like an historical therapy here. And our great-great fathers, they, they taught us a bit about Japanese. Like, in numbers, how to count in Japanese. So I pretty much grew up you know, kind of like interested in their language 'cause it's been there, the, the, you know the paren (.) parents or (.) they taught me that. But I cannot speak the language. I mean, I don't really know the language. Yeah.

75 Brad: OK.

76 RK: I took Chinese in college. Yeah, back at COM but, I would love to learn Japanese as I grew up. Yeah.

77 Brad: Hmm. Uh, do you speak any other Micronesian languages?

78 RK: Hmm, I only (.) Oh, only that side is Mortlockese so, that's it.

79 Brad: So you can speak Mortlockese?

80 RK: Yeah, but not really good. I can listen to them. I can know what they're saying. But I kind of like (.) The accent of my saying it's, it's off @.

81 Brad: @

82 RK: Yeah @.

83 Brad: OK.

84 RK: Yeah.

85 Brad: Um, so when you're with, um, Mortlockese family or friends,
what language do you speak with them?

86 RK: I use Pohnpeian.

87 Brad: OK.

88 RK: Yeah.

89 Brad: And they understand you OK?

90 RK: Yeah.

91 Brad: OK. Um (.) Uh, do you think any languages that you experi-
ence here are, are beautiful or ugly or (.)?

92 RK: Uh, well, they're beauti (.)interesting and you know, a lot of
different languages then, then different people. So, it's fun to
learn and you know-

93 Brad: OK.

94 RK: (.) interact with them, too (.) with the language, yeah.

95 Brad: OK. Um, do you have any kids yet? Or (.)

96 RK: Kids?

97 Brad: Kids, children, yeah?

98 RK: Yeah. I have a daughter.

99 Brad: OK. Um, do you want your daughter to learn many languages,
or, you know, just learn enough, or, or, which languages do
you want her to learn, eventually?

100 RK: Oh a lit (.) I would love, you know, I would love her for to learn
uh, English. 'Cause-

101 Brad: OK.

102 RK: Yeah. We've been dealing a lot of things, and it's all about
English @-

103 Brad: Mmm.

104 RK: (.) so, yeah. I see a lot of kids growing up and they kind of like got into a situation where can't, they, they cannot talk to, you know (.) Communicate with uh, our neighbors or even their friends or teacher, 'cause (.) they're kind of like scared. One @ traditional thing about us, we don't (.) One we (.) You know, that's the thing about Pohnpeian life, you don't just, if you know the language, y-you don't just, you know, burst out, and just talk in front of people and just (.) That's uh, considered disrespectful.

105 Brad: Hmm.

106 RK: Yeah.

107 Brad: OK. Um-

108 RK: And (.) Yeah.

109 Brad: So, are there any other Micronesian languages that you would want-

110 RK: My kid

111 Brad: her to learn. Yeah your kid to learn.

112 RK: Pohnpeian.

113 Brad: Pohnpeian?

114 RK: Yeah.

115 Brad: OK. Um, so for work, you work here, right? Um, what exactly is your job?

116 RK: Oh I-I'm an intern here.

117 Brad: OK.

118 RK: Yeah.

119 Brad: Uh, and when you work here, what languages do you typically (.) Y-you say you worked (.) You speak a l-little bit of (.) You speak Pohnpeian with-

120 RK: Yeah (.)

121 Brad: (.) coworkers-

122 RK: (.) but mostly English, yeah.

123 Brad: Mostly English? OK. Um (.) Uh, in, in what situation would you use Pohnpeian here?

124 RK: Pohnpeian?

125 Brad: Yeah.

126 RK: OK, when things uh (.) When, when we're uh, situations like
(.) It's not about work. It's about anything else that we talk
about over lunch or (.) Yeah.

127 Brad: OK. But if it's work stuff, you speak-

128 RK: Yeah-

129 Brad: (.) in English-

130 RK: (.) in English.

131 Brad: OK. Um, when you (.) Do you send emails and stuff for work
or (.)?

132 RK: Yeah, sure.

133 Brad: Oh, when you write emails and stuff for like on the computer,
do you (.)?

134 RK: It's, it's in English, yeah @.

135 Brad: In English, yeah @. Um, and d-do you use Facebook, and social
media si-

136 RK: # Yeah.

137 Brad: So when you're doing that, what languages do you use?

138 RK: Oh, I can see all my friends. And you know, they're Pohnpeian,
they're from Micronesia, but they're using English. So @-

139 Brad: Using English? OK @. Do you ever use Pohnpeian on Face-
book? Or (.)

140 RK: Yeah. Yeah.

141 Brad: OK.

142 RK: Often.

143 Brad: Yeah.

144 RK: Yeah, but mostly English @.

145 Brad: But mostly English. OK, OK. Um (.) so when you're outside of
work, like when you, you go to the store, or you know, you go
to buy things-

146 RK: Yeah (.)

147 Brad: (.) what languages do you use?

148 RK: Pohnpeian.

149 Brad: Pohnpeian?

150 RK: Yeah.

151 Brad: Um, and-

152 RK: Guaranteed Pohnpeian.

153 Brad: Yeah.

154 RK: You gotta use Pohnpeian, yeah.

155 Brad: So when you're calm and stuff you use Pohnpeian. So just, just at work?

156 RK: Yeah.

157 Brad: Um, OK. So, when you speak Pohnpeian, do y-do you use a lot of English words?

158 RK: Yeah, like uh (.) when, kind of like mix them up?

159 Brad: Mmm.

160 RK: Sure. We use the (.) Oftenly we use (.) pretty much for my friends, we talk in Pohnpeian, speak in Pohnpeian, then, then we kind of like, we mix it up just to you know, make them feel the mood about you know @-

161 Brad: Mmm.

162 RK: (.) if you know, kind of like, youngsters doing stuff that some others don't know, but yeah (.) So we use them just to you know (.)

163 Brad: OK.

164 RK: Or, I don't know, maybe generosity, or (.) Yeah.

165 Brad: Um, so (.) what kind of people use a lot of English words? Like i-in where, like, people living in Kolonia, people living in the villages, young people, old people-

166 RK: I would-

167 Brad: (.) whatever?

168 RK: English would? The-

169 Brad: Yeah.

170 RK: (.) most of people in Kolonia they (.) Because if they're different ethnicity, or where they came from, like Mwokil and, most of them, they're speaking from (.) And most of the people from here, they kind of like, go to private school, and-

171 Brad: OK.

- 172 RK: (.) stuff so. When you have to come and get with them, you talk to them in English and you can mix them up in Pohnpeian too, but it's mostly in English. But people from the villagers, or where your community's from, or municipalities, you talk to them in Pohnpeian real classic way.
- 173 Brad: OK. So you don't use many English -
- 174 RK: Yeah.
- 175 Brad: (.) words in the villages?
- 176 RK: Yeah.
- 177 Brad: OK. Interesting. Um, do you think, um (.) So what is your view of the history of, th-the future of Pohnpei, uh, in terms of language. Do you think Pohnpeians will still speak Pohnpeian in you know, 20-50 years? Or, how do (.) What do you think Pohnpei will be like then?
- 178 RK: Uh, I would say that uh, that it's (.) They, they might (.) This language might disappear for about 50 years from now, or from 50 years from now, because there's a lot of things about (.) things that you do at work, do in school, it's all about English. So, kids have to grow up learning English from elementary. And even in public school, their curriculum, they kind of like changed it to uh (.) Some of the teachers (.) most of the teachers in public school now, they're kind of like introducing English to their kids, you know, their students, to speak, to try and speak them through fifth grade up to eight grade. Uh (.)
- 179 Brad: OK. Um, do you think it's important that schools use Pohnpeian?
- 180 RK: Yeah. I think they're gonna have to weigh 50/50 'cause the most important thing you have to know how (.) where you came from and where, you know, what, what is, what foundations that you've built from. Then you can learn English pretty much good and excellent, great, yeah.
- 181 Brad: OK. Uh, do you think most Pohnpeians would agree with you, or do you think Pohnpeians don't care about language?

182 RK: Yeah. Well, from what I see, we don't have any, like, what you're trying to do here. Um, you're working on your PhD., yeah?

183 Brad: Mmm.

184 RK: So, I would say maybe how our elders that care about language now, and our language, Pohnpeian language. But today it's all about communicating. We don't even care about our uh, traditional ways of saying things, in, in a respectful way. And, yeah, I think they're not gonna agree with me (.) Wait! Oh, maybe they're gonna agree with me that our language can disappear about you know-

185 Brad: Mmm.

186 RK: (.) after 500 hundred years from now, or 50 years from now, maybe.

187 Brad: OK.

188 RK: Yeah.

189 Brad: So, who are the people that are trying to keep the language and the traditional ways?

190 RK: Uh, mostly uh, people from the uh, uh municipalities like (.) from where you can find the paramount chief from, yeah.

191 Brad: Mmm.

192 RK: And given in families like, where they pra- still practice their way of living, of Pohnpeian ways. And, yeah, that's pretty much. But here in town, maybe @, maybe you're gonna have to fi (.) Uh, you'll often find people speaking English most of the time.

193 Brad: OK. Um (.) OK, so um, what do you think, um, foreigners want for Pohnpei's language future. Like, of like the US Gov-Embassy or Australians or Japanese or other people? Do you (.) What do you think that they want for Pohnpei, in terms of language?

194 RK: I would say that uh, they would want Pohnpei to keep their language, but they have to learn how to speak English and learn in English, 'cause we're under a system of government where you have to (.) where we pick the uh, system coming from the US, so. Pretty much saying they would want us to keep our language 'cause that's our heritage, and that's the beauty of, the beauty of Pohnpei. That's the traditional ways and culture, but they also want you know, 50/50. So, they would want the people to keep their language and culture and ways.

195 Brad: So can someone still be Pohnpeian and not speak Pohnpei, Pohnpeian?

196 RK: Yeah. You can find some here @.

197 Brad: Mmm. But are (.) You think that they're less Pohnpeian, if they don't speak Pohnpeian?

198 RK: Hmm-

199 Brad: Or that if you speak Pohnpeian, you're more Pohnpeian?

200 RK: Hmm, that's a pretty much difficult ah question to answer, but for me uh, my (.) In a few, I would say uh, it doesn't make any difference 'cause, if he doesn't speak Pohnpeian, but it kind of like interrupt with the culture and living with the culture, live with the people, it's kind of (.) But he cannot say the language, but he you know, engage himself and launch into the uh, anything, any activity that the community does, I think that uh, he is a Pohnpeian too.

201 Brad: OK.

202 RK: Yeah.

203 Brad: So as long as you still do the stuff.

204 RK: Yeah.

205 Brad: The cultural things, then-

206 RK: Yeah.

207 Brad: (.) you're still Pohnpeian.

208 RK: Yeah.

209 Brad: It doesn't matter-

210 RK: Yeah.

211 Brad: (.) about going-

212 RK: Yeah, it doesn't matter about-

213 Brad: So if you spoke English at uh, like a at a feast or a funeral, that would be OK, as long as you're still there doing-

214 RK: Yeah.

215 Brad: (.) other things. OK. Um, is being able to speak Pohnpeian uh, important for you?

216 RK: Oh yes.

217 Brad: So if you, if you stopped speaking Pohnpeian, how would you feel?

218 RK: I wou (.) must feel lost #.

219 Brad: Hmm.

220 RK: Yeah.

221 Brad: Uh, and, and what would happen if um, l-like if, if you, if your kids someday, stopped speaking Pohnpeian? Then they moved to the US or some place and then they only spoke English or another language? How would you feel about that?

222 RK: Uh, I would (.) I'll be happy for them.

223 Brad: Hmm.

224 RK: Yeah.

225 Brad: OK. Um, so, when you get information, ab-like news, or whatever information about local things, or about world events or whatever. Um, what ways (.) what sources do you use? Like, how do you get information like that?

226 RK: Uh through th-through the radio.

227 Brad: OK.

228 RK: Yeah. And pe (.) Pohnpei is a small island, so, rumors go @ around very fast-

229 Brad: Uh-huh.

230 RK: (.) and from friends and you know, off shows like, day talk. They do talk sometimes, like-

231 Brad: Mmm.

232 RK: (.) that's-

233 Brad: And in, in what language is (.) Like the radio is mostly in what language?

234 RK: Um, like, there is some (.) We have fm, and that guy who you know, broadcasts from the FM, he's Pohnpeian too, but he speaks English.

235 Brad: OK.

236 RK: And we have V6AH the AM, and they speak Pohnpeian. That's uh, that's the most uh, uh, you know, uh, the radio that Pohnpeian always listen to, it's the AM.

237 Brad: Mmm. So a lot of people-

238 RK: Mmm.

239 Brad: (.) listen to the AM?

240 RK: Mmm.

241 Brad: Um, and then when you're getting news you're talking to friends about news and stuff-

242 RK: Yeah.

243 Brad: (.) do you speak Pohnpeian or English?

244 RK: Well, we speak in Pohnpeian.

245 Brad: OK.

246 RK: Yeah.

247 Brad: Um, OK. So do you ever go to like uh, sakau bars, or places to talk to people and (.)?

248 RK: Oh yes. We-

249 Brad: Yeah-

250 RK: We speak Pohnpeian-

251 Brad: You keep spe-

252 RK: Yeah, yeah-

253 Brad: (.) Pohnpeian there, yeah.

254 RK: Yeah, yeah. We kind of like finally, yeah (.) That's where we uh, kind of like root it to the ground you know, find the feeling of you know, real Pohnpeian just to drink sakau and-

255 Brad: Mmm.

256 RK: (.) talk to another Pohnpeian as in, in your own language-

257 Brad: Hmm.

258 RK: (.) Pohnpei. So it felt great to be you know, in that very environment where your surroundings, where you can see all about Pohnpei. So, it's pretty safe there @.

259 Brad: @ Mkay. So, drinking like sakau was very important for you like to be-

260 RK: Yeah.

261 Brad: (.) to be Pohnpeian?

262 RK: Yeah.

263 Brad: Um, do people ever use English wh-when drinking sakau?

264 RK: Uh, sometimes, but not always. They (.) just some words, but-

265 Brad: Yeah, but most-

266 RK: (.) just for fun!

267 Brad: Yeah.

268 RK: Yeah, that's the thing. Most of us use English and we can like, uh, what am I going to say, OK, what's the word, yeah. We use it just for fun for communicating in between the Pohnpeians. And it's rather funnier to, when you see your friends speaking, and you see another person try to cut in just to try and speak English.

269 Brad: Mmm.

270 RK: That's fun too.

271 Brad: OK.

272 RK: But not always. We, when we sit down for sakau, we speak Pohnpei.

273 Brad: Alright, OK.

274 RK: Yeah.

275 Brad: OK, good. Um, when you (.) Do you go to church at all?

276 RK: Yeah.

277 Brad: When you go to church, what language-

278 RK: Pohnpeian. It's-

279 Brad: Pohnpeian?

280 RK: Yeah.

281 Brad: Yeah. Um, and do you ever do things with uh, the Pohnpei state government?

282 RK: Uh, like (.)?

283 Brad: Hmm, I don't know. Talk to the governor, governor's office, or, maybe like-

284 RK: Yeah, recently we just uh, last Friday we did um, uh, this little movement against the governor. And, yeah, of selling out the sea cucumbers. So we did a protest, against them.

285 Brad: Hmm.

286 RK: And we did go over there and the, then with (.) Earlier that day, we went to a meeting and then the governor was speaking Pohnpei, and we shouted, "Yeah, we speak Pohnpei"-

287 Brad: In Pohnpei?

288 RK: (.) yeah.

289 Brad: In the protest?

290 RK: Yeah.

291 Brad: OK. Um, but then when you go to the national government-

292 RK: Government.

293 Brad: (.) What language do you use when you talk to the national government?

294 RK: Uh, when it comes to the national level, we use uh, English and Pohnpeian too.

295 Brad: OK. So, if the person's from Pohnpei at the national government-

296 RK: Yeah, and then you have to speak-

297 Brad: (.) then you speak-

298 RK: (.) to him in Pohnpei-

299 Brad: In Pohnpei.

300 RK: Yeah.

301 Brad: But if he's from another state-

302 RK: Yeah.

303 Brad: (.) then you speak, English, unless-

304 RK: English is to government # I mean to national.

- 305 Brad: OK. OK, I understand. Um, do you think that um, if someone, another Micronesian (.) a person from another state of the FSM, or from Marshall Island to ever moves to Pohnpei, do you think it's important for them to learn Pohnpeian?
- 306 RK: Oh yes. To be able to get through, around the communities and through, you know, government, or the line of work, or the line of work you're in, you have to learn Pohnpeian.
- 307 Brad: OK. What about other f-foreigners? Like men who have like come and live here. Do you think it's important that they-
- 308 RK: Ohh-
- 309 Brad: (.) Um-
- 310 RK: (.) they should learn the language.
- 311 Brad: OK.
- 312 RK: They really should learn the language. I mean, it's very funny. It's kind of (.) It's no way to get around the island. And the, the people are really kind if you did know how to speak their language. If you did speak the language, I mean, if (.) Earlier I said that uh, it doesn't matter if you don't know how to speak, but you're Pohnpeian, and it doesn't make any differences, but, yeah, in some ways if you're (.) There's a lot of folks who came here, like foreigners, like yourself. They came here, but they cannot speak the language very well, so usually you can tell by when they're speaking, they're not Pohnpeian.
- 313 Brad: Hmm.
- 314 RK: But they're actually engaging to activities that were you know, related to cultural activities. And we pay respect to those people, 'cause they're kind of like uh, an inspiration for us that's (.) they're trying to blend in, where they don't fit in, but they still went through it and through it. So, doesn't matter the language, but yeah (.) But when you learn the language, even, that's even more better when you communicate and then you, you know, interact with them, and do things.

315 Brad: OK. Hmm, OK. Um (.) Alright. Um, that's all I have for the list of questions. Is there anything else that um, you would like to say about language and Pohnpei or Pohnpeian or um (.) Things that you find meaningful about Pohnpeian?

316 RK: Uh-

317 Brad: Or just anything you like to add in general?

318 RK: Uh, well, not now, but Pohnpeian rocks @.

319 Brad: OK @.

320 RK: Yeah.

321 Brad: Um, so what is (.) If you could say one thing about Pohnpeian like to someone not from Pohnpei, that's never heard of Pohnpeian-

322 RK: Yeah.

323 Brad: (.) how would you describe Pohnpeian to this person?

324 RK: Well, I would say Pohnpeian language, Pohnpeian language or (.) we were talking about Pohnpeian language here.

325 Brad: Yeah.

326 RK: That uh, the language is easy to learn. It in (.) When you uh, you know, uh describe the, I mean, the (.) relate to the uh English word, it kind of like, in reverse, but it is easy to learn. Maybe two months or three months you can learn the language. And the language uh, in the tone of the language doesn't really act uh, come out as in like in masculine or you know, and create kind of like peaceful and quiet. And we talk, not really slow-

327 Brad: Mmm.

328 RK: (.) but in the pace where you can really understand what we're talking about.

329 Brad: OK.

330 RK: Yeah.

331 Brad: Hmm. What, what makes it easy?

332 RK: Easy to learn?

333 Brad: Yeah.

- 334 RK: As um, it's (.) I mean the sound of it (.) I-I mean, I'm not the, you know (.) but the sound, you can just listen, and it's kind of like um, almost in Kusaiean way, in Kusaiean language and Pohnpeian language pretty much uh, easier than Chuukese, Yapese language.
- 335 Brad: Mmm.
- 336 RK: There is, there is a tone in it 'cause, that is so obvious that you can tell by that person who's speaking that language h-he was trying t-to tell, you know, describe something that you can just sit there and see that he's talking to you or saying something @ angry back, yeah.
- 337 Brad: Mmm. OK.
- 338 RK: 'Cause it's easy 'cause, when we talk we put on an expression of what we're talking about. We don't just sit and talk, speak or, but we don't (.) We kind of like into the mood of talking and it's easy to learn, yeah.
- 339 Brad: OK.
- 340 RK: Kind of like English too, though.
- 341 Brad: Hmm. OK, I understand. Um, when you (.) people speak Pohnpeian-
- 342 RK: Yeah?
- 343 Brad: (.) is uh, or rather, is it, to be respectful in, in Pohnpei, um, are people who speak Pohnpeian more respectful than the English, or is it easier to be respectful if you speak Pohnpeian?

344 RK: Yeah, when, when you, when you created that um, that uh person, out of respectful then you're going to have to learn the language very fast. Yeah. I mean, you're going to learn the language very fast, no doubt. If you created a feeling you know, or ah, you know, you're your own, uh, what am I going to say, be respectful. 'Cause that's what it is. And today, you don't see that much, because of the media. I mean, the young, the youth today, they learn things from the media and that's one thing I know we talk, like, you know, homies and such, and that's, and that's even make the language you know, going to disappear. Because of the media and what we see from the movies. Kids see more movies. But-

345 Brad: Hmm.

346 RK: (.) to be able to learn the language you know, easily or very fast, you're go to have to create your own self very humble and respectful.

347 Brad: Mmm.

348 RK: So you're gonna learn very fast.

349 Brad: Mmm. How do you show (.) h-how do you be humble and show respect through language and through Pohnpeian?

350 RK: The, they say that the foundation of respect or humble of a man from Pohnpei, the way to create you know, the foundation, yeah. That's what they say. It's, it comes from saying, hi or hello. We (.) two strangers going past each other on the road, and then, when one of them or even both of them, they have to stop and (.) Almost like Japanese culture, too uh-

351 Brad: Mmm.

352 RK: (.) yeah, say kaselehlie, yeah. The uh (.) That particular word, kaselehlie means that it, you describe your inner soul, that it's (.) The day was great and you're expressing the day to that person to, to experience what are you feeling, in the humble way.

353 Brad: Mmm.

354 RK: Yeah. But, yeah, I'm not a histor- @, but uh, historian, but uh, that's what I heard from my great grandfathers or from the chiefs. They say that the uh foundation of cultural, and traditional Pohnpei cultural, it comes from saying hello, or kaselehlhie, yeah.

355 Brad: Hmm.

356 RK: That's the first thing that uh, built the uh, you know, the uh, network of, or the system of respect. It come from that particular word, kaselehlhie. And we have uh, we like good afternoon, like kaselehlhie. As I said before, yeah, you describe what is in you, share it to that person like, kaselehlhie means beautiful, beautiful day. And wh-when we say, good morning, like, as an example, you say, menseng mwahu, means, morning, good.

357 Brad: Mmm.

358 RK: Yeah. And then you tell it that person, you say, menseng mwahu. And that person can say, menseng. But you guys are real (.) What are you guys trying to do is, your guys are complimenting the day. That ear-that means, that morning was very great, means good, it's good. So that's what you guys are complimenting, on your way of passing each other. When you hit the (.) I mean, noon, you say, souwas mwahu. In Pohnpeian language when we say sun, you mean the sun means, in the old way, they say sou. S-O-U. Souwas, was means not good, being naughty or uh, uh, horrible. Was, like a naughty kid or someone horrible. And we say souwas, that's two word they combined together means, the sun being naughty. It's very hot when it's right there. So we say souwas mwahu @.

359 Brad: @

360 RK: It means naughty good @.

361 Brad: Right @.

362 RK: Kind of like complimenting the day to each other.

363 Brad: Hmm.

364 RK: Yeah. And soutik too. When we say soutik, means the sun was sou-tik, means evening. Good evening. The sun was right there about to sit, 'cause it was getting smaller.

365 Brad: Oh yeah. Tika-, like tikatik.

366 RK: Yeah, tikatik.

367 Brad: Yeah.

368 RK: Yeah. Yeah. But that's, that's, yeah, that's Pohnpeian life. Which we (.)

369 Brad: Hmm.

370 RK: That's what they say about you know, the respect that's coming, that foundation of the build up of respect and our talking from uh, complimenting each other and you know, saying hi or little kaselehlle #.

371 Brad: OK.

372 RK: And then after that, it comes after that, then you have to offer feast to the um, marquis, and you know, offer the first offering.

373 Brad: Um, do you think that this, like that Pohnpeian is like tied to Pohnpei, to the land, to the island, in any way?

374 RK: The language.

375 Brad: Yeah. So, if you took Pohnpei outside of po- (.) outside of the island, would it be different?

376 RK: I don't think so.

377 Brad: OK.

378 RK: Yeah. I think it's (.) The, the people in that island, the particular island, it's the uh (.) I mean, they're kind of the heart and the soul of the uh, the culture that is living on the island.

379 Brad: Hmm. OK. Hmm. So, do you think Pohnpeian, the language would have to change, like if you spoke it in Guam, or in or on the US mainland, or in Hawaii? Would it be any different? Like, would you have to change anything?

380 RK: Hmm, no, no. I don't think so.

381 Brad: OK.

382 RK: Yeah.

383 Brad: OK.

384 RK: Yeah.
385 Brad: Well, those are all the questions that I have.
386 RK: Well, sure.
387 Brad: So, well, thank you so much.

Appendix J. Interview with CE transcript

[BR1-27]

- 1 Brad: We can start recording. So (.) All right, go ahead. Do you have your watch on you?
- 2 Speaker 3: Mm-hmm.
- 3 Brad: So today is (.)
- 4 CE: The 20th of July (.)
- 5 Brad: The 20th, July 20th, 2017, the time is ... 11:34 AM, the location is Kolonia, Pohnpei. OK. So, let's start with some easy questions. They're all easy, but (.)
- 6 CE: OK, all right @.
- 7 Brad: So how old are you?
- 8 CE: I'm 18.
- 9 Brad: 18, OK. Um, and, let's talk a little bit about your history. So where were you born?
- 10 CE: I was born in Auckland.
- 11 Brad: Auckland, New Zealand.
- 12 CE: Yes.
- 13 Brad: OK. Um, and how long did you live there?
- 14 CE: I only stayed there because my mom was still, um, trying to heal up after giving birth, so right after then she healed up and we came back here, to Pohnpei.
- 15 Brad: OK.
- 16 CE: Mmm.
- 17 Brad: And have you lived here ever since?
- 18 CE: Yes.
- 19 Brad: OK. So you've lived here for almost 18 years.
- 20 CE: Yeah @.

21 Brad: @ Um, and where in Pohnpei do you live?

22 CE: Um, I live in Kolonia.

23 Brad: In Kolonia?

24 CE: Yeah.

25 Brad: OK, and have you lived there, in the same place, the entire time? Or have you moved around?

26 CE: Um, I would move around from place to place like, um, Nahn-pohnmal.

27 Brad: OK.

28 CE: That's where we have our other house, my dad and my mom built it there. So we would just move, if we have time, yeah.

29 Brad: Um (.) So let's talk a little bit about your parents, if that's OK.

30 CE: Mmm.

31 Brad: So, um (.) Where was your mom from?

32 CE: Uh, my mom was from here, and my dad, um, he's from New Zealand.

33 Brad: New Zealand? OK.

34 CE: Yeah.

35 Brad: Um, how did they meet?

36 CE: They met in Japan, my mom was still studying. As for my dad, I'm not sure (.) But, he was there for work.

37 Brad: OK.

38 CE: From what I know, yeah.

39 Brad: OK. Then they decided to move here?

40 CE: Mmm, yeah @.

41 Brad: OK. Well (.) Um, have you traveled abroad at all, besides New Zealand, when you were born?

42 CE: Um, I've traveled several times. Not as much, I did go to Hawaii once.

43 Brad: OK.

44 CE: And then when I came back unfortunately my mom passed so, yeah.

45 Brad: So, when you were growing up, what languages did you speak, or do you speak?

46 CE: Um (.) When I grew up, my first language that I spoke was English.

47 Brad: OK.

48 CE: Mmm, and then I started speaking Pohnpeian because we had this nanny who would always speak Pohnpeian, and whenever she @, whenever she, um, said like words related to Pohnpeian I would, you know, what-cha-call-it, mmm (.) I would keep it in my head and think “What is she trying to say?” @

49 Brad: @ OK.

50 CE: So onwards, as I grew, I got used to listening to people speaking Pohnpeian, and English. Then I got curious and learned Pohnpeian along the way. It’s just, it’s been 18 years and I still don’t really know that, that much of Pohnpeian language, so (.)

51 Brad: OK. So you would say that you speak mostly English (.)

52 CE: Mmm.

53 Brad: And know a little bit of Pohnpeian?

54 CE: Yeah.

55 Brad: OK.

56 CE: I find it fun, speaking Pohnpeian as well.

57 Brad: OK.

58 CE: Yeah.

59 Brad: Um, what languages do your parents speak, or did your parents speak?

60 CE: Um, English.

61 Brad: English?

62 CE: Mmm.

63 Brad: And your mom, did she speak Pohnpeian?

64 CE: My s-, my mom speaks Pohnpeian, uh, mostly with her family.

65 Brad: OK.

66 CE: Yeah, ‘cause we’re all, they’re all from Pohnpei, so.

67 Brad: OK.

68 CE: Mmm, and my parents, they mostly speak English, ‘cause my dad knows English more @.

69 Brad: OK.

70 CE: Yeah.

71 Brad: He doesn't speak Pohnpeian?

72 CE: Mmm, no, not, not, not that much @.

73 Brad: OK. Um (.) And then, so for (.) School. Where did you go, for ele-, like, elementary school?

74 CE: Um (.) For elementary school, first I went to CCA, uh, SDA, and then CCA, and then PCS.

75 Brad: OK.

76 CE: Yeah @.

77 Brad: Are they good schools?

78 CE: Uh, they were a g-, they were a good schools. Um (.) SDA was kind of (.) Oh, SDA and CCA were kind of hard 'cause I would get bullied @.

79 Brad: OK.

80 CE: But when I went to PCS, I felt more comfortable there.

81 Brad: OK.

82 CE: Yeah.

83 Brad: And then for high school?

84 CE: For high school I went to OLM.

85 Brad: OLM, OK. And so in elementary school, what languages do the teachers use?

86 CE: Um, English.

87 Brad: OK. And for high school?

88 CE: For high school, same.

89 Brad: OK. And then (.) What languages, uh, did you speak any other languages then? Like did you ever use Pohnpeian in school?

90 CE: Well, we weren't really @, we weren't really allowed to speak Pohnpeian that much. Like, in, during classes, in front of teachers, they wouldn't really allow us to speak Pohnpeian, so.

91 Brad: OK.

92 CE: Yeah.

93 Brad: How did that make you feel?

- 94 CE: Uh, um (.) Sometimes it would be, um (.) Sad, 'cause I find speaking Pohnpeian kind of fun @, so, um, whenever we, whenever we got caught speaking Pohnpeian they would just be like "No!", or, "Don't speak Pohnpeian 'cause we're speaking in English". @ And (.) @ Uh, well (.) I think it's mostly 'cause when the teachers, um, speak, when, no. When they hear us speak Pohnpeian they might find it either disrespectful, or it's just not related to what they're teaching.
- 95 Brad: OK.
- 96 CE: Yeah, 'cause when they speak English, um (.) Uh (.) That's like, what they do. They teach, but they use English, to, you know. And when we speak Pohnpeian, for them, how do I say it? Uh (.) Let's just say, it's not the right time to speak Pohnpeian. In their class, but we can always speak Pohnpeian outside of class, when we're done, like having break times, or with your friends. But for now, we just have to learn like, these certain things that these teachers are teaching us, through their language, which is English @.
- 97 Brad: @OK.
- 98 CE: Yeah, it's kind of weird @.
- 99 Brad: OK. So, you said that it was disrespectful. Potentially.
- 100 CE: Sometimes it is.
- 101 Brad: Sometimes.
- 102 CE: @
- 103 Brad: So ex-, explain that to me, so like why would it be, why are, I mean, how would it be disrespectful?
- 104 CE: For some students, they would, um, say certain words in Pohnpeian that, um (.) Mean (.) Mean, like (.) They're really bad, in, you know, bad ways, in Pohnpeian.
- 105 Brad: Mm-hmm.

106 CE: So it would be disrespectful for the teacher, in a way that they wouldn't know what they're saying, if they didn't know Pohnpeian. But, uh, it would also be disrespectful in class, 'cause (.) Um (.) I don't know, I (.) All I know is, some, some students use it as an advantage to say certain things that teachers may not know of. And like hurt them in a way, so, I find it, I find that part disrespectful. Other than, many others ways to speak Pohnpeian in front of, you know, um (.) Old people @.

107 Brad: @ And so what if they were just, it's, uh, so like if they're saying bad words in Pohnpeian, that's disrespectful.

108 CE: Yeah.

109 Brad: But what if they're just having a conversation with their friend, in Pohnpeian, is that disrespectful?

110 CE: In class, or (.)

111 Brad: In class.

112 CE: In class. Well (.) Um (.) Let me say (.) OK. Um (.) I would make literature class, um, an example. So, here I am sitting and my teacher is teaching, while speaking English, and there are these two students having a conversation in Pohnpeian. And (.) I know that the teacher would find it not, um, what do you call it, not (.) Not the right time. Or, it's not the right time and place, 'cause, you know, they're, they're (.) At a, they're, it's at a certain time where they're teaching. So, literature, for them, they have to teach in English, and (.) Um (.) Uh, I, I don't know how to say it. All I can say is it, it's the, not really the right time.

113 Brad: OK.

114 CE: For them to have a conversation in Pohnpeian while the teacher is, you know (.)

115 Brad: OK.

116 CE: Teaching in English.

117 Brad: What if they were having that exact same conversation, that same time, but in English, would it be any different?

118 CE: Uh (.)

119 Brad: Or would it be the same?

120 CE: Well (.) You know how you talk in class while the teacher's teaching, and then the teacher like stops you? @

121 Brad: Yeah.

122 CE: Yeah, it's something like that. Either way, if it's like that, then the teacher will have to stop you and continue teaching.

123 Brad: OK. What if you're, like on recess or something (.)

124 CE: Mmm.

125 Brad: Or between classes talking in Pohnpeian?

126 CE: Yeah.

127 Brad: Is that disrespectful?

128 CE: Um (.) Outside of class?

129 Brad: Outside of class.

130 CE: Um, not, not really. Depending on what you're, you know @, what you're talking about, or, yeah.

131 Brad: OK. Now, I'm gonna, let's flip this, and say (.) Is it disrespectful that the teacher doesn't speak Pohnpeian? They're using English instead?

132 CE: Is it (.)

133 Brad: Is that disrespectful to the students?

134 CE: That the (.)

135 Brad: Not using their language.

136 CE: I don't think so.

137 Brad: OK, why not?

138 CE: Well (.) Doesn't really m-, uh, it doesn't really matter. Um (.) To me, as long as you're well communicated with your students, and if y-, the students are well communicated with the teacher, then it would, it would be OK. But (.) If, so, can you explain the question again? @

139 Brad: @ Yeah, so would it be disrespectful for the teacher to use English to the students?

140 CE: To the students?

141 Brad: Yeah, if the students' language is Pohnpeian.

142 CE: If the students' language is Pohnpeian. Hmm @. Well (.) I (.)
I, I think I'll pass that question.

143 Brad: OK.

144 CE: Yeah.

145 Brad: OK, fair enough. Um (.)OK, so (.) Do you think that schools,
or what do you think about schools teaching in English, in
general? Is that a good thing, is it a bad thing, is it neutral?
And the (.)

146 CE: I think it's (.) I think it's good.

147 Brad: OK, why is it good?

148 CE: Well, for a lot of people around this world, um, most of us know
English. But then it's good at the same time to learn other
languages as well. That way we can all be, you know, well
communicated with, you know, other communic-, all, other
communities around the world, so, yeah.

149 Brad: OK. Should schools teach Pohnpeian or other local languages?

150 CE: Um (.) I think, I think it would be good if, uh, schools could
teach Pohnpeian and local languages, 'cause nowadays, most,
most, um (.) Of the generations, you know, growing, they don't
really, um (.) What do you call it? They don't really focus much
on their, you know, local way of speaking, or, but it's real-, it's
good to know these languages. Yeah.

151 Brad: So, why is it good?

152 CE: Mmm (.) I would say in a way that you get to explore more.
Uh, you, you can, you can communicate with other peoples
you, other people you never know you can never communicate
with, if you learn these languages, you never know, like, what,
what you'll get when you learn, learn 'em. So. Yeah, I would
say like that.

153 Brad: U, earlier you mentioned that (.) You think speaking Pohn-
peian is fun.

154 CE: Mmm.

155 Brad: Why is that?

156 CE: I think it's fun @, I think it's fun because, um (.) The fact that I know a little bit of Pohnpeian, I can communicate with my families here in Pohnpei, and they don't really know that much of, um, English. So, whenever I speak with them and have fun, and, you know, it makes me happy. And, um, the fact that I know the language it, it helps me better communicate with those people I know, and that don't know how to speak English at all.

157 Brad: OK.

158 CE: Yeah.

159 Brad: OK. So, would you say that speaking Pohnpeian is important for you?

160 CE: Um, for me (.) Uh, yeah. I would say it's important for me, so, because, um (.) There are certain things in Pohnpeian language that we need to learn in order to respect like elderlies, and certain people you encounter in Pohnpei. And, I learned that learning Pohnpeian language can also, you know, um (.) It can also widen your brain to learn a lot of languages, 'cause ever since I learned Pohnpeian, and I knew English, I got interested in learning other languages as well, like Chuukese (.)

161 Brad: Mm-hmm.

162 CE: I went to Chuukese last, um, last month, for a week, and like hearing, hearing these people speaking Chuukese made me so curious @.

163 Brad: @

164 CE: Like, don't you have that curiosity in you where you're just like "What are they saying?" @ and they're laughing at the same time, while they're talking, so, it just makes me curious, and, you know, you want to (.) You just want to, um (.) Know these things so you can better, better communicate and, um, you know, get along, and (.) I don't know. I would just say that's (.) Making new friends from different places, local places, yeah.

165 Brad: OK.

166 CE: Mmm.

167 Brad: Mmm. So when would you use English, or Pohnpeian?

168 CE: Mmm. I use Pohnpeian mostly at home, along with English. Um (.) I speak English mostly in school. And (.) When I'm at parties for my grandfather, uh, I will mostly speak Pohnpeian, when I do servings. Like, um, serving wine, or, to the guests that come. And, yeah. Those, those are the only thing, I, yeah @.

169 Brad: OK. So when you walk around #, or you go to the store, or you buy things, what do you, what language do you use?

170 CE: Both.

171 Brad: Both?

172 CE: Yeah.

173 Brad: So when would you use, and when would you use Pohnpeian in those situations?

174 CE: So, if I'm walking in Kolonia and I see, um, people, you know, passing by, I would greet them in Pohnpeian, I'm saying "Lehlie", "Kaselehlie", and, um (.) That other person would reply back and say "Kaselehlie", same thing. So it's like greeting Pohnpeian to another Pohnpeian. And when I'm in stores, uh (.) I would speak Pohnpeian and ask them where's this and that, or if I don't know, like, a certain word for a Po-, the certain word to say, I would use English @.

175 Brad: OK.

176 CE: So yeah, those two languages, yeah.

177 Brad: OK. So what about with your friends from school?

178 CE: Mmm.

179 Brad: What languages do you use with them?

180 CE: @ Both.

181 Brad: Both?

182 CE: Yeah, well mostly English.

183 Brad: OK.

184 CE: Yeah.

185 Brad: Why mostly English?

186 CE: Well, it's 'cause, um, I guess I'm (.) Used to speaking English in school and with my friends, but when it comes to like fun times, I would just speak Pohnpeian. And they would, they would make fun of me 'cause sometimes I wouldn't really know how to form the words right @.

187 Brad: @

188 CE: So, I find it fun, speaking Pohnpeian with them, 'cause they would correct me, and laugh @. But, yeah, I mean (.) Um, I find English more comfortable, so that, you know, I wouldn't make a mistake speaking Pohnpeian @.

189 Brad: @

190 CE: In front of them. Yeah, #.

191 Brad: OK. Are there, are there situations where (.) Not knowing a lot of Pohnpeian, or more P-, Pohnpeian has been difficult for you?

192 CE: Um (.) Yeah. There would be times where I find it hard to communicate in Pohnpeian 'cause (.) I haven't really gotten all of it yet.

193 Brad: Mm-hmm.

194 CE: Like, the language. Which kind of makes me sad, 'cause I want to know Pohnpeian more than how I'm, how much I know now. That way I wouldn't, you know, repeat some mistakes that I've @, done before, when I speak Pohnpeian. Like greeting an elder, um @, I kinda got lectured once @.

195 Brad: @

196 CE: But then, that person helped me. Um, taught me some words, and, you know. Speaking with, you know, the high (.)

197 Brad: Mm-hmm.

198 CE: And old people, and I find it, I find it very helpful when you communicate with others that know that you're doing this mistake, and they tell you. And it helps you along the way, when you, with growing, yeah.

199 Brad: OK. If I can ask, what, what did you say, and what, how'd they correct you?

200 CE: @ Well @, uh (.) My grandfather, for example. There was this one time we had a kamadipw.

201 Brad: Mm-hmm.

202 CE: A party. Uh, they were having sokehs, and I walked up, I walked up and just passed @, I walked right just past, and my grandfather stopped me, and I walked back, and he was like "You're not gonna greet the-, these people?" And, and I said "Oh. Oh (.)" @, so I kinda made a mistake there, 'cause Pohnpeian culture, we have to greet, uh, these people when, when you pass by them. And even when they're having sokehs. So I went up and said, I said "Kaselehlie maing ko", and you know, the whole group, they all said "Kaselehlie" @.

203 Brad: @

204 CE: And then, my grandfather like turned to me and said, "That's the way, good, good."

205 Brad: @

206 CE: "You're learning, you're learning." And uh, just, yeah. I would walk and say, "Oh my gosh, CE" @.

207 Brad: @

208 CE: Yeah.

209 Brad: OK.

210 CE: @

211 Brad: Are there times when people were helpful?

212 CE: Mmm. Are there, are there times when people are (.)

213 Brad: It's, when you don't know what to do, if you forgot something and people just, d-, don't help you.

214 CE: How (.) Do you say that? In other words? Not helpful?

215 Brad: Yeah, so if you made a mistake.

216 CE: Oh (.)

217 Brad: And then people have just, sometimes, you said, sometimes people help you, and help you to learn, and that's good. Are there, have there been times when you made a mistake and then people just don't help you at all?

218 CE: I don't recall any time.

219 Brad: OK.

220 CE: Yeah. Yeah, I don't @ recall a time.

221 Brad: @ OK, so do you think the Pohnpeian language is important for Pohnpei? Overall?

222 CE: Yeah, I think it is important for Pohnpeians. To know, and to learn, and (.) Um, it's also helpful so that you can ex-, you can respect, uh, elderlies who are from Pohnpei. It's good to know these languages so that, um (.) Yeah, so you can better, so you can know these things. There are certain things that Pohnpeian language can help you with, uh, when you go to parties, or kamadipw where, you know, there are old people, and you have to know that you, you should pay respects in Pohnpeian. But, yeah, those are my only reasons @, why it's important.

223 Brad: OK. Is English important for Pohnpei?

224 CE: Um (.) Yes, it is Eng-, it is important for Pohnpeians. Well, for communication. And (.) So that they can learn, 'cause schools nowadays, they, sch-, some schools nowadays speak English more, and if they learn English, they can, you know, um (.) Build up their knowledge, and maybe decide to, um, go abroad, or, yeah.

225 Brad: OK. Can you learn that, can you acquire that same knowledge in Pohnpeian, that you can in English?

226 CE: Yeah, you can. You can, like, uh, there are a lot of, there are a lot of things that Pohnpeian, Pohnpeian language can teach you, and (.) Like (.) If teachers speak Pohnpeian to Pohnpeians, and like teach them, same way as English, uh, teaching, you know, other students can, it can also be a good, or it can also help you gain knowledge. 'Cause once you know these certain things, you also build yourself up, um (.) Becoming a more communicating and knowing person, yeah, in a way.

227 Brad: OK.

228 CE: In a way @.

229 Brad: @ OK. Are they different knowledges, or are they the same?

230 CE: They should, well (.) Depending on what they teach. Mmm (.) There's on-, well, every person takes, takes in things they learn differently. They have their own opinions, and, you know. So, what's unique about it is the languages. But, um (.) Hmm, I would just say, it's good (.) Mmm. I wouldn't really say it's different, but (.) It's different in the learning way @, or the language @, I don't know.

231 Brad: That's OK.

232 CE: @ My answers all make sense, huh @.

233 Brad: @ No, it's good. Um (.) Yeah, so (.) Do you think that (.) Young people use Pohnpeian differently from older people?

234 CE: Yeah @.

235 Brad: @ How so?

236 CE: Um @ (.) They like goofing around with their (.) @ They like to goof ar-, some, some little younglings like to goof around with their languages nowadays @.

237 Brad: What do you mean by that?

238 CE: Mmm (.) They, they, some like to show off @. Like (.) Uh (.) You know, they would, they would, sometimes they would like speak it in front of people who don't know how to speak Pohnpeian and then they would just start making fun out of it. Yeah, but (.) For certain people, they, they really take Pohnpeian seriously, like, certain young (.) # @. Certain people I know, they take Pohnpeian language very, um (.) They kind of (.) Use it, use it to communicate with their family and get closer with those they love. And, yeah. You know, young people use it for different ways @. But I wouldn't really stick to one, I would just, it really depends on that person.

239 Brad: OK. Do you think young people use more or less English, or the same as older people?

240 CE: I think, I think, uh, Pohnpeian and english, for Pohnpeians right? Mmm (.) Just for some young people, I would just say that they wouldn't know that much about the high way of, oh no. I don't, I really don't know @.

241 Brad: @

242 CE: Yeah. Uh (.) Young people (.) They don't really use, uh, those
(.) When they're with their friends, they're more comfortable
speaking, you know, what you call it. Mmm, informally @.

243 Brad: OK.

244 CE: Yeah, and when they're with, when they're near old people,
they would speak formally, 'cause they know Pohnpeian cul-
ture, you have to respect those who are, you know, elder, el-
derly, and (.)

245 Brad: Do you think that young people use more English then?

246 CE: Mmm (.)

247 Brad: Or not really?

248 CE: Yeah. Well, mmm, I wouldn't really say more. It really depends
on that person.

249 Brad: OK.

250 CE: Mmm.

251 Brad: So what do you think the future of the Pohnpeian, I mean, like
Pohnpeian and English in Pohnpei is? Like in 20, 50, 60 years
or whatever, in the future, do you think people will still speak
Pohnpeian? Do you speak, think people will speak more En-
glish or less English, or (.)

252 CE: Mmm @.

253 Brad: That's a tough question.

254 CE: Mmm (.) I wouldn't really know, but what I would want to
happen, is that I would, I would want Pohnpeian language to
keep going. Uh, 'cause it's important to know these languages.
I, for me, for me, since my mom is from Pohnpei, and since I
was, since I've been living here, I've learned English, and it's
helped me. Uh, as I've learned Pohnpeian, it's helped me too.
So (.) I would say that having both languages being spoken
in the future would be better than, you know, either of them
lessening, or, how should I say it? Like (.) Being ignored @, or
(.)

255 Brad: OK.

256 CE: Mmm, those are my only answers.

257 Brad: OK.

258 CE: Yeah.

259 Brad: Thank you. So (.) Should other people living on Pohnpei speak Pohnpeian? Like other Micronesians? People from Chuuk, or Yap, or even the other islands, Pingelap, Mwoakilloa, et cetera, that live here in Pohnpei for whatever reason. Should they learn Pohnpeian?

260 CE: It's really up to them if they want to learn Pohnpeian. But, I would just say, if they do learn Pohnpeian, then they could know what's, what's up and what goes on in Pohnpei, and it an also help them communicate with Pohnpeians as well. Yeah.

261 Brad: OK.

262 CE: Mmm.

263 Brad: Um, what do you think about English being one of the official languages of the FSM?

264 CE: I think it's good. Uh, it, it's actually been, uh (.) One of those languages that can help a lot of people, in school, in school mostly, sorry @. But, uh (.) Yeah, for (.) For English, it's been helping people. And I think it's, uh, good that it's (.) That it would be a official language here in the FSM.

265 Brad: OK.

266 CE: Mmm.

267 Brad: What if (.) Instead of English as the official language, 'cause the FSM National Government has this all of the, all of the second Congress has meetings in English, whenever (.) What if that were to change, and instead it would be Pohnpeian as the official language of the entire country? Or Chuukese, or Yape-, Yapese, or Kosraean, if they picked a, a Micronesian language and made that the official language.

268 CE: Oh @.

269 Brad: If they just picked one of them, what do you think would happen?

270 CE: Picked one of them?

271 Brad: Yeah, and made that the one official language?
 272 CE: Official language for the FSM?
 273 Brad: Yeah. Pohnpeian as the official language of the FSM.
 274 CE: Whoa @.
 275 Brad: @
 276 CE: Mmm (.) Hmm. That's a tough question @.
 277 Brad: @ Do you think people would like it, do you think it would be good, or bad, or (.)
 278 CE: I don't know what would happen, if it would be the official language. Mmm (.) Oh my gosh @.
 279 Brad: @ Just whatever, I mean, there's no right or wrong answer, necessarily, it's just whatever you (.)
 280 CE: Uh (.)
 281 Brad: Whatever your opinion is.
 282 CE: Mmm, hmm, hmm, hmm @. OK. If Pohnpeian was the official language in the FSM. Then (.) Well (.) Uh (.) @, if Pohnpeian language was official in the FSM, then how would all this happen? @
 283 Brad: @
 284 CE: Well, um, I don't know @, I don't know how to answer this question.
 285 Brad: OK.
 286 CE: I guess I'll just pass this question for now @.
 287 Brad: All right, so next question, so (.) Do you, do you pay attention to any news that happens? Like either here in Pohnpei, or the FSM, the US, other countries?
 288 CE: Uh (.) Yeah. Like, here in Pohnpei, I've been hearing news of funerals, and (.) Radio, the radio. Mmm, uh, they speak Pohnpeian and make announcements.
 289 Speaker 4: Sorry. #
 290 Brad: That's OK, so, um, so you listen to the radio in Pohnpeian?
 291 CE: Sometimes.
 292 Brad: Sometimes.
 293 CE: And, more English on TV.

294 Brad: OK.

295 CE: And, yeah.

296 Brad: What do you watch on TV in English?

297 CE: CNN @.

298 Brad: @OK.

299 CE: And, you know, series, movies.

300 Brad: OK. Um, do you (.) Have any other sources of news, like on the internet or anything?

301 CE: Mmm (.) Facebook?

302 Brad: OK.

303 CE: Yeah, Facebook @.

304 Brad: When you use Facebook, what languages do you use?

305 CE: Both @.

306 Brad: Both?

307 CE: Even though it's embarrassing to use Pohnpeian when I don't really know how to spell that much @.

308 Brad: @

309 CE: Of the words. I like get corrected afterwards @.

310 Brad: @ Who corrects you?

311 CE: My friends @.

312 Brad: @

313 CE: Close friends.

314 Brad: What do they say?

315 CE: It was just (.) Uh, send an, a little message and correct me and say, "Don't worry, you're still learning". Yeah. Yeah @.

316 Brad: Wh-, what do you think about it when people correct you? Do you like it, not like it?

317 CE: Well, the fact that it's just with my friends, that, it's comfortable, it's, it's OK with me, yeah. But sometimes I find it embarrassing @.

318 Brad: Yeah.

319 CE: Yeah. 'Cause I want to know that language so bad that I can, you know (.) Better it for myself and for those here in Pohnpei that I know, and yeah.

320 Brad: So you think it's important to learn more of it?

321 CE: Mmm, for me, yeah.

322 Brad: For you. OK. So like you (.) As you said before, so you can talk to friends and other people (.)

323 CE: Yeah.

324 Brad: And not feel embarrassed.

325 CE: Yeah.

326 Brad: OK. So, this is probably one of those broader questions, and you might not have an answer, and it's OK.

327 CE: OK.

328 Brad: Um (.) But, uh, Pohnpei has several embassies in other countries, right? Like Australia, Japan, China, the US.

329 CE: Mm-hmm.

330 Brad: In other countries. What do you think other countries want for Pohnpei, in terms of language? Like for example, the US.

331 CE: Um (.) For me, I would just refer to, uh, education. Um, students' knowledge when they learn things, and (.) Um, and students learn things and they grow their knowledge and enhance their education, and then (.) There are times when students decide to go abroad, and learn things in the US, or other places, Japan, Australia.

332 Brad: Mmm.

333 CE: Yeah, that would be one, in school. But for other places, I'm not sure.

334 Brad: OK.

335 CE: Yeah.

336 Brad: OK, do you think these interests are, are positive? Like, for the best interest of the people here, or is it a kind of selfish thing? Or something else?

337 CE: Uh (.) Enhan-, like enhancing education, or (.)

338 Brad: Mmm?

339 CE: Like, learning, or?

340 Brad: Just in terms of the way that they, you know, the US give money or the, the interest here, right? Considered funds.

341 CE: Like the Compact?

342 Brad: Like the Compact, right, do you think that's (.)

343 CE: Um (.)

344 Brad: A good thing, a bad thing?

345 CE: I think it's, it's good, 'cause it's helping this, it's been helping FSM ever since, uh (.) Yeah.

346 Brad: OK.

347 CE: I would say.

348 Brad: And what effect do you think the Compact has on language here in Pohnpei?

349 CE: I don't (.) Not sure. Mmm. # an effect. (.) Yeah @, I, I'm not sure.

350 Brad: So do you have any family that live in the US?

351 CE: Family that live in the US, yes, I do.

352 Brad: And where do they live in the US?

353 CE: Um (.) Well (.) My brother is currently (.) Not currently, yet, but he's gonna go back to Wisconsin and stay there for college.

354 Brad: OK.

355 CE: And, uh, my uncle who's in Hilo, Hawaii. He lives there with his family.

356 Brad: OK, and is he Pohnpeian, on your mom's side?

357 CE: Yeah.

358 Brad: All right. Um (.) And do you ever talk to him?

359 CE: I do, sometimes @.

360 Brad: @

361 CE: When he's not busy.

362 Brad: OK, and do you s-, what language do you speak with him?

363 CE: Uh (.) He mostly speaks Pohnpeian.

364 Brad: OK.

365 CE: He asks me questions in Pohnpeian but, uh, and I would answer him in both of, both languages, it really depends on, yeah. We speak to each other both languages, but he mostly speaks Pohnpeian. Yeah.

366 Brad: OK. So if you could learn any other language, what language would you want to learn?

367 CE: Korean @.

368 Brad: @ Korean? Why?

369 CE: Uh @, I, I'm a fan @. I'm a fan of Korean drama.

370 Brad: OK.

371 CE: And (.) I, I am a fan of learning languages, so the fact that I love Korean drama makes me want to learn Korean @.

372 Brad: OK.

373 CE: Yeah. Mmm, yeah, and other languages. Chinese, because I recently found out that I have a family there.

374 Brad: Oh, OK.

375 CE: Mmm, my dad's side. So yeah. No other languages, so far @.

376 Brad: OK. So if you were the, were to rank languages a p-, on a point basis based on how important they are for people here (.) What order would you rank them? What languages, what language would you rank first, second?

377 CE: Mmm. Like Pohnpeian, Mwokilese (.)

378 Brad: English, Chuukese, Kosraean, whatever.

379 CE: Mmm (.) I really don't (.) I w-, I wouldn't, I wouldn't rank them. But if I were to rank my two languages, I would just balance the @, the two. But the fact that I don't know that much of Pohnpeian, English would be ranked number one.

380 Brad: OK.

381 CE: For me.

382 Brad: And then number two would be (.)

383 CE: Pohnpeian.

384 Brad: Pohnpeian.

385 CE: Yeah.

386 Brad: OK, would you, instead of ranking them, what would you do instead?

387 CE: Mmm (.) Well (.) What would I do (.) With those two languages? Uh, since I know that much of English, I would better improve my Pohnpeian.

388 Brad: OK.

389 CE: Yeah.

390 Brad: That's the end of my list of questions, um, do you have anything else that you want to share about your experience with language here, um, in Pohnpei, or other things that are important to you about language, or (.)

391 CE: For me, what's important about language is (.) Um (.) It's good to know your language or, it's good to know a certain language from where you are or where you're at, 'cause, uh, that way you can better communicate with other people. And (.) You can know a lot of, you can know a lot of things, if you know other language. So (.) In my opinion, I would learn a language and use it to live life, getting to know people or doing things, or, yeah.

392 Brad: OK.

393 CE: And I'm glad, I'm blessed that I'm here in Pohnpei, with my broken Pohnpeian @, but it's, it's helping me, the people are helping me, um, better the way I speak it. And (.) Without English nor Pohnpeian, I wouldn't know certain things that I'm going through, out in my life. Yeah.

394 Brad: OK.

395 CE: @ That's all, I, I guess. Yeah, that's all.

396 Brad: Can you give me an example of the certain things?

397 CE: Mmm (.) I would @ (.) For English, uh, it's helped me learn things in school through, through my teachers, who speak English and teach in English, and (.) It's given me good knowledge and education, and also communication with other people. And Pohnpeian, it's helped me communicate with my family, my friends, and (.) It's (.) Served me great with a lot of Pohnpeians here, and even living here, at the same time, it's been fun and enjoyable learning Pohnpeian, as I grew up.

398 Brad: OK.

399 CE: Yeah.

400 Brad: OK. All right, well, thank you.

401 CE: Mmm.
402 Brad: Unless there's anything else that you want to say?
403 CE: I don't know @.
404 Brad: @ That's OK, all right.
405 CE: OK.

Appendix K. Interview with DI transcript

[BR1-28]

1 Brad: Today is July 5th, 2017. The time is 11:07 AM. Location, Kolo-
nia Pohnpei. OK, so start the interview. So, um, how old are
you?

2 DI: 18

3 Brad: 18?

4 DI: Yep.

5 Brad: Um, and, did you grow up on Pohnpei?

6 DI: Yeah.

7 Brad: And were you born here, or where were you born?

8 DI: I was born in Pohnpei.

9 Brad: Okay.

10 DI: Born and raised in Pohnpei.

11 Brad: Uh, and in what kousapw?

12 DI: Uh, Paies.

13 Brad: Paies, OK. Um, so how long have you lived here in Pohnpei?

14 DI: 18 years, yeah.

15 Brad: 18 year. Um, and have- have you ever traveled outside of Pohn-
pei?

16 DI: Yeah, once. Family trip to Japan.

17 Brad: To Japan?

18 DI: Yeah, and I was-

19 Brad: How long were you-

20 DI: Uh, in fifth grade.

21 Brad: OK.

22 DI: Three weeks.

23 Brad: Three weeks? Nice.

24 DI: Yeah.

25 Brad: How was it?

26 DI: It was fun. But that time I was like small, so, I didn't get much
souvenirs, I could.

27 Brad: Oh, OK.

28 DI: @ yeah. It's Pohnpei, yeah.

29 Brad: Nice. Um (.) So (.) Did you grow up speaking Pohnpeian, or
what languages did you speak as a kid?

30 DI: Uh, I grew up speaking in the Pohnpeian language, but when
I went to school, I spoke mostly in English.

31 Brad: OK.

32 DI: 'Cause I went to a private school. Calgary Christian Academy
school.

33 Brad: Oh, OK.

34 DI: Uh, but sometimes, I speak Japanese with my dad.

35 Brad: OK.

36 DI: But he knows how to speak in Pohnpeian language, so we
speak mostly in Pohnpeian.

37 Brad: Oh, OK. Can he also speak in English, or (.)

38 DI: Yeah, he speaks in English.

39 Brad: OK. So, when- when you were in Japan, did you (.) What lan-
guages did you use there, on your trip? Did you use Japanese?

40 DI: Pohnpeian, Pohnpeian.

41 Brad: OK.

42 DI: And also Japanese, but a little bit.

43 Brad: OK.

44 DI: @.

45 Brad: OK. Um (.) So (.) You grew up speaking those languages. Um
(.) What was it like when you went to school and had to speak
English?

46 DI: It was hard. It was funny, now that I think about how I used
to talk, and I was speaking English, but it was (.). It's worth
it, 'cause nowadays, that's the only language (.) English is the
only language that we can communicate with foreign coun-
tries, and also, that's mostly like the basic language all over
the world right now.

47 Brad: OK. Why do you think that is?

48 DI: Because, I don't know, it's the only way to communicate with
the other countries, and it's- it's easier than Pohnpeian lan-
guage.

49 Brad: OK. Why is it easier than Pohnpeian?

50 DI: I don't know. Maybe because I grew up, uh, mostly speaking
in the, like, English, so I can communicate more.

51 Brad: OK.

52 DI: Or, yeah (.) Talk about my feelings more in English than in
Pohnpeian language.

53 Brad: Yeah, why do you think that foreigners don't learn Pohnpeian,
or like foreign countries don't-

54 DI: Maybe it's tongue twisting and confusing for them.

55 Brad: @ OK. OK. So (.) Can you speak any of the high language of-
of Meing?

56 DI: Meing? Yeah. Only some. Yeah, a little

57 Brad: OK. Um (.) And how did you learn that?

58 DI: I listened to my grandmother and like the older people here in
Pohnpei.

59 Brad: OK.

60 DI: Yeah, they speak respectfully with one another when they see
each other. They used Meing.

61 Brad: OK.

62 DI: Yeah.

63 Brad: Uh, and what do you think about Meing? Is it (.)

64 DI: It's really (.) That's like the best form of (.) Or way of talking
with older people.

65 Brad: OK.

66 DI: And also, the high people. Like, the high status people, especially the Nahnmwarkis, and all. I think it's best that the younger kids, nowadays, should also learn Meing.

67 Brad: OK.

68 DI: Yeah.

69 Brad: And how do you (.) How do you think they'll learn it? What's the best way to learn it?

70 DI: From (.) From your parents. Your family.

71 Brad: OK. Do you ever use it with any of your friends?

72 DI: No. Friends we don't use it with. Like, these days, no. Nowadays, we never use it.

73 Brad: OK. Do you ever use it with other people?

74 DI: Um (.) Older people, yeah. But friends and other companions, no.

75 Brad: OK. But you think it's a good thing to learn.

76 DI: Yeah.

77 Brad: OK.

78 DI: It's a must for Pohnpeians.

79 Brad: Mmm. Do you think you'll learn more of it?

80 DI: Yeah. If I focus on it, and try to.

81 Brad: OK. Cool. Do you think every (.) Like every Pohnpeian should learn it? Or is it-

82 DI: Every Pohnpeian-

83 Brad: Or is it like limited to only certain parts of the island?

84 DI: No, every Pohnpeian should learn it.

85 Brad: OK, cool. Um (.) So, do you think, um (.) People living in Pohnpei, should know Pohnpeian?

86 DI: Yeah. They should, 'cause they're Pohnpeian.

87 Brad: Yeah.

88 DI: But not every single one of them.

89 Brad: OK.

90 DI: Some might be from foreign countries, or the out- outer islands. They have their own languages, so if you're from Pohnpei, raised in Pohnpei, than you should know.

91 Brad: OK. But if you're from outer islands?

92 DI: Outer islands, they have their own language, so why should they learn Pohnpeian?

93 Brad: OK. Should they know their own language?

94 DI: Yeah.

95 Brad: OK.

96 DI: If you're from this island, you should know your own language. But if you want to learn Pohnpeian, another language, than it's up to them.

97 Brad: OK. What about like Mehn wai coming here?

98 DI: Well, if you (.) It's really up to them, 'cause that's the only way to communicate with the islanders, if you're from the foreign-

99 Brad: OK. Right, so you think it still would be good to know?

100 DI: Yeah.

101 Brad: It's still useful.

102 DI: Yeah.

103 Brad: Do you think it's still useful even in Kolonia?

104 DI: Yeah. I (.) It is useful in Kolonia, 'cause (.) Well, people (.) Many people in Kolonia, they speak in English nowadays, but-

105 Brad: Mmm.

106 DI: I think it's best if foreign people also learn.

107 Brad: OK. Um (.) Why do you think English is used more in Kolonia these days?

108 DI: Hmm. There are more (.) I don't know how I'm gonna explain it. It's 'cause, uh, like Kolonia is more developed. It's more modern, like- like, there's a town here, and unlike the other, uh, municipalities, uh (.) This place is the only municipality that holds a strong, um (.) Picture of a foreign kind of town, or-

109 Brad: OK.

110 DI: Yeah. They have (.) It's more developed than the other principalities.

111 Brad: OK. How do you define modern and developed?

112 DI: OK. Uh (.) Modern and developed. It's like, they have more
people like jobs here.

113 Brad: Mmm.

114 DI: So, they have to speak in English, so they learn English lan-
guage, but in the other, uh, offices around the island, they don't
speak in English. In town, many people use English.

115 Brad: OK.

116 DI: Yeah.

117 Brad: Why do you think in the offices in other parts of the island,
they don't speak English?

118 DI: Well, mostly, it's because most of them are Pohnpeians, and
they don't really (.)

119 Brad: Mmm.

120 DI: They don't have, uh, foreign people working with them, so
they don't speak in English.

121 Brad: OK.

122 DI: Here, we have foreign people working with other Pohnpeians,
so they have to speak English, like communicate using English.

123 Brad: OK.

124 DI: Most of the time.

125 Brad: OK, cool. So (.) Do you think to be able to get a good job, like to
get a job in Kolonia, or to get a job in Kolonia, what languages
do you need?

126 DI: English.

127 Brad: English.

128 DI: And Pohnpeian.

129 Brad: And Pohnpeian. Can you get a job, a good job, with only Pohn-
peian in Kolonia, do you think?

130 DI: Mmm. (.) You can, but not (.) that (.) Well, as if you know, also
know English.

131 Brad: OK.

132 DI: Yeah.

133 Brad: OK. And then, so, in school, what language do you think they
should teach people in- in, here in Pohnpei?

134 DI: English, and also, Pohnpeian. Well, mostly, uh, the public schools here in Pohnpei, they already teach, uh, Pohnpeian, ever since they're like young, so, in the high schools, they use English most of the time. Mostly.

135 Brad: OK. Do you think private schools should teach Pohnpeian?

136 DI: Mmm. (.) No.

137 Brad: Why not?

138 DI: 'Cause (.) They should focus more on the English language.

139 Brad: Mmm.

140 DI: 'Cause the Pohnpeians, they live in Pohnpei, they can speak Pohnpeian language any time, but English, not that much.

141 Brad: OK.

142 DI: Yeah.

143 Brad: Do you think it's important to learn, then like, how to write in Pohnpeian, like- like aca- school Pohnpeian, you know, like for government to write like in the formal way. And, is- is that an important thing to learn in school, or is that a thing that you should learn uh somewhere else?

144 DI: It's important in school, yeah.

145 Brad: OK. Um (.) So, if you someday in the future have children, which may- may or may not happen, do you think that they should learn Pohnpeian? Is that an important thing?

146 DI: Yeah, of course.

147 Brad: @ why?

148 DI: It's very important, 'cause (.) Well, they should learn Pohnpeian language because they were born here, or (.) It's because I'm Pohnpeian.

149 Brad: Yeah.

150 DI: Yeah, personally, it's because I'm Pohnpeian, and I would want my kids to learn my language.

151 Brad: Mmm.

152 DI: Yeah.

153 Brad: So, what if you (.) You know, you're going to college, and what
if you get a job in Hawaii, or Guam, or US, or somewhere, um,
and you have kids there? Is it still important for them to speak
Pohnpeian, if they're not living in Pohnpei?

154 DI: Even if they're not living in Pohnpei, I would still want them
to speak in my language.

155 Brad: OK.

156 DI: Yeah, it's very important, 'cause maybe we might (.) Who
knows. We might come visit Pohnpei some other time. They
can communicate with their relatives or (.)

157 Brad: OK.

158 DI: Yeah, their family here.

159 Brad: OK. So (.) What if there were a Pohnpeian family, here, living
in Pohnpei, and they decided, English is the best language to
get a job, so therefore, I'm only going to speak English to my
children, so they don't (.) The- the kids don't speak Pohnpeian.
What do you think of that?

160 DI: I would kind of disagree with that- that idea.

161 Brad: OK.

162 DI: 'Cause it'll be (.) It's kind of sad how they are gonna like
choose another language over their original language, forget-
ting about it, just because they need to learn the language for
work or the future. It's not good to (.) It's like (.) That's like
throwing away our culture, and who we are as islanders. Yeah.

163 Brad: So, you would completely disagree?

164 DI: I would completely disagree with that. I hope it doesn't hap-
pen though.

165 Brad: Yeah @. OK.

166 DI: Yeah.

167 Brad: So, do you think young people also agree with you? Like peo-
ple your age, like your friends and peers? And (.) Or do you
think they would disagree with (.)

168 DI: Maybe some will disagree, but I think most of them will also
agree.

169 Brad: OK.

170 DI: Yeah.

171 Brad: Do you speak in Pohnpeian with your friends, or do you speak
in English, or (.)

172 DI: Uh, I speak mostly Pohnpeian.

173 Brad: OK.

174 DI: Uh, but if they cannot speak English, I mean, Pohnpeian lan-
guage, that's when I speak English.

175 Brad: OK.

176 DI: Yeah.

177 Brad: And who are the friends that don't speak Pohnpeian?

178 DI: CE.

179 Brad: OK.

180 DI: Yeah. Also, NAME.

181 Brad: And, so why is it that they don't speak Pohnpeian, do you
think?

182 DI: NAME just came to Pohnpei. He just moved to Pohnpei.

183 Brad: OK.

184 DI: So, he doesn't know the language. CE, she- she knows a little
bit. She understand a little, but she doesn't really speak that
much in Pohnpeian language.

185 Brad: OK.

186 DI: So, we just talk in English.

187 Brad: OK. At school, what language do- did you use at OLM?

188 DI: Mostly Pohnpeian language @.

189 Brad: @.

190 DI: 'Cause all of them know how to speak.

191 Brad: Mmm.

192 DI: So (.)

193 Brad: But in the class, you would use-

194 DI: In the class, we would use English, in the class.

195 Brad: OK, and did the teachers like it when you'd speak Pohnpeian?

196 DI: No.

197 Brad: And what'd they do?

198 DI: We'd often get scolded.

199 Brad: What would they say?

200 DI: We'd get demerits.

201 Brad: Really.

202 DI: Or, we'd go to (.) We'd have detention.

203 Brad: OK, what do you think of that?

204 DI: Uh (.) I think it's good. It's a good idea we get.

205 Brad: Why?

206 DI: 'Cause the main purpose we go to school at (.) like there, on
OLM is so that we can learn English, improve our English skills,
not Pohnpeian. Yeah.

207 Brad: OK. Do you think there are people that would go to school
there, and they'd learn English, and then, decide, since, you
know, these people say speaking Pohnpeian is bad, maybe
then, I'm not gonna speak Pohnpeian anymore. Do you think
that'll happen?

208 DI: Uh, no. I think that's impossible.

209 Brad: OK, why's it impossible?

210 DI: 'Cause if you go to school, and then, there (.) You cannot just
easily throw away (.) Like, decide to stop talking Pohnpeian
that much. You're obviously gonna talk in English, speak in
English, and then, after just a little while, and you start talking
Pohnpeian language again. It's gonna be hard.

211 Brad: OK. Do you know any Pohnpeians who don't speak Pohn-
peian?

212 DI: Yeah. Yeah.

213 Brad: And how old are they? I mean, approximate (.) Like your age,
younger, older?

214 DI: Some are younger. Some are- are my age. I have relatives who
cannot speak Pohnpeian language.

215 Brad: And why's that?

216 DI: I don't know. They mostly speak in English, in their family.

217 Brad: Mmm.

218 DI: Their mom is (.) She only speaks English.

219 Brad: OK.

220 DI: So, they all speak English.

221 Brad: Did they grow up here, or they grow up in the US?

222 DI: Yeah, they grew up here.

223 Brad: Oh, OK. So, there are Pohnpeians that grew up here, and they
only spoke English.

224 DI: Spoke English.

225 Brad: OK.

226 DI: I think that's kind of related to, like, #.

227 Brad: OK.

228 DI: Yeah.

229 Brad: And (.) What do you think of those relatives? Like, what does
your family think of them?

230 DI: Uh, we don't think much about it. It's just (.) It's sad, but we
try to speak in Pohnpeian language with them, so (.) But they
understand that they cannot speak.

231 Brad: OK. But you still (.) get along, and (.)

232 DI: Yeah, we still get along.

233 Brad: OK @.

234 DI: As family.

235 Brad: But, do you think it's harder for them to live in Pohnpei, be-
cause they don't speak Pohnpeian?

236 DI: I don't know.

237 Brad: OK.

238 DI: Maybe.

239 Brad: Mmm. So, kind of related question is to be Pohnpeian, do you
have to speak Pohnpeian? Like, can you be Pohnpeian without
the language?

240 DI: No, as long as you have the blood.

241 Brad: That's all?

242 DI: You- you're already Pohnpeian.

243 Brad: OK.

244 DI: But it would be, it would be better if you were to have evidence
that you are Pohnpeian.

245 Brad: @ OK, but you're still Pohnpeian, but it would be better if you
could speak.

246 DI: Yeah.

247 Brad: So, what about someone who's not biologically Pohnpeian, but
lives here and speaks Pohnpeian, and acts Pohnpeian? Are
they Pohnpeian?

248 DI: You can say that, but (.) Not originally from here.

249 Brad: OK.

250 DI: But, yeah, they can be called that, Pohnpeian, if they grew up
here, and lived as an islander like the rest of us. Yeah, we can
say that.

251 Brad: Uh-huh. OK. Yep. What do you think about people from Pin-
gelap, Mwoakilloa that when they speak Pohnpeian? What do
you think of that?

252 DI: It's good that they know how to speak.

253 Brad: Mmm.

254 DI: Our language. Also (.) As well as their language.

255 Brad: Mmm.

256 DI: I think it's- it's good.

257 Brad: What if they lost their language and only spoke Pohnpeian,
and- and English, but- but only like Pohnpeian was their main
language?

258 DI: Hmm (.) I don't mind.

259 Brad: OK. Why?

260 DI: 'Cause they're still a part of the outer islands of Pohnpei, so
why not?

261 Brad: OK. OK. Is it important to teach things in their language, like in
public schools, or is it better for them to learn Pohnpeian, like
in Sokehs. Is it better for them to learn Pohnpeian, or better
for them to have education in their language?

262 DI: Uh (.) I think it's better to speak (.) Or learn Pohnpeian lan-
guage in their schools too, so that they can (.) It's easier to
communicate with other islanders.

263 Brad: OK. Um (.) Can you tell if someone's from Pingelap?

264 DI: Yeah.

265 Brad: When they speak, uh, Pohnpeian?

266 DI: @ yeah.

267 Brad: How can you tell?

268 DI: By the way they pronounce, or the way they deliver their (.)
The way they speak.

269 Brad: OK.

270 DI: Yeah.

271 Brad: What- what comes to mind, when you hear them speaking
Pohnpeian? You can tell, oh, you're from Pingelap?

272 DI: Yeah. I say, "OK, you're saying it the wrong way," or like,
"That's wrong," but yes. Sometimes, I get, uh (.) How do you
say, um, overprotective of our own language. I want it to be
like always right.

273 Brad: Uh-huh.

274 DI: For other people to say that, 'cause it kind of gets on my nerves
when they say it in a different way, their language. Yeah, so-

275 Brad: Yeah, so it sounds, it sounds bad?

276 DI: It sounds not, yeah.

277 Brad: Yeah.

278 DI: It sounds bad @.

279 Brad: What do other people say about that, too? Like, do they agree
with you? Like other Pohnpeians?

280 DI: Yeah. They agree. Most that I know. They agree.

281 Brad: OK. And so, what do you (.) Do they ever tell the people, like
Pingelap anything? Like, do they ever correct them, or (.)

282 DI: Yeah. Mostly in school, uh, those, uh (.) We have other (.) We-
we like have classmates from Mortlocks, and Mwokilese. We
try to correct each other, but they say, "Oh, no. The way I'm
saying it is right," or, "No, it's the way I'm saying it is right."
We get into arguments sometimes, but we get over it.

283 Brad: Do people ever make jokes about how people there (.) Do you
know of any?

284 DI: Yeah. I don't want to say.

285 Brad: Why not? Is it bad?

286 DI: No, it's (.) No, it- it's kind of disrespectful, so (.)

287 Brad: Oh, OK. But, do a lot of people make those jokes, or- or is it
looked down upon?

288 DI: No, it's (.) Yeah, a lot of people make jokes, but-

289 Brad: OK.

290 DI: People or kids my age or teenagers now.

291 Brad: Oh, OK.

292 DI: Yeah.

293 Brad: OK. Um (.) OK. Um (.) This is good. So (.) Do you know
of Pohnpeians who would learn Pingelapese or Mwokilese or
Mortlockese, or (.)

294 DI: My mom is Pohnpeian but she knows how to speak in Mort-
lockese.

295 Brad: OK.

296 DI: She's also Mortlockese.

297 Brad: OK.

298 DI: Yeah. So, sometimes, when we meet our relatives from Mort-
locks, they speak in Mortlockese, but I don't know what
they're saying.

299 Brad: OK, you cannot understand.

300 DI: I cannot understand.

301 Brad: OK. Um (.) So (.) With your family, then, you speak Pohnpeian,
you said before, right?

302 DI: Mmm.

303 Brad: Uh, and with those relatives that don't speak Pohnpeian, you
speak English. OK. What about elsewhere? You said in school,
you speak Pohnpeian with your friends, but in class, you have
to speak English. Um, and when you go up to the teacher to
ask a question, what language do you use?

304 DI: English.

305 Brad: English. Always?

306 DI: Always.

307 Brad: OK. Even if they're Pohnpeian?

308 DI: Uh, if they're (.) Yeah, English.

309 Brad: OK.

310 DI: If we speak our, uh, another language, she's gonna say, "You have to speak in English."

311 Brad: OK. Um (.) When you go to the store, what language do you speak?

312 DI: Pohnpeian.

313 Brad: Pohnpeian. Is there any time that you would speak English with a Pohnpeian, if- if they know Pohnpeian?

314 DI: If they know Pohnpeian, might speak mostly Pohnpeian.

315 Brad: OK.

316 DI: But if they (.) Sometimes they mistake me as like a foreigner.

317 Brad: Oh, OK.

318 DI: Just 'cause of my face.

319 Brad: Yeah.

320 DI: They speak English, and then, I just speak in English as well.

321 Brad: Oh, OK.

322 DI: Sometimes, I just speak in Pohnpeian, and they just like get shocked and awe.

323 Brad: @.

324 DI: I thought you were a- a Korean, or a, I don't know, Asian, so I didn't know.

325 Brad: OK.

326 DI: But I mostly speak in Pohnpeian.

327 Brad: OK. Cool. Um (.) Do people often do that, like think that you're not from Pohnpei?

328 DI: Yeah. Ever since I was, yeah. They would get really shocked if I speak in Pohnpeian language.

329 Brad: OK.

330 DI: Yeah.

331 Brad: What do you feel about that?

332 DI: It's- it's funny.

333 Brad: OK.

334 DI: It (.) I feel (.) I just feel happy, and kind of sad, at the same time,
but it's funny in the end, 'cause they don't know I know how
to speak in Pohnpeian language. Sometimes, they talk behind
my back, but I can like listen, and know what they're saying.

335 Brad: Uh-huh.

336 DI: But they're talking about me, and I can hear it.

337 Brad: OK. And why does it make you feel sad?

338 DI: Well, 'cause, uh, usually, people can know who's Pohnpeian
and who's not.

339 Brad: Mmm.

340 DI: It makes me feel like I'm not Pohnpeian.

341 Brad: Mmm.

342 DI: Yeah. When they missed Pohnpeian.

343 Brad: Do you feel Pohnpeian?

344 DI: Yeah, I am.

345 Brad: OK.

346 DI: I am Pohnpeian. Despite the looks and all.

347 Brad: Yeah, yeah. OK. Um (.) So, kind of slightly different topic. Um
(.) So (.) I've heard Pohnpeian spoken by some people, and
they use a lot of English words, and like, have you heard that
as well?

348 DI: Yeah, I sometimes speak like that.

349 Brad: Do you have an example?

350 DI: Uh (.) Oh (.) ((snaps)) openda wenihmwēn

351 Brad: OK.

352 DI: That means (.) I used open.

353 Brad: Mmm.

354 DI: But that's an English word.

355 Brad: Mmm. Um, so who tends to use more English, or is it just
everyone?

356 DI: Everyone.

357 Brad: And what do you think about that?

358 DI: Uh, I think we should learn the proper way of saying them,
rather than using the frame language, English.

359 Brad: Mmm.

360 DI: Along with mixed with Pohnpeian language.

361 Brad: OK. Why?

362 DI: Uh (.) 'Cause that way, we'll be practicing other languages, and it's not the real or proper way of speaking Pohnpeian language. Like, "close the door," is klohs wenihmwēn. But, then, it's actually ritingidi wenihmwēn.

363 Brad: Mmm.

364 DI: Ritingidi and klohs they're not even the same, so (.)

365 Brad: Yeah, so why do you think people use English, then, instead of Pohnpeian.

366 DI: I think they've gotten used to it.

367 Brad: OK.

368 DI: Mmm.

369 Brad: From where?

370 DI: I don't know. Ever since we were young, we often hear people say it, so we say it nowadays.

371 Brad: OK. Is there a person or a place when you wouldn't use the English word, and you would, you know, pay attention to like actually using the Pohnpeian word?

372 DI: Yeah, at, uh (.) Like (.) When we meet the Nahnwarki and all. Yeah, we use (.) We try to focus on our way of speaking in front of them. We use (.) We try to use Pohnpeian.

373 Brad: OK. So, is using English words disrespectful, or not really?

374 DI: It's not disrespectful, but it's improper.

375 Brad: OK. OK. Are there other places where using English would be improper? The English words in Pohnpeian? Besides the Nahnwarki?

376 DI: Besides the Nahnwarki is the people with high titles.

377 Brad: Mmm.

378 DI: Around the island.

379 Brad: OK. What about other places like, um, if you were at church, would you use English words, or if you were (.) If someone was giving a speech or something?

380 DI: Oh, you have to use Meing.

381 Brad: OK. OK.

382 DI: Not English. When delivering a speech, it's best to use like the proper way of saying, speaking.

383 Brad: OK. But if you were just talking to your friends, it's no problem?

384 DI: Just talking to our friends, or any of our relatives, then we can use it.

385 Brad: Mmm. OK. Cool. So, do you think the Pohnpeian language is changing at all?

386 DI: It is.

387 Brad: How so?

388 DI: People are adapting more, like they're just mixing English with, uh, Pohnpeian English, and then, ignoring the real or proper ways of talking, or speaking.

389 Brad: OK. Who- who controls the proper way of speaking? Or who- who maintains that? Who keeps that? Or, what is the (.) Like, how do you know what's the proper way to speak Pohnpeian?

390 DI: I don't know. Instincts? Well, we mostly, uh, learn from our grandparents, parents. They teach us.

391 Brad: OK.

392 DI: We know it, but we're (.) We don't use it that much.

393 Brad: So, your grandparents, and the older people, they-

394 DI: The older people-

395 Brad: They have the proper way.

396 DI: They have the proper way.

397 Brad: And so, do (.) Like, do young people speak an improper way, or (.)

398 DI: Improper way, mostly.

399 Brad: OK. Um (.) So, do you like the change?

400 DI: Although I am speaking some, like, speak that way sometimes, uh, yeah, I- I don't really like it.

401 Brad: OK.

402 DI: My, uh, mom always corrects me, if I speak it, like speak the
wrong way.

403 Brad: OK. Can you give me an example of the wrong way and the
right way?

404 DI: Mmm. (.) ehh. (.) off-di dengkien (.) and then, she says,
“Wrong.” It’s koakuhndi dengkien.

405 Brad: OK.

406 DI: @ Yeah.

407 Brad: OK. Um (.) What do you think about different versions of Pohn-
peian, like (.) In- in Kitti, there’s different ways of speaking
than here in Kolonia.

31.10 408 DI: Oh, yeah.

409 Brad: What do you, what do you think about that difference?

410 DI: Uh (.) Sometimes, I feel like competing with the other, like,
compete and argue over who’s pronunciation is right or cor-
rect, ‘cause Kitti, they say, “oa,” in. The other parts of the is-
land say, “eh.” It feels, uh, as a (.) As a person from Kitti, I feel
unique.

411 Brad: OK.

412 DI: But (.) It’s actually the same.

413 Brad: OK.

414 DI: Yeah. Although, the pronunciation is just different.

415 Brad: OK. But, you (.) So, you prefer to speak- speak it the Kitti way?

416 DI: Yeah, the Kitti way.

417 Brad: ‘Cause it makes you feel unique?

418 DI: Yeah.

419 Brad: OK.

420 DI: Yeah. I grew up there, in Kitti, so I would want to be on the
Kitti side.

421 Brad: OK.

422 DI: @ yeah, like (.)

423 Brad: Do you, does it ever feel (.) Do you ever feel different or weird
when you speak it in other parts of the island?

424 DI: Yeah. When, yeah (.)

425 Brad: @.

426 DI: Especially, there is like (.) I have a lot of classmates, they say,
"eh."

427 Brad: Mmm.

428 DI: So, when we say, "ah," they make fun of us.

429 Brad: No.

430 DI: We would make fun of each other, actually.

431 Brad: OK.

432 DI: But, in the end, we're still Pohnpeians, and it's just the pronun-
ciations that are different.

433 Brad: OK. Can you understand everyone else on the island?

434 DI: Yeah.

435 Brad: Is there anywhere that you can't understand? Any part of the
island?

436 DI: No.

437 Brad: OK. Are there any other difference that you notice besides the-
the "eh," "ah?"

438 DI: Uh, no.

439 Brad: OK. So, what do you think about the future of the Pohnpeian
language? Like, 50, 100 years from now? What do you think
it'll be like?

440 DI: Uh, more mixed languages.

441 Brad: OK. Mixed with English? OK.

442 DI: English.

443 Brad: Do you think people will still speak Pohnpeian?

444 DI: It depends.

445 Brad: OK, depends on what?

446 DI: Depends on the people, whether they want to speak in (.) More
on English or stay with their language, their own language.

447 Brad: OK. But do you think there'll be more people that don't speak
Pohnpeian, or do you think there'll be more people that speak
it?

448 DI: More people that speak Pohnpeian language?

449 Brad: OK. Do you think there'll ever be a time when people don't
speak Pohnpeian anymore?

450 DI: That's possible, but I don't believe it.

451 Brad: OK @. OK. Um (.) What do you think about, um, outsiders'
view of Pohnpei? Like, the US government or the US embassy
and other people in Australia, do you think (.) What do you
think they want for like the Pohnpeian language?

452 DI: What I think?

453 Brad: Yeah.

454 DI: They would want us to speak English.

455 Brad: OK.

456 DI: Yeah. That's about it.

457 Brad: Do you think they would want you to not speak Pohnpeian?

458 DI: No.

459 Brad: Or, just (.) Everyone. They want everyone to speak English?

460 DI: Yeah.

461 Brad: OK. What do you think of that?

462 DI: 'Cause we're under the United States, or the US.

463 Brad: Mmm.

464 DI: So, they would want us to learn English.

465 Brad: Yeah. Why do they want you to learn English?

466 DI: So that we can have more opportunities to go out there, and
like, to the US, and it'll be, uh, it's our own benefit. It's for our
own benefits.

467 Brad: OK.

468 DI: Yeah.

469 Brad: Not for, not (.) Does- does it benefit them as well, or only ben-
efit you?

470 DI: It'll also benefit them, because we actually learned something
from the US.

471 Brad: Mmm.

472 DI: Uh, like their language, so that we can go and also, you know,
help them, in return.

473 Brad: Mmm.

474 DI: Or work at their places, and-

475 Brad: OK. But they don't have any like bad, think they're doing it
like selfish reasons, or bad reasons, or only good reasons?

476 DI: I don't know what it's in their minds.

477 Brad: @ yeah. Yeah. Um (.) Just a couple more questions. Sorry, this
is kind of long.

478 DI: It's OK.

479 Brad: Um (.) So (.) Do you ever listen to like news or get information
about things that are happening around the island, or around
the world?

480 DI: No.

481 Brad: OK.

482 DI: Never. Oh, yeah (.) In radio, stuff. Yeah.

483 Brad: OK. In radio stuff?

484 DI: Only from the radio station, we learned about like (.) We
gather information about who passed away, or that's about it.

485 Brad: Yeah. Do you ever hear things about like- like the governor, or
the president here, or anything?

486 DI: No.

487 Brad: OK. So, the radio, is that in (.) What language is that in?

488 DI: Pohnpeian language.

489 Brad: Pohnpeian. Mmm. OK. Is it really popular?

490 DI: For those who listen to the radio.

491 Brad: OK.

492 DI: @.

493 Brad: Do you think many people listen to the radio to hear about the
news like that?

494 DI: Uh (.) Not anymore. Not- not many. Not that many.

495 Brad: OK. Um (.) So, I'm assuming you use Facebook.

496 DI: Yeah.

497 Brad: @ Um (.) And so, when you have friends that are Pohnpeian,
right, so what language do you use on Facebook?

498 DI: Pohnpeian language.

499 Brad: Pohnpeian, OK. Do you ever use English on Facebook?

500 DI: Yeah.

501 Brad: So, when do you use English when you use Pohnpeian?

502 DI: Actually, if- if my friend doesn't know how to speak in English, or doesn't know how to speak in Pohnpeian language, that's when I speak English. Sometimes I speak both, like just mixed.

503 Brad: OK. OK. OK.

504 DI: Yeah.

505 Brad: Cool. Yeah, and so (.) Um (.) I'm assuming you also watch movies.

506 DI: Uh-huh.

507 Brad: Or, like at home. What languages do you, do they tend to be in?

508 DI: Uh, English. Mostly English.

509 Brad: OK.

510 DI: Sometimes, I watch Korean, so it's also Japanese.

511 Brad: OK.

512 DI: Also, Chinese.

513 Brad: OK. Are there any movies or TV shows ever in Pohnpeian?

514 DI: There was a TV show, but no.

515 Brad: OK, so it's very rare.

516 DI: Yeah, it's rare.

517 Brad: OK, do you ever, uh, read books, or (.) Things like that?

518 DI: No.

519 Brad: OK.

520 DI: Not the type to read a lot.

521 Brad: OK. It's OK. Yeah. Cool. Yeah. Well, do you have any questions for me, or other things that you want to share about your experience with language or Pohnpei, or (.)

522 DI: So far, I- I myself do not know that much (.) Like, the proper ways of speaking in the Pohnpeian language.

523 Brad: Mmm.

524 DI: But (.) I'll still learn.

525 Brad: OK.

526 DI: Yeah @.

527 Brad: Cool. Well, thank you. This is good.
528 DI: Thank you very much.

Appendix L. Interview with JN transcript

[BR1-29]

1 Brad: OK, so today is Monday, July 24th 2017. The time is 12:56 pm.
Location: Pohnpei.

2 JN: I'm 26.

3 Brad: 26? Um, and where did you grow up? Like, where were you
born?

4 JN: I was born and raised in Pohnpei until I was 18, and then I
moved out to the States.

5 Brad: OK. Um, and what part of Pohnpei did you grow up in?

6 JN: Uh, we call it the Dolonier, Nett.

7 Brad: OK.

8 JN: Yeah, that's pretty much where I grew up.

9 Brad: OK. Uh, where did you go to school? Elementary school, high
school.

10 JN: Elementary school, I think I started out at a K-5, and then after
that, I went to Pohnpei Catholic School for elementary school.

11 Brad: OK.

12 JN: And for high school, I went to a Southern Baptist school called
uh Calvary Christian Academy.

13 Brad: OK. And both of those are located in Kolonia?

14 JN: Uh, yeah, yeah they actu- (.) they're both technically located
in Kolonia.

15 Brad: Um, and so did you travel at all as a kid? Outside of Pohnpei?

16 JN: Uh, let's see. None (.) my memories of traveling are not (.)
were not a lot, so we- (.) not, not really. I only have pictures
that show that we went on vacation and stuff. But, n- (.) they
were not very often and I don't really remember a lot of it.

- 17 Brad: OK. OK. Um.
- 18 JN: And, when you say kid, you mean just like grammar school.
- 19 Brad: Yeah, so like before you moved off island. Like up to 18.
- 20 JN: Oh, OK. Uh, yeah I went to Guam quite regularly.
- 21 Brad: OK.
- 22 JN: 'Cause I had braces, so I had to go h (.) change them every couple of months.
- 23 Brad: OK.
- 24 JN: And I had the opportunity to go to Japan, uh for two weeks for Japanese language conference. And then I also went on a program called Close Up and I visited the whole West Co (.) West (.) no East Coast of uh, the United States.
- 25 Brad: OK. Um, and how long were you there?
- 26 JN: The United States?
- 27 Brad: Yeah.
- 28 JN: Uh, I think it was also around 2–3 weeks.
- 29 Brad: OK.
- 30 JN: Yeah.
- 31 Brad: OK, um yeah. So, what was the first language that you spoke at home?
- 32 JN: Pohnpeian, yeah, but it was also English, as well. Like they (.) they mixed them both.
- 33 Brad: OK. So you grew up speaking English? Like was there like a time when it started or was it always (.)
- 34 JN: Yeah there was certainly a time when I started, I think it was when I started school, that's when I started to learn English. And then my parents started speaking English to me. I don't (.) I don't really remember an exact time when I just was thinking, oh yeah they're speaking English to me, but it just came, yeah. I think it was both.
- 35 Brad: OK. Do you (.) do you remember the experience of learning English? What that was like?
- 36 JN: Uh, I remember certain parts of learning English, for example, reading.

37 Brad: OK.

38 JN: I wasn't good at reading at all.

39 Brad: OK.

40 JN: So reading was difficult, but as far as speaking it, it just came naturally at some point.

41 Brad: OK. And so you (.) so in school then, did you use mostly English, or Pohnpeian, or?

42 JN: Oh yeah, all the schools I went to were private schools so we (.) they were required to speaking English.

43 Brad: OK. And how (.) how did the teachers enforce that?

44 JN: The teachers, um, well they would always speak English, for one. And uh, I don't have the recollection of somebody actually speaking Pohnpeian and them (.) and then the teacher correcting them to speak English. But I think English was just a default and all the kids just knew it so they just spoke in English.

45 Brad: OK.

46 JN: Yeah. But I don't remember (.) I don't know exactly how the teachers would enforce it 'cause everything was just in English and nobody (.) there wasn't anything (.) uh, nobody spoke Pohnpeian.

47 Brad: OK.

48 JN: From what I remember.

49 Brad: OK, and what do you think about that? Having education in English, like and your experience with it?

50 JN: Uh, in terms of what? Like uh (.)

51 Brad: Well in terms of it (.) or in terms of it not being in Pohnpeian, or another language?

- 52 JN: I think for Pohnpeians, and Micronesians, just in general, I think learning the English language is really important. I think it opens a lot of doors and I think all (.) I was actually thinking about this a long time ago. I think uh, it also kind of changes your (.) kind of gives your mind a little bit of flexibility. Like, I notice that a lot of Pohnpeians that (.) that have a good command of the English language, have um, I don't want to say Americanized, but I (.) I see that they're (.) they're the kind of people that would go to the States and they adapt really easily and uh they just have different mindsets than the local people. So, I think in that sense, I really think it's really important (.)
- 53 Brad: OK.
- 54 JN: (.) to learn the language.
- 55 Brad: OK. It (.) how do you see those mindsets being different? Besides like being almost like Americanized, but like can you give me like a concrete example of that?
- 56 JN: Yeah, um, so for example, the employees that my father uh, hire, um I notice that some of the most uh disengaged employees, uh, people that are really hard to motivate, are the ones that don't really have a good command of the English language. I don't know if that's correlated to having a really great education or anything. But I notice that the ones that do uh have a good command of the language are more flexible in their mindset and they (.) they uh, yeah they don't uh (.) they listen to management a little more, from my experience anyway. That's what I've seen, yeah.
- 57 Brad: OK. Cool. Um, yeah so are you (.) you said earlier that you um went to Japan. So do you speak Japanese as well?
- 58 JN: Yeah I speak a little bit of Japanese, I'm not fluent yet but (.)
- 59 Brad: OK.
- 60 JN: Yeah.
- 61 Brad: And, and where did you learn that?

- 62 JN: I (.) there was a Japanese teacher that started (.) there was a Japanese couple that lives on the island, so they started teaching in high (.) my high school. I took it as a elective and since then I studied it.
- 63 Brad: OK. And why did you take it as an elective? Like what was your interest in learning Japanese?
- 64 JN: Well, at first it was just the simple fact that there were not many electives that I was interested in. It was either calligraphy or um, something with computers. And I didn't want to do either of those. So I decided to take a language.
- 65 Brad: OK.
- 66 JN: But then I developed a genuine interest in it after I started becoming good at it.
- 67 Brad: OK. And what interests you now?
- 68 JN: About Japanese? I love (.) I love everything about the Japanese culture. I also like grew up watching anime, so their entertainment as well. Uh, Japanese food as well. And ever since, yeah, since I went to Japan I definitely like Japan (.) everything Japanese a lot more. @
- 69 Brad: OK. Um, do you find it useful to have Japanese (.) like for people to living here in Pohnpei?
- 70 JN: Um, useful? I would not (.) I cannot think of many instances where you would use the language, but it definitely, like in the long term, it definitely is useful. Example, it's really good if you can actually say that you're fluent in Japanese. Something that I wish I could say, at this point in time. But, um, yeah just a lot of Micronesians go to Guam or any other place and they could just say that they learned (.) that they know Japanese.
- 71 Brad: Mmm
- 72 JN: That (.) that'd be really great for them. Also I think uh, there are Japanese tourists that come every now and then, so it's really good to know the language, of course.
- 73 Brad: Mmm
- 74 JN: Yep.

75 Brad: Um, do you know any other languages besides those three?

76 JN: I know Dutch, cause I've been living in the Netherlands for two years.

77 Brad: OK.

78 JN: Uh, I'm still not fluent yet. My goal is to be fluent next year, in March. And yeah, that's pretty much it.

79 Brad: OK. Um, yeah so when you're back here in Pohnpei, um, where do you use Pohnpeian?

80 JN: Hm. Uh, it's basically everywhere. Back home it's both Pohnpeian and English. Um, yeah it's either at home, @ everywhere actually.

81 Brad: OK.

82 JN: With (.) with locals.

83 Brad: OK.

84 JN: Yeah. And people that I would think that just don't use English that much.

85 Brad: Um, is there a place where you definitely use English?

86 JN: Definitely use English? Um, actually on the island, uh I can't think of any place. @ No, I cannot think of any place #

87 Brad: OK.

88 JN: 'Cause I'm not in school anymore, so.

89 Brad: OK. So, in school is the place where you would mostly speak English before?

90 JN: Yeah. There are certain situations where I do speak English because it kind of seems silly, but I speak (.) I dream in English.

91 Brad: OK.

92 JN: I speak English more (.) better than I actually do than my mother tongue. I don't know (.) I think it's just because um I never had the opportunity to learn my language as much as I did uh in, in different aspects as I did (.) as I did with the English language. You know there's no school for Pohnpeian, and the (.) I studied the (.) basically English grammar since yeah, til like two years into college and everything, so.

93 Brad: OK.

- 94 JN: Yeah. I don't know why, but there are certain situations where I uh, actually speak English as a default because I just express myself better in that way. And I can ask questions better, as well.
- 95 Brad: OK.
- 96 JN: Yeah.
- 97 Brad: Do you think that there should be that kind of education in Pohnpeian, then?
- 98 JN: I (.) I (.) I do. Yeah.
- 99 Brad: OK.
- 100 JN: Uh, just because I think, preserving culture, I think that's really important for (.) for us, as Micronesians. Especially when uh, uh, you know certain things are westernized. It's always important to keep certain parts of your culture, and I think @ language (.) language is something that I think is also dying. It's the first thing (.) I think it's one of the most wonderful thing that goes away when, you know, after colonization and stuff like that. Yeah. I think it (.) I think it should, should be in school. Especially since, do you know Meing? They (.) that's only passed down by uh (.) that's only passed down by people uh when you live in a typical local place, and I think it'd be cool for Micronesians to learn how to speak how they would if they were politicians, or if they wanted to (.) it's basically another language. And I don't know how to speak that, so. Yeah I think that's (.) that would be nice.
- 101 Brad: Can your parents speak it?
- 102 JN: Uh, they know phrases. That's the thing, that's what I mean by it's like dying out. Um, my grandfather speaks it very well, and my grandmother as well. Um, but they're from an older generation, so, yeah.
- 103 Brad: Do you know any of your peers, here, that would speak it?

- 104 JN: Ooh. Uh, if they would speak it, it would be because (.) yeah I know people who are my like (.) who are my peers, that spoke it, but they were also people who were, I don't know how to say it, they were just like (.) they lived in the rural areas, and they (.) either that or they knew somebody who was kind of culturally well-known, or has high status. So, they would always be in like uh certain gatherings and local (.) local traditional things. So they would have to know how to speak.
- 105 Brad: OK. So going back to your thing about Pohnpeian education. What would that look like, in terms of education? So, would it be school should be mostly in (.) in Pohnpeian, with a class in English? Or should it be mostly English with a class in Pohnpeian? Or (.) what is your like ideal?
- 106 JN: What is my ideal? Can you repeat the first part?
- 107 Brad: Yeah. So (.) before you said it's important to teach Pohnpeian right? To have classes on it. So how (.) how should schools be structured to teach it? Like what is your ideal model of education for that?
- 108 JN: Uh, that's a good question. Um, I think (.) I think it should be integrated into regular (.) regular school.
- 109 Brad: OK.
- 110 JN: Because, also with, uh I know from my experience, uh in elementary school they also teach social studies and history and uh (.) the certain things that kind of correlate with the culture in general, like art history. And so I think it's (.) it'd be very handy to, yeah, to integrate uh, Pohnpeian as an actual class. Um, but I would have to think more about it, actually how it would be structured because I kind of see like uh a teacher teaching Pohnpeian to you know certain (.) to Pohnpeian's who speak the language fluently, I cannot really see, like really clearly, how that's going to go.
- 111 Brad: OK.

- 112 JN: But I do think, uh maybe just, maybe the Meing, lokaihn
Meing, the higher language, that should definitely be spoken.
'Cause I know for sure that a lot of (.) a lot of the students
wouldn't be able to speak it.
- 113 Brad: OK. Do you think there's an interest for that?
- 114 JN: I think there can be an interest in it.
- 115 Brad: OK.
- 116 JN: Yeah.
- 117 Brad: OK. So how important is speaking Pohnpeian to you?
- 118 JN: Um, now more than ever, I think it's really important. Just last
night (.) no two nights ago, uh, I kind of had like uh one of my
cousins laughing at me because I was trying to sp (.) repeat
words that my father was uh teaching me in Meing, and she
was laughing and I asked why she was laughing and, she's
made this comment before, she said that I sound like, uh, like
a little bit like a foreigner when I say it. But she exaggerates,
like I have a very, very minimal accent, and ye (.) but yeah. #
you like to drink anything?
- 119 Brad: Uh no, I'm OK.
- 120 JN: ((speaking to waitress)) mwahu, mwahu # ((speaking to Brad))
Uh, but yeah. I definitely think it's really important because I
think it's kind of shameful to, I don't know, it kind of bothered
me that I had like a minimal accent. Granted, I've been living
in the States for a really long time and I'm trying to learn dif-
ferent languages. I don't know if that comes into play with
the fact that I have a slight accent. Uh, but I think also when
I think about my future goals and my motivation to like play
some part in making Pohnpei better, I think it's really impor-
tant to learn the language, of course. 'Cause people won't take
you seriously when you have like a (.) when you can't (.) when
you don't have command of your own language. So yeah.

- 121 Brad: OK. Um, since you said you've been living abroad for a while, have you felt that you've lost any Pohnpeian, or any Pohnpeian has changed. Like you kind of mentioned it a little, some people say you might have a slight accent, like that. But, have you, yourself, noticed any like differences?
- 122 JN: In, in what way? My (.) just how I speak, or?
- 123 Brad: How, how you speak, or you know, vocabulary or anything.
- 124 JN: Well, that's the thing because uh, even before I left Pohnpei, when I was always here, I was always uh (.) just slightly a bit more, I don't know, for lack of a better word, Americanized.
- 125 Brad: OK.
- 126 JN: I never (.) I was never uh with peers that were um, I don't know how to describe it. I don't know, I guess I was really an introvert in the (.) when I was young, so I didn't really hang out with a lot of locals.
- 127 Brad: OK.
- 128 JN: Just my family. And there was not very much opportunity for me to be really, um, to experience like my own culture, the most, you know, the stereotypical things, the very, uh (.) for example, going to like a Nahnmwarki and drinking sakau en Pohnpei. I also developed certain id- id- (.) certain opinions about certain aspects of my culture that really um kind of distanced myse- (.) that I kind of decided to distance myself away from.
- 129 Brad: OK.
- 130 JN: For example, sakau en Pohnpei, I think it's important, but I kind of the (.) think it's uh (.) it's part of our culture, but I don't think it's part of our culture to sell it on the roads and stuff like that. Yeah, I just have different opinions about my own culture so I kinda distance myself away from it.
- 131 Brad: OK. And when did you really start to develop those opinions, like how old were you?

- 132 JN: I think it was through my teenage years. I just yeah (.) I just started realizing that (.) 'cause for me, I'm a very privileged person, I'm not um poor in any sense. I think the majority of people in Pohnpei are, by uh, by a certain standard. Um, and when (.) I say that because I notice that a lot of uh people who are (.) well, just other people, they uh, they either had really f (.) screwed up priorities and I kinda always associate it with local people.
- 133 Brad: Mmm
- 134 JN: And, yeah just lots of things in general. I don't know if I should list them off but yeah I just noticed (.) I just started realizing that there are a lot of things about Pohnpei that I didn't like. And especially when I went outside and I saw how different it was. Yeah I (.) my opinions became even stronger.
- 135 Brad: OK.
- 136 JN: Yeah. But there is the mentality of Pohnpeians in general, um corruption in government, all these other things yeah, those just cemented my opinions I guess.
- 137 Brad: OK. And, so what is it like coming back?
- 138 JN: Coming back?
- 139 Brad: Like having that time, like you said that you have those disagreements with certain parts of Pohnpei culture and that personal, like, separation from that, and then living abroad for a while, right, I'm sure that adds to it as you said, and then, so what is it like then coming back here?
- 140 JN: I'm (.) well I've kind of adjusted myself to it, but I do remember when I was (.) when I went away for the first time to Florida, um I came back and I def (.) I definitely did experience like a reverse culture shock.
- 141 Brad: Mmm

142 JN: I definitely was one (.) they were uh these like diff (.) these things, my opinions that I had about (.) these opinions that I had about uh Micronesians, uh they were definitely, how do you say, uh they were very clear, like I definitely, yeah I experienced reverse culture shock because I thought to myself “Oh wow, yeah I remember this is actually how things are here and that’s kind of weird for me because I was kind of used to how things were, the fast paced in the States and everything.

143 Brad: Mmm

144 JN: Yeah.

145 Brad: OK.

146 JN: And in other (.) and in other small things. I can’t really think of them now, but.

147 Brad: Yeah, and how was that in terms of (.) like, what role did language play in that reverse culture shock, if any?

148 JN: Language? P-

149 Brad: Yeah, like when you were living in Florida, were you speaking Pohnpeian regularly, or?

150 JN: No. I had no contact with Micronesians so I didn’t have an opportunity to speak my own language.

151 Brad: OK.

152 JN: But your question was uh how (.)

153 Brad: So you came back to reverse culture shock. So what role did language play in that? Like was it hard to go back into speaking Pohnpeian or?

154 JN: Oh yeah. It was actually, yeah. Because I didn’t practice it for about two years, it’s (.) Um, yeah I did realize that it was a little more difficult to express my views, and stuff like that, in my own language.

155 Brad: Mmm

156 JN: Yeah.

157 Brad: OK. Now do you ever, like living abroad, and miss speaking Pohnpeian or miss certain parts of the island or ways that you try to like preserve that sense or not?

- 158 JN: Uh, I don't necessarily miss the language, mo- (.) actually, I don't know. Sometimes I do just miss speaking to another person that does from (.) is from home, naturally. So, yeah, in that way I do miss speaking my own language every now and then. Uh, what was the question again though. What was the question again? Can you repeat it?
- 159 Brad: Yeah if you (.) so if you miss speaking Pohnpeian or like miss having it around, or um, or if there's certain parts of like your culture or language that you try to maintain being like the only person (.) being the only Pohnpeian wherever you're living?
- 160 JN: Certain aspects of my culture that I miss?
- 161 Brad: Yeah. Yeah.
- 162 JN: Uh, most definitely. Um, well for example when I'm in the Netherlands, um there's a stark difference between the cultures between there and here. It's very individualistic and there are certain times when I think to myself um (.) oh yeah and the Dutch are very direct and uh, I was having a conversation with my teacher the other (.) well one of my friends the other (.) uh when I was (.) when I was still in semester 2 of college. That's um it definitely took some adjusting because there (.) it's very small, but certain things that I would consider disrespectful uh, the Dutch would sa (.) just brush off their shoulders. You know? And uh I think, I was actually surprised to realize that uh I was (.) those really deeply rooted things (.) Micronesian things about me came up when I was in the Netherlands.
- 163 Brad: Mmm

- 164 JN: Yeah. For example, my boyfriend, like, sometimes he just says things and, in the Pohnpeian culture, it'd be considered either rude or very disrespectful, and for them there it's just (.) it's just normal to say. Yeah. And also uh, I don't know. I also realized (.) I also saw th (.) uh the def (.) the hierarchy that we have here, the kind of hierarchal culture, I notice the difference in the Netherlands as well because uh the Dutch people w- (.) the Dutch people definitely don't have as, for lack of a better word, respect, or they don't have to think about losing face or things like that and I noticed that (.) I was thinking (.) I was really thinking about that when I was there, whereas Dutch people just were very chill about it.
- 165 Brad: Hmm, OK. Do you think that respect is a (.) a good thing or, like ww (.) how do you evaluate that? Like do you miss it, or you just like a thing that you notice? Is it a bad thing? Good thing? Neutral?
- 166 JN: Uh, I just think it's different.
- 167 Brad: OK.
- 168 JN: You know. It's not (.) it's what I learned is that # for differences in culture there's no black and white, white (.) right and wrong. Um, I think uh, yeah in certain instances when losing face (.) the concept of losing face is so emphasized then it can (.) it can get a little bit uh ridiculous in my opinion, every now and then. But you can't yeah, you can't necessarily say that's wrong, that's just how things are.
- 169 Brad: OK. OK. So what do you think is the future of the Pohnpeian language, here in Pohnpei?

- 170 JN: Hmm. Um, I think as (.) I think undoubtedly we (.) we are going to be even more and more westernized, I think. Along (.) sometime along uh in a few years, whether it's 20 years from now or 50, whatever, uh they # #improve and I think people (.) I think in my opinion, people will use English a little (.) a little bit more than Pohnpeian. I think there will be fewer and fewer and fewer people who uh speak Meing, and I think English will be more common. I d (.) well, that's (.) that's one of the reasons why I thought in some way integrating Pohnpeian language in schools is important because I do think if we're not careful it might die out. Or, yeah, yeah.
- 171 Brad: OK. Um (.)
- 172 JN: It might change as well.
- 173 Brad: Mmm. OK. How do you think it will change?
- 174 JN: Well I think uh for example, I sometimes think that maybe one day along the road uh (.) well actually starting now (.) starting already now, people sometimes, especially when they speak both English and la (.) uh and Pohnpeian, they mix them both, like the Filipino's do. Not to the extent that the Filipino's do, with Tagalog, like the Filipino's they speak (.) they pretty much sp- (.) become their language, like Filipino and English together, Tagalog, but I think that that could be something that happens in the future. Like uh Pohnpeians, the (.) there's not a distinction between (.) well not that but (.) Pohnpeian English together becomes an actual language.
- 175 Brad: OK.
- 176 JN: Yeah. That could be possible.
- 177 Brad: OK. Um, what do you think about the westernization that you call (.) that you said is happening more so (.) more so on the islands?
- 178 JN: I think westernization is (.) there is goods and bads.
- 179 Brad: OK.

- 180 JN: Yeah. Um, I think that's one of the reasons why I think culture preservation is important, because there are certain aspects (.) there are certain things that happens to a culture and (.) to just a (.) people when, yeah, an entire race of people when they get colonized, like I think uh, you don't see it imm (.) immediately, but later down the road you see there are good (.) there are good reasons (.) there are good points and bad points for westernization of a-
- 181 Brad: OK, and can you give me some examples of those?
- 182 JN: Let's see. Well for example, uh the Pohnpeians have become (.) food. The Pohnpeians have become completely dependent on uh canned foods and stuff like that. We don't (.) We're not people that live off the land anymore. We don't fish as much anymore. Um, yeah, I think (.) I think that's actually a big thing. A lot of people (.) well naturally (.) before you know, there's a saying people say, "There's no such thing as being poor in Pohnpei because we could live off the land", but as we become more and more westernized, that doesn't really hold true anymore. I think people are just dependent on foods that are uh imported and nobody actually lives @ off the land anymore. And that's something that we lost because of westernization.
- 183 Brad: OK. Um, and a positive?
- 184 JN: Well I like (.) I like the fact that we have Wi-Fi. I think westernization also brought education to the islands, of course. And yeah certain, what we say first world comforts, that are good. Um, yeah I think (.) yeah I think uh (.) yeah that's pretty much what I think about it.
- 185 Brad: Who's driving these changes? Or is anyone driving it?
- 186 JN: Well that's the thing about Pohn (.) we're just speaking about Pohnpeians? Or?
- 187 Brad: Yeah.

- 188 JN: Pohnpeians? Um, only a few people do it, we have a democracy but we don't have the kind of democracy that facilitates change in terms of like lots of people doing things. It's mostly just a select few people in power and of course the business sector as well. I don't think the average Pohnpeian uh, I don't think we uh (.) they're not as uh informed or engaged in you know, political matters. And I think that's also go back to respect, I think for example, we can talk all we want about like equality and everything, but if a politician is doing something really bad, he gets (.) in our culture they get away with it more because there's (.) they don't (.) people don't want to lose face, kind of seems weird, but lose face by calling them out or you know, as they w (.) in America, if somebody (.) they're (.) they're definitely whistle blowers. Here, not as much, because people either (.) people are either (.) I wouldn't say (.) I don't want to say uh content, but they just don't want to lose respect for the people that are up there. I think that's just part of our culture.
- 189 Brad: OK. So, um if someone moves to Pohnpei, let's say another Micronesian moves to Pohnpei, is it important for them to learn Pohnpeian?
- 190 JN: Another Micronesian?
- 191 Brad: Mmm.
- 192 JN: Hm, yes. I think so, definitely.
- 193 Brad: OK.
- 194 JN: Otherwise, @ you won't be able to communicate.
- 195 Brad: Yeah, so why is it important? Just for communication, or?
- 196 JN: Uh, communication, uh integration.
- 197 Brad: OK.

198 JN: You know, we're f (.) four island states but we do have our own individual cultures, and if you want (.) if you want to live here you have to adapt in some sort of way. We are very similar cultures, so there's not a lot of adaptation that needs to be done. But of course, you do have to learn the culture (.) uh the (.) both the culture and the language.

199 Brad: OK.

200 JN: Just to live in general.

201 Brad: OK. Um, should everyone living in Pohnpei learn English?

202 JN: I believe so, yeah.

203 Brad: OK, why?

204 JN: Like I said before, I think English (.) learning (.) having a good command of a language opens up a lot of opportunities and I do think, I cannot pinpoint the reason why, but I do think it allows people to be more flexible and not so, uh, you know it kind of broadens their horizons in a way.

205 Brad: OK so who (.) if you could picture like a stereotyped person here living in a bubble, what would they look like? Where would they be living, what would they be doing?

206 JN: Um, they would drink sakau en Pohnpei every night.

207 Brad: OK.

208 JN: Um, they would be living in a tin roofed house. They would have also like one of those traditional houses, you know with the uh coconut roofs. Uh, they would have (.) they would gather over there in their little coconut roof house, the huts, um. What they would look like? I don't know @, just brown @. Um, yeah I cannot think of (.) oh yeah, of course betel nut stained teeth, uh and they would wear very raggedy clothes.

209 Brad: OK. What part of the island would they live in?

- 210 JN: They would uh (.) they would live in places where (.) they would definitely not live in the Kolonia area or actually ((speaks Pohnpeian to someone across the restaurant)) Um, yeah I guess I'm going back on what I said because (.) just because you're in Kolonia doesn't mean you're going to look a certain way. I guess you'd be kind of far away from Kolonia, but that's just my (.) I guess that's what I'm trying to say.
- 211 Brad: OK.
- 212 JN: Yeah. They live on (.) on the side of the road. Uh in you know (.) yeah I guess you've seen them before. And they would (.) yeah, they would just live in norm (.) normal either cement (.) yeah, in cement houses, cement roof tops and stuff like that.
- 213 Brad: OK.
- 214 JN: And they would have um their dead relatives buried in their backyard. And they would probably have the big sakau stone somewhere on their yard, something like that. And they would also have a pig pen, not too far away from their house. And they could also live alongside a river as well.
- 215 Brad: OK. Um, let's see here. Um, so int (.) for these people like you just described, what would their education be like? And what languages would they speak or not speak?
- 216 JN: They would definitely speak Pohnpeian, I mean, just because they look a certain (.) that (.) that certain way (.) or they live in those areas, doesn't mean they would (.) wouldn't speak English, but I think just generally speaking, they wouldn't be completely fluent in English. They would know some words, of course, uh, but only Pohnpeian. And uh, yeah, the question was how many languages they would speak?
- 217 Brad: Yeah, what languages would they speak or not speak, and education level and where would they go to school?

- 218 JN: Oh, education level. Um, the typical person that I'm describing would not go to a private school. They would not go to the Pohnpei Catholic School or CCA, the Baptist school. Um, yeah, they would just go to the public elementary schools that are (.) there's usually just one main one for each municipality or they would actually (.) they actually have other schools, like uh kind of hidden away around uh certain neighborhoods. You know usually when it's kind of inconvenient for people to go all the way to Kolonia just to go to school.
- 219 Brad: OK. Do you think you would be friends with someone like this?
- 220 JN: Yeah. @ I have friends like uh, (.) I do have friends who have different backgrounds and everything, so. There's no reason why I wouldn't be a friend with somebody. Um, but, yeah (.) I kinda, I don't want to say associate myself with, but I have better conversations with people who (.) who are a little bit more like me, or who are not typical Pohnpeian.
- 221 Brad: OK.
- 222 JN: Yeah. But that's just me though. Whether that's because (.) yeah I guess it's just because we're (.) we're different. For example, uh if I want to have meaningful conversations, I speak English and if I can (.) if somebody can't speak English that well, to the level where we can have a meaningful conversation, then it's kind of difficult to have real friendships with those people. But (.)
- 223 Brad: Could you have a meaningful conversation in Pompeian?
- 224 JN: Uh, yeah, sometimes.
- 225 Brad: OK.
- 226 JN: But my English is definitely more (.) is better than to express myself in that regard.
- 227 Brad: OK.
- 228 JN: Yeah.
- 229 Brad: OK, cool.

- 230 JN: I kinda wish that I did. Because if I did have a really (.) if I was good at speaking Pohnpeian as much as I am at English, then I feel like I would connect with people who are different from me, or more typical Pohnpeian than I am.
- 231 Brad: OK. Is there a way that you think you could be better at Pohnpeian?
- 232 JN: Yeah. I would have to stay here for a longer time and just force myself not to speak English.
- 233 Brad: OK.
- 234 JN: And force the people around me to speak only Pohnpeian to me. It (.) oh yeah (.) as a good example, one of my cousins, he lived in Nevada for the longest time, they (.) they're (.) they're brothers. NAME his name is. He comes back, he speaks completely like (.) he sounds like the American priests in Catholic (.) when they're giving sermons and they speak with a complete American accent. Yet the brother stayed here for just about a year or two and he doesn't even have an accent anymore. So it's possible, yeah. But the thing is I speak Eng (.) I depend on English all the time for everything now. So, for my communication with other people and people outside Pohnpei for my education, so I don't know (.) I would have to (.) I would put myself back in a bubble for a while.
- 235 Brad: OK. Do you ever regret those choices that led you down this route?
- 236 JN: No, because I am very privileged and I g (.) definitely had a lot more opportunities than the typical local person would. Um, yeah I never (.) I never foresaw it as a problem, me knowing English more than my own language, so. Um, yeah there's no way I could have prevented it, but if I did, then yeah I would definitely have told myself (.) I went back in time and tell myself to speak Pohnpeian more.

- 237 Brad: OK. So on a kind of related question, um so I've heard of families around that have decided, you know, English is the language of opportunity so therefore, I'm only going to speak to my kids in English and not Pohnpeian. What do you think of that?
- 238 JN: I think you're (.) I think you're limiting your child. Yeah, I mean of course you (.) there's (.) children can learn more than (.) they have the (.) definitely have the mental capacity to learn five languages at once, so why can't you speak both to them? Of course, just watch over them to see (.) kinda see their progress and everything and help them as much as you can with English. I mean, you're talking about Pohnpeians here, right? If you know they're going to a school, more likely or not they're going to be spending more of their time speaking English. And more often than not, they're going to be watching American TV programs, which is what helped me learn English really fast. Um, so just speak both languages. There's no reason why you should just speak only English to your child. That's my opinion, anyway.
- 239 Brad: OK, cool. So, shifting gears slightly to Pohnpeian language, um there are different varieties, different dialects of Pohnpeian, right?
- 240 JN: Is there? I only know (.) oh you mean like the outer islands?
- 241 Brad: OK, yeah, the outer islands. So in your mind, what are the local differences here in Pohnpei?
- 242 JN: The local differences?
- 243 Brad: Yeah, between different parts of the island.
- 244 JN: The dialects? Um, I actually do not know if the languages of the outer islands are technically dialects, or they are languages on their own. But the people who are outer islands (.) on the outer islands who speak the dialects of Pohnpeian, for example Pingelapese, they're definitely more laid back @ even more than Pohnpeians are. Um, certain people (.) yeah. Can you just repeat the question again?

245 Brad: Yeah so what are your views of these differences (.) different varieties of Pohnpeians, so um, I mean like Kitti has a somewhat different version.

246 JN: Oh the accent.

247 Brad: That's what I mean, like the different accents and stuff.

248 JN: OK.

249 Brad: Yeah so what are some of the ones that you know of, like differences like that and what do you think of them?

250 JN: Uh, I think it's (.) I think in general it's cool that we have diversity, in that sense but will that bother? ((blender starts))

251 Brad: Hm?

252 JN: Will that interfere with um (.)

253 Brad: Um, a little, but we can (.) we can still talk.

254 JN: OK. @. So um let's see, I think it's yeah (.) I think diversity's cool even in my own culture. So I think it's cool that we have so (.) a group of people that speak an accent. I also think that for some reason people from Kitti, if I were (.) if I were to say any of the municipalities are more cultural, more typical Pohnpeian, it would be people from Kitti. They (.) even Pohnpeians actually say that people from Kitti, you know the accent is actually how we spoke a long time ago. I don't know if that is actually true, but. ((blender stops))

255 Brad: Does anything come to mind when you hear like a Kitti speaker? Like any images or things come to mind immediately?

256 JN: Um, um, well just anything?

257 Brad: Mmm

- 258 JN: My classmate, her name is NAME in the (.) from Calvary Christian Academy. She would (.) she always make me laugh because of her accent, and I would just always make fun of her, but uh, yeah and I also, because of the accent, I always uh (.) there's always a point (.) I always make fun of it and I always uh kind of exaggerate it with anybody. Oh and I also think that my friend NAME, she (.) her father is actually an (.) right now an important person in the government and she's in Japan at the moment. But yeah, those are the only things I think about.
- 259 Brad: How would you make fun of it? Like as an example.
- 260 JN: @ I would just (.) I just uh, I just draw (.) draw it out more. Like uh, if I say a word wieih, I would say weioah you know I would just (.) and I would like emphasize it more in front of their faces, to just m (.) mock them a little bit.
- 261 Brad: OK. Do other people do that? Like is it a common thing like for people to make fun of the differences between Kittu and other parts of the island?
- 262 JN: Uh, actually no, people definitely don't get bullied for it (.) or, you know, to, they's not a (.) if they do it, it's very minimal.
- 263 Brad: OK.
- 264 JN: Yeah. Because I think there is a (.) maybe a little sense of pride in having the accent.
- 265 Brad: OK. What about with outer island speakers? Um, like Pinge-lapese or Mwokilese? Um, what do Pohnpeians think (.) what do you think of those languages? Like, when you hear someone speaking Mwokilese or Pingelapese, what comes to mind?
- 266 JN: (.) What comes to mind? Uh (.)
- 267 Brad: Anything.

- 268 JN: Well the thing is I never experienced (.) I never been to those outer islands, so I cannot really think a lot of (.) I think maybe for example, Pingelapese people I think of the physical characteristics of the people. Pingelapese people usually (.) they actually have this eye condition where they kind of squint a lot. Well my grandfather is also Pingelap, Pingelap (.) half Pingelapese, I think. Um, Mwokilese, yeah I don't think much about it, I just think yeah, other than the language and their physical characteristics that (.) that are typical, I don't think (.) I cannot think @ the first thing that comes up to my mind. Other than the people.
- 269 Brad: OK. Should they also learn Pohnpeian? If they're living in Sokehs or wherever.
- 270 JN: If they're living in here?
- 271 Brad: Mmm
- 272 JN: Yeah, I think so. Um, to be honest, I don't th- (.) I cannot think of (.) I really cannot think of any Mwokilese that doesn't speak Pohnpeian. I think it's already (.) because they're very similar. And I think in one way or another they learn it very easily. I think Pingelapese, I have a little bit more difficulty. They (.) they even speak Pingelapese to some Pohnpeian sometimes. Um, but yeah I think they should le (.) of course learn Pohnpeian when they're here.
- 273 Brad: OK.
- 274 JN: I think when you go to any country, you should have, make an effort (.) or in different place, make an effort to learn the culture, and the (.) and the big part of that is the language.
- 275 Brad: Yeah, so I think those are all the formal questions that I have.
- 276 JN: OK.
- 277 Brad: Um, is there anything else that you'd like to share about your experience with language or um, living abroad and (.) or anything else about that?

278 JN: Hm, not much. Maybe if I want to emphasize anything it's the (.) the fact that I do think that learning English broadens (.) well, yeah, not only broadens your mind as a Micronesian, but that it also provides opportunity, if anything, or at least (.) kinda makes the adaptation to other cultures easier.

279 Brad: OK.

280 JN: Yeah. But that's it, I cannot think of anything on spot.

281 Brad: OK. umm just another question, so with the (.) one of the official languages of the FSM is English. Um, (.) do you think that's a good thing? Or, like what would be if instead of English, they just picked a random language here and say like Pohnpeian the official language of the FSM?

282 JN: Uh, I don't think that's a good idea.

283 Brad: OK.

284 JN: I think the lingua franca is English and while there (.) one of the reasons why we have English as the official language is because uh, well we all speak different languages, and like the Micronesian (.) the FSM all the different states, and also the government. Like I think it's easier to have things in English and since we're dealing with government and international affairs, it has to be also in English. Yeah I cannot think historically why they (.) why they chose English as one of the official languages, but I think it's a good idea.

285 Brad: OK.

286 JN: Yeah. I (.) I don't think it's a good idea to uh have only Pohnpeian as an official language. Even if it is our capital or anything cause I think it's limiting.

287 Brad: OK, well thanks.

288 JN: Thanks. @

References

- Abbou, Julie & Fabienne H. Baider (eds.). 2016. *Gender, language and the periphery*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Abrams, Dominic & Michael A. Hogg. 1987. Language attitudes, frames of reference, and social identity: A Scottish dimension. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 6. 201–213. doi:10.1177/0261927X8763004.
- Alliance for Linguistic Diversity. 2018. The endangered languages project. <http://endangeredlanguages.com/>.
- Althusser, Louis. 1971. *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. London: New Left Books.
- American Bible Society. 1882. *Maku an Mark, roñallim; mi auili nanai kapas an Mortlock*. New York: American Bible Society.
- Anchimbe, Eric A. 2007. Linguabridity: Redefining linguistic identities among children in urban areas. In Eric A. Anchimbe (ed.), *Linguistic identity in postcolonial multilingual spaces*, 66–86. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Anjanki, Antti. 2007. Example of k-nearest neighbour classification. Wikimedia Commons. <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e7/KnnClassification.svg>.
- Atkinson, David & Helen Kelly-Holmes. 2016. Exploring language attitudes and ideologies in university students' discussion of Irish in a context of increasing language diversity. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 16(2). 199–215. doi:10.1080/14708477.2015.1136317.
- Azios, Tony. 2010. Uncle sam wants micronesians for us military. *The Christian Science Monitor* <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2010/0505/Uncle-Sam-wants-Micronesians-for-US-military>.
- Baker, Colin. 1992. *Attitudes and language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD.
- Baker, Paul. 2008. *Sexed texts: Language, gender and sexuality*. London: Equinox.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. 1981. *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Balick, Michael J. 2009. *Ethnobotany of Pohnpei: Plants, people, and island culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

- Ball, Peter. 1983. Stereotypes of Anglo-Saxon and Non-Anglo-Saxon accents: Some explanatory Australian studies with the matched-guise technique. *Language Sciences* 5(2). 163–184. doi: 10.1016/S0388-0001(83)80021-7.
- Bamberg, Michael GW. 1997. Positioning between structure and performance. *Journal of narrative and life history* 7(1-4). 335–342. doi:10.1075/jnlh.7.42pos.
- Bangeni, Bongi & Rochelle Kapp. 2007. Shifting language attitudes in linguistically diverse learning environment in south africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 28(4). 253–269. doi:10.2167/jmmd495.0.
- Batista, Gustavo EAPA & Maria Carolina Monard. 2002. A study of k-nearest neighbour as an imputation method. In A. Abraham, J.R. del Solar & M. Köppen (eds.), *Soft computing systems: Design, management and applications*, vol. 87 Frontiers in Artificial Intelligence and Applications, 251–260. Santiago: IOS Press.
- Bender, Byron W., Ward H. Goodenough, Frederick H. Jackson, Jeffrey C. Marck, Kenneth L. Rehg, Ho min Sohn, Stephen Trussel & Judith W. Wang. 2003. Proto-Micronesian Reconstructions—1. *Oceanic Linguistics* 42(1). 1–110.
- Benzécri, J.-P. 1973. *L'analyse des données*, vol. II. L'Analyse des Correspondances. Paris: Dunod.
- Berg, Benjamin & Ferdinand Schwenk. 2015. Scripts for data acquisition with paper-based surveys (SDAPS) (version 1.1.11). <http://sdaps.org/>.
- Bernart, Luelen. 1977. *The book of Luelen*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/114853>.
- Bethlehem, Jelke. 2009. *Applied survey methods: A statistical perspective*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Bishop, Russell. 2005. Freeing ourselves from neocolonial domination in research: A Kaupapa Māori approach to creating knowledge. In Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*, 109–138. London: Sage Publications 3rd edn.
- Blackburn, Simon. 1996. *Oxford dictionary of philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blackledge, Adrian. 2004. Constructions of identity in political discourse in multilingual Britain. In Aneta Pavlenko & Adrian Blackledge (eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*, 68–92. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD.
- Blevins, Juliette. 1996. Mokilese reduplication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27(3). 523–530.
- Blevins, Juliette & Andrew Garrett. 1993. The evolution of ponapeic nasal substitution. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32(2). 199–236. doi:10.2307/3623193.
- Blommaert, Jan. 1999. The debate is open. In Jan Blommaert (ed.), *Language ideological debates*, 1–38. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Blommaert, Jan. 2005. *Discourse: A critical introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2007. Sociolinguistic scales. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 4(1). 1–19. doi:10.1515/ip.2007.001.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2015. Chronotopes, scales, and complexity in the study of language in society. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 44(1). 105–116. doi:10.1146/annurev-anthro-102214-014035.
- Blommaert, Jan, James Collins & Stef Slembrouck. 2005. Spaces of multilingualism. *Language & Communication* 25(3). 197–216. doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2005.05.002.
- Blommaert, Jan, Elina Westinen & Sirpa Leppänen. 2015. Further notes on sociolinguistic scales. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 12(1). 119–127. doi:10.1515/ip-2015-0005.
- Borg, Ingwer & Patrick Groenen. 1997. *Modern multidimensional scaling: Theory and application*. New York: Springer.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bradley, David. 2013. Language attitudes: the key factor in language maintenance. In David Bradley & Maya Bradley (eds.), *Language endangerment and language maintenance: An active approach*, 1–100. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Brant, Rollin. 1990. Assessing proportionality in the proportional odds model for ordinal logistic regression. *Biometrics* 46(4). 1171–1178. doi:10.2307/2532457.
- Brown, James Dean. 2014. *Mixed methods research for TESOL*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bucholtz, Mary & Kira Hall. 2005. Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4-5). 585–614. doi:10.1177/1461445605054407.
- Bürkner, Paul-Christian. 2017. brms: An R package for Bayesian multilevel models using Stan. *Journal of Statistical Software* 80(1). 1–28. doi:10.18637/jss.v080.i01.
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge Classics.
- Buttice, M. K. & B. Highton. 2013. How does multilevel regression and poststratification perform with conventional national surveys? *Political Analysis* 21(4). 449–467. doi:10.1093/pan/mpt017.
- Campbell, Lyle & Anna Belew (eds.). 2018. *Cataloguing the world's endangered languages*. New York: Routledge.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2001. Constructing hybrid postcolonial subjects: Codeswitching in Jaffna classrooms. In Monica Heller & Marilyn Martin-Jones (eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference*, 193–212. Westport: Ablex Publishing.

- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2011a. Codemeshing in academic writing: Identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging. *The Modern Language Journal* 95(3). 401–417. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01207.x.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2011b. Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review* 1–28. doi:10.1515/9783110239331.1.
- Canagarajah, Suresh & Peter I. De Costa. 2016. Introduction: Scales analysis, and its uses and prospects in educational linguistics. *Linguistics and Education* 34. 1–10. doi:10.1016/j.linged.2015.09.001.
- Carroll, Raymond. 1980. *Nukuoro stories*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Carroll, Vern. 1965. *An outline of the structure of the language of Nukuoro*. Wellington: Polynesian Society.
- Carroll, Vern & Tobias Soulik. 1973. *Nukuoro lexicon*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Chen, Jiahua & Jun Shao. 2000. Nearest neighbor imputation for survey data. *Journal of Official Statistics* 16(2). 113–131.
- Colletta, Nat J. 1980. *American schools for the natives of Ponape: A study of education and culture change in Micronesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Collins, James. 2012. Migration, sociolinguistic scale, and educational reproduction. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 43(2). 192–213. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1492.2012.01169.x.
- Collins, James & Stef Slembrouck. 2009. Goffman and globalization: frame, footing and scale in migration-connected multilingualism. In James Collins, Stef Slembrouck & Mike Baynham (eds.), *Globalization and language in contact*, 19–41. London: Continuum.
- Congress of the Federated States of Micronesia. 2001. Title 40. Education. Chapter 1: Education System. In *Code of the Federated States of Micronesia*, http://www.fsmsupremecourt.org/WebSite/fsm/code/title40/T40_Ch01.htm#104.
- Connell, Raewyn. 2007. *Southern theory: The global dynamics of knowledge in social science*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Coupland, N. & A. Jaworski. 2004. Sociolinguistic perspective on metalanguage: reflexivity, evaluation and ideology. In A. Jaworski, N. Coupland & D. Galasinski (eds.), *Metalanguage: Social and ideological perspectives*, 15–51. The Hauge: Mouton.
- Cox, Trevor F. & Michael A. A. Cox. 2001. *Multidimensional scaling*. New York: Chapman and Hall/CRC.
- Creese, Angela & Adrian Blackledge. 2010. Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal* 94(1). 103–115. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00986.x.

- Crystal, David. 2000. *Language death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Csardi, Gabor & Tamas Nepusz. 2006. The igraph software package for complex network research. *InterJournal Complex Systems*. 1695. <http://igraph.org>.
- Dailey, René M., Howard Giles & Laura L. Jansma. 2005. Language attitudes in an Anglo-Hispanic context: The role of the linguistic landscape. *Language and Communication* 25(1). 27–38. doi: 10.1016/j.langcom.2004.04.004.
- Damas, David. 1985. Pingelap politics and American-Micronesian relations. *Ethnology* 24(1). 43–55.
- Daniel, Deeleeann. 2014. *Exploration of the implementation of traditional Pohnpeian counting system in grade one*: University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa dissertation. https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/100310/1/Daniel_Deleeann_r.pdf.
- Davies, E. & A. Bentahila. 2013. Language attitudes in the Maghreb region of North West Africa. In H. Giles & B. M. Watson (eds.), *The social meanings of languages, dialects, and accents: An international perspective*, 84–104. New York: Peter Lang.
- De Fina, Anna. 2013. Positioning level 3: Connecting local identity displays to macro social processes. *Narrative Inquiry* 23(1). 40–61. doi:10.1075/ni.23.1.03de.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1976. *Of grammatology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1988. *Limited inc*. Evanston: Northwestern Univeristy Press.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1995. Discourse analysis as ideology analysis. In Christina Schäffner & Anita L. Wenden (eds.), *Language and peace*, 17–33. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Division of Statistics FSM Office of Statistics, Budget, Overseas Development Assistance and Compact Management. 2010. Summary analysis of key indicators from the fsm 2010 census of population and housing. http://www.spc.int/nmdi/reports/FSM_2010_Census_Indicators_Final.pdf.
- Dobbin, Jay. 2011. *Summoning the powers beyond: Traditional religions in Micronesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Dong, Jie & Jan Blommaert. 2009. Scace, scale and accents: constructing migrant identity in Beijing. In James Collins, Stef Slembrouck & Mike Baynham (eds.), *Globalization and language in contact*, London: Continuum.
- Dörnyei, Zoltán & Kata Csizér. 2002. Some dynamics of language attitudes and motivation: Results of a longitudinal nationwide survey. *Applied Linguistics* 23(4). 421–462. doi:10.1093/applin/23.4.421.
- Dörnyei, Zoltán, Kata Csizér & Nóra Németh. 2006. *Motivation, language attitudes and globalisation: A Hungarian perspective* Second Language Acquisition 18. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD.
- Du Bois, John W. 2007. The stance triangle. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, 139–182. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

- Eckert, Penelope & Sally McConnell-Ginet. 2003. *Language and gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ehram, Bartolome. 2009. Documentation of canoes of the Pohnpei Island.
- Ehsa, Hanover. 1978a. *Kohsang tiger kolahng rehn ilikan*. Honolulu: Pacific Area Languages Materials Development Center.
- Ehsa, Hanover. 1978b. *Laid mwomin ahpw paisuwed: koasoai kaperen ahpw kasoloh*. Honolulu: Pacific Area Languages Materials Development Center.
- Eisinga, Rob, Manfred te Grotenhuis & Ben Pelzer. 2012. The reliability of a two-item scale: Pearson, Cronbach, or Spearman-Brown? *International Journal of Public Health* 58(4). 637–642. doi:10.1007/s00038-012-0416-3.
- Elbert, Samuel H. 1948. *Grammar and comparative study of the languages of Kapingamarangi : texts, and word lists*. Washington: Viking Fund.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1989. *Language and power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2006. *Language and globalization*. London: Routledge.
- Falgout, Suzanne. 1991. Lessons of war from Pohnpei. In Geoffrey M. White (ed.), *Remembering the Pacific War*, 123–132. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies.
- Fanon, Frantz. 2008. *Black skin, white masks*. New York: Grove Press.
- Ferguson, Gibson. 2003. Classroom codeswitching in post-colonial contexts: Functions, attitudes and policies. *AILA review* 16(1). 38–51. doi:10.1075/aila.16.05fer.
- Fischer, John. 1953a. Ritig manuscript. John L. Fischer and Ann K. Fischer Papers, Box 25, Ponape - Folklore, Ritig's book. National Anthropological Archives.
- Fischer, John. 1953b. Silten's manuscript (typed). John L. Fischer and Ann K. Fischer Papers, Box 25, Ponape - Folklore, Silten's Manuscript (typed). National Anthropological Archives.
- Fischer, John. n.d.a. Isiaro manuscript, typed. John L. Fischer and Ann K. Fischer Papers, Box 25, Ponape - Folklore, Isiaro Manuscript, typed. National Anthropological Archives.
- Fischer, John. n.d.b. Moses manuscript. John L. Fischer and Ann K. Fischer Papers, Box 25, Ponape - Folklore, Moses Manuscript. National Anthropological Archives.
- Fitch, Kathryn & Largo Edwin. 1967. *Teike ih laion*. Pohnpei: Ponape Education Department.
- Flores, Nelson & Jonathan Rosa. 2015. Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review* 85(2). 149–171. doi:10.17763/0017-8055.85.2.149.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- FSM National Government. 2003. Compact of free association. <http://www.fsmlaw.org/compact/>.

- FSM National Government. 2005. The Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia. <http://www.fsmsupremecourt.org/WebSite/fsm/constitution/index.htm>.
- FSM Office of Statistics, Budget and Economic Management, Overseas Development Assistance, and Compact Management. 2010. 2010 FSM-wide census of population & housing: Pohnpei State. <http://www.sboc.fm>.
- Gabry, Jonah & Ben Goodrich. 2016. rstanarm: Bayesian applied regression modeling via Stan (version 2.13.1). <http://CRAN.R-project.org/package=rstanarm>.
- Gal, Susan & Judith T. Irvine. 1995. The boundaries of language and disciplines: How ideologies construct difference. *Social Research* 62(4). 967–1001. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40971131>.
- Gan, Guojun, Chaoqun Ma & Jianhong Wu. 2007. *Data clustering: Theory, algorithms, and application*. Philadelphia: Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics.
- Gandhi, Leela. 1998. *Postcolonial theory: A critical introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- García, Ofelia. 2009a. *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, Ofelia. 2009b. En/countering indigenous bilingualism. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* 8(5). 376–380. doi:10.1080/15348450903305155.
- García, Ofelia, Susana Ibarra Johnson & Kate Seltzer. 2016. *The translanguaging classroom: Leveraging student bilingualism for learning*. Philadelphia: Caslon.
- García, Ofelia & Camila Leiva. 2014. Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In Adrian Blackledge & Angela Creese (eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy*, 199–216. New York: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-7856-6.
- García, Ofelia & Li Wei. 2014. *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9781137385765.
- García-Laencina, Pedro J., José-Luis Sancho-Gómez, Aníbal R. Figueiras-Vidal & Michel Verleysen. 2009. K nearest neighbours with mutual information for simultaneous classification and missing data imputation. *Neurocomputing* 72(7-9). 1483–1493. doi:10.1016/j.neucom.2008.11.026.
- Garrett, Peter. 2007. Language attitudes. In Carmen Llamas, Louise Mullany & Peter Stockwell (eds.), *The Routledge companion to sociolinguistics*, 116–121. New York: Routledge.
- Garrett, Peter. 2010. *Attitudes to language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garrett, Peter, Nikolas Coupland & Angie Williams. 1999. Evaluating dialect in discourse: Teachers' and teenagers' responses to young English speakers in Wales. *Language in Society* 28(3). 321–354.
- Garrett, Peter, Nikolas Coupland & Angie Williams. 2003. *Investigating language attitudes: Social meanings of dialect, ethnicity and performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

- Gelman, Andrew & Jennifer Hill. 2007. *Data analysis using regression and multilevel/hierarchical models*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- George, Billimon A. 1961. *Yamato mo samson e dadagarca*. Pohnpei: Ponape Education Department.
- Giles, Howard & Nikolas Coupland. 1991. *Language: Contexts and consequences*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Gill, Jeff. 2001. *Generalized linear models: A unified approach*. London: Sage Publications.
- Githinji, Peter. 2003. *Language attitudes: Nairobi people and Sheng'*: Michigan State University MA thesis.
- Good, Elaine M. 1977. Relative clause structure in ponapean languages. *Working papers in linguistics, University of Hawai'i* 9(3). 87–98.
- Gower, J. C. 1971. A general coefficient of similarity and some of its properties. *Biometrics* 27(4). 857–871.
- Greenacre, Michael. 2007. *Correspondence analysis in practice*. New York: Chapman and Hall/CRC 2nd edn.
- Grenoble, Lenore A. & Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.). 1998. *Endangered languages: Language loss and community response*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grey, Eve & Hikarip Taitos. 1957. *Damakiiki tokorua*. Pohnpei: Ponape Education Department.
- Hadley, Masao. 1994. *Mahi of wiepe kan*. Palikir: Division of Archives.
- Halpin, Brendan. 2012. The proportional odds model. <http://teaching.sociology.ul.ie/SSS/lugano/node75.html>.
- Hanlon, David L. 1984. God versus Gods: The first years of the Micronesian Mission on Ponape, 1852-1859. *The Journal of Pacific History* 19(1). 41–59. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25168539>.
- Hanlon, David L. 1988. *Upon a stone altar: A history of the island of Pohnpei to 1890* Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 5. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/25823>.
- Hanlon, David L. 1998. *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over development in a Pacific territory, 1944–1982*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Harré, Rom & Luk van Langenhove. 1991. Varieties of positioning. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 21. 393–407. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5914.1991.tb00203.x.
- Harrison, Sheldon P. 1977. *Dissertation some problems in the history of Mokilese morpho-syntax*: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa dissertation. <https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/9910>.

- Harrison, Sheldon P. & Salich Y. Albert. 1976. *Mokilese reference grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hattori, Ryoko. 2012. *Preverbal particles in Pingelapese: A language of Micronesia*: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa dissertation. https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/100963/1/Hattori_Ryoko_r.pdf.
- Hattori, Ryoko, Dayne Lemuel & Yumiko Konishi. 2007. Pingelapese “e” vs. “ae” Do you know the difference? <https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/10599/2/LT38.pdf>.
- Hattori, Ryoko & Billie-Jean Manuel. 2005. Pingelapese alphabet book. <http://hl-128-171-57-22.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/10600/2/LT36.pdf>.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. 1994. Our Sea of Islands. *The Contemporary Pacific* 6(1). 147–161. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/12960>.
- Hazen, Jacqueline. 2012. *Voyages of ethnographic knowledge: Circulation, intertextuality, and genre in the book of luelen*: George Washington University MA thesis.
- Hebel, Peltin. 2009. Documentation of traditional titles & oral histories of Madolenihmw municipality.
- Heller, Monica & Marilyn Martin-Jones. 2001. Introduction: Symbolic domination, education, and linguistic difference. In Monica Heller & Marilyn Martin-Jones (eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference*, 1–28. Westport: Ablex Publishing.
- Henry, Kimberly & Richard Valliant. 2012. Methods for adjusting survey weights when estimating a total. In *Proceedings of the Federal Committee on Statistical Methodology*, Washington, DC: Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics. https://fcsml.sites.usa.gov/files/2014/05/Henry_2012FCSM_V-A.pdf.
- Hezel, Francis X. 1975. In search of home: colonial education in Micronesia. *Topics in Culture Learning* 3(125–132).
- Hezel, Francis X. & M. L. Berg. 1979. *Micronesia: Winds of change*. Saipan: Omnibus Program for Social Studies Cultural Heritage.
- Hezel, Francis X. & Michael J. Levin. 2012. Survey of Federated States of Micronesia migrants in the United States including Guam and the Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). http://www.healthypacific.org/uploads/1/0/0/6/10065201/combined_final_report.pdf.
- Hikarip, Taitos. 1956. *Utamatua*. Pohnpei: Ponape Education Department.
- Hiss, Florian. 2012. Tromsø as a “Sámi Town”?—language ideologies, attitudes, and debates surrounding bilingual language policies. *Language Policy* 12(2). 177–196. doi:10.1007/s10993-012-9254-7.

- Hollway, Wendy. 1984. Women's power in heterosexual sex. *Women's studies international forum* 7(1). 63–68. doi:10.1016/0277-5395(84)90085-2.
- Howell, David C. 2013. *Statistical methods for psychology*. Belmont: Wadsworth eighth edn.
- Hubbard, Charles A. 2013. *Beyond the stone altar: The "section over heaven of Kansas City" fusion of a Pohnpeian chiefdom: A sociopolitical basis for place*: University of Kansas MA thesis.
- Hyrkstedt, Irene & Paula Kalaja. 1998. Attitudes toward English and its functions in Finland: A discourse-analytic study. *World Englishes* 17(3). 345–357. doi:10.1111/1467-971X.00108.
- Ianos, Maria Adelina. 2014. *Language attitudes in a multilingual and multicultural context. the case of autochthonous and immigrant students in Catalonia*: Universitat de Lleida dissertation. <http://hdl.handle.net/10803/132963>.
- Irvine, Judith T. & Susan Gal. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In Paul Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics and identities*, 35–83. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Jenckes, Lalima Basu. 1997. *Language attitudes of secondary school students in Micronesia*: Arizona State University dissertation.
- Jeon, Mihyon. 2005. *Language ideology, ethnicity, and biliteracy development: A Korean-American perspective*: University of Pennsylvania dissertation.
- Jerez, José M., Ignacio Molina, Pedro J. García-Laencina, Emilio Alba, Nuria Ribelles, Miguel Martín & Leonardo Franco. 2010. Missing data imputation using statistical and machine learning methods in a real breast cancer problem. *Artificial Intelligence in Medicine* 50(2). 105–115. doi:10.1016/j.artmed.2010.05.002.
- Johnstone, Barbara. 2007. Linking identity and dialect through stancetaking. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse*, 49–68. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Jolly, Margaret. 2007. Imaging Oceania: Indigenous and foreign representations of a Sea of Islands. *The Contemporary Pacific* 19(2). 508–545. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/14024>.
- Jönsson, Per & Claes Wohlin. 2004. An evaluation of *k*-nearest neighbour imputation using likert data. In *Proceedings 10th international symposium in software metrics*, 108–118. Chicago.
- Kalton, G. & A. Flores-Cervantes. 2003. Weighting methods. *Journal of Official Statistics* 19(2). 81–97.
- Kassambara, Alboukadel & Fabian Mundt. 2017. factoextra: Extract and visualize the results of multivariate data analyses. <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=factoextra>.
- Kastellec, Jonathan P., Jeffrey R. Lax & Justin Phillips. 2014. Estimating state public opinion with multi-level regression and poststratification using R. Unpublished manuscript. http://www.princeton.edu/~jkastell/MRP_primer/mrp_primer.pdf.

- Kaufman, Leonard & Peter J. Rousseeuw. 2005. *Finding groups in data: An introduction to cluster analysis*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Keating, Elizabeth. 1998. *Power sharing: Language, rank, gender, and social space in Pohnpei, Micronesia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keating, Elizabeth. 2001. Language, identity, and the production of authority in new discursive contexts in Pohnpei, Micronesia. *Le Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 112. 73–80. <https://journals.openedition.org/jso/1712?file=1>.
- Keating, Elizabeth. 2005. The sociolinguistics of status in Pohnpei. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2005(172). 7–30. doi:10.1515/ijsl.2005.2005.172.7.
- Keating, Elizabeth & Alessandro Duranti. 2006. Honorific resources for the construction of hierarchy in Samoan and Pohnpeian. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 115(2). 145–172. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20707335>.
- Kihleng, Emelihter S. 2008. *My urohs*. Honolulu: Kahuaomānoa Press.
- Kihleng, Emelihter S. 2015. *Menginpehn lien Pohnpei: A poetic ethnography of urohs (Pohnpeian skirts)*: Victoria University of Wellington dissertation. <http://hdl.handle.net/10063/4574>.
- Kincheloe, Joe L. & Peter McLaren. 2005. Rethinking critical theory and qualitative research. In Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*, 303–342. London: Sage Publications 3rd edn.
- Kircher, Ruth. 2009. *Language attitudes in Quebec: A contemporary perspective*: University of London dissertation. <https://qmro.qmul.ac.uk/jspui/handle/123456789/497>.
- Kircher, Ruth. 2016. Language attitudes among adolescents in Montreal: Potential lessons for language planning in Québec. *Nottingham French Studies* 55(2). 239–259. doi:10.3366/nfs.2016.0151.
- Kiriemo, Albert. 2003. Sokehs main island place names inventory.
- Kowarik, Alexander & Matthias Templ. 2016. Imputation with the R package VIM. *Journal of Statistical Software* 74(7). 1–16. doi:10.18637/jss.v074.i07.
- Kozasa, Tomoko. 2005. Phonetic implementations of Pohnpeian long vowels. *UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics* 12.
- Krejenj, Patre. 1940. *Puk en watawat en jeri en ponape kan*. Tokyo: Joint Intelligence Center.
- Krosnick, Jon A. & Duane F. Alwin. 1987. An evaluation of a cognitive theory of response-order effects in survey measurement. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51(2). 201–219. doi:10.1086/269029.
- Kruschke, John K. 2015. *Doing Bayesian data analysis: A tutorial with R, JAGS, and Stan*. London: Elsevier 2nd edn.

- Kruschke, John K., Aguinis Herman & Harry Joo. 2012. The time has come: Bayesian methods for data analysis in the organizations sciences. *Organizational Research Methods* 15(4). 722–752. doi: 10.1177/1094428112457829.
- Kupferman, David K. 2013. *Disassembling and decolonizing school in the Pacific*. New York: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-4673-2.
- Lambert, Wallace E., Richard C. Hodgson, Robert C. Gardner & Samuel Fillenbaum. 1960. Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 60(1). 44–52. doi: 10.1037/h0044430.
- Lapresta-Rey, Cecilio, Ángel Huguet & Alberto Fernández-Costales. 2016. Language attitudes, family language and generational cohort in catalonia: new contributions from a multivariate analysis. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 1–15. doi:10.1080/14708477.2016.1165241.
- Lax, Jeffrey R. & Justin H. Phillips. 2009. How should we estimate public opinion in the states? *American Journal of Political Science* 53(1). 107–121. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00360.x.
- Lê, Sébastien, Julie Josse & François Husson. 2008. FactoMineR: A package for multivariate analysis. *Journal of Statistical Software* 25(1). 1–18. doi:10.18637/jss.v025.i01.
- Liang, Sihua. 2015. *Language attitudes and identities in multilingual China*. New York: Springer. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-12619-7.
- Lieber, Michael D. 1977. The processes of change in two Kapingamarangi communities. In Michael D. Lieber (ed.), *Exiles and migrants in Oceania*, 35–66. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Lieber, Michael David & Kalio H. Dikepa. 1974. *Kapingamarangi lexicon*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Liebscher, Grit & Jennifer Dailey-O’Cain. 2009. Language attitudes in interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 13(2). 195–222.
- Luhmann, Reid. 1990. Appalachian English stereotypes: Language attitudes in Kentucky. *Language in Society* 19(3). 331–348. doi:10.1017/S0047404500014548.
- Lumley, Thomas. 2010. *Complex surveys: A guide to analysis using R*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Lumley, Thomas. 2017. survey: analysis of complex survey samples. R package (version 3.32-1). <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=survey>.
- Maechler, Martin, Peter Rousseeuw, Anja Struyf, Mia Hubert & Kurt Hornik. 2017. cluster: Cluster analysis basics and extensions (r package version 2.0.6).
- Makalela, Leketi. 2015. Moving out of linguistic boxes: the effects of translanguaging strategies for multilingual classrooms. *Language and Education* 29(3). 200–217. doi:10.1080/09500782.2014.994524.

- Marley, Dawn. 2004. Language attitudes in Morocco following recent changes in language policy. *Language Policy* 2. 25–46.
- Martin, J. R. & P. R. R. White. 2005. *The language of evaluation: Appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mateak, Billy. 2006. Kapingamarangi atoll place names.
- Mcgroarty, M. E. 2010. Language and ideologies. In N. H. Hornberger & S. McKay (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education*, 3–39. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD.
- Miyaoka, Osahito, Osamu Sakiyama & Michael E. Krauss (eds.). 2007. *The vanishing languages of the Pacific Rim*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Motschenbacher, Heiko. 2016. A poststructuralist approach to structural gender linguistics. In Julie Abbou & Fabienne H. Baider (eds.), *Gender, language and the periphery*, 65–88. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.264.04mot.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. 2002. *Linguistic ecology: Language change and linguistic imperialism in the Pacific region*. New York: Routledge.
- Murtagh, Fionn. 2005. *Correspondence analysis and data coding with Java and R*. New York: Chapman and Hall/CRC.
- Mutchler, Kate & Damian G. Sohl. 2010a. *Neitail pwuken mwohmw akan*. Pohnpei: Island Research & Education Initiative.
- Mutchler, Kate & Damian G. Sohl. 2010b. *Neitail pwuken wadawad*. Pohnpei: Island Research & Education Initiative.
- Namei, Shidrokh. 2012. *Iranians in Sweden: A study of language maintenance and shift*. Uppsala: Edita Västra Aros. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn%3Anbn%3Ase%3Auu%3Adiva-171752>.
- Narayan, Kirin. 1993. How native is a “native” anthropologist? *American Anthropologist* 95. 671–686. doi:10.1525/aa.1993.95.3.02a00070.
- Nettle, Daniel & Suzanne Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing voices: The extinction of the world’s languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nežić, Žakalin & Damian G. Sohl. 2010. *Neitail pwuken wadek nempe*. Pohnpei: Island Research & Education Initiative.
- Ochs, Elinor. 1990. Indexicality and socialization. In James W. Stigler, Richard A. Schweder & Gilbert Herdt (eds.), *Cultural psychology: Essays on comparative human development*, 287–308. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, Elinor. 1992. Indexing gender. In Alessandro Duranti & Charles Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon*, 335–358. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Odango, Emerson Lopez. 2013. Reflexes of the *qali/kali- prefixes in Micronesian languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 52(1). 192–221.
- Odango, Emerson Lopez. 2014. The status of subject and object markers in Pakin Lukunosh Mortlockese. *Oceanic Linguistics* 53(1). 110–135.
- Odango, Emerson Lopez. 2015a. *Afféú fangani 'join together': A morphophonemic analysis of possessive suffix paradigms and a discourse-based ethnography of the elicitation session in Pakin Lukunosh Mortlockese*: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa dissertation.
- Odango, Emerson Lopez. 2015b. Austronesian youth perspectives on language reclamation and maintenance. *The Contemporary Pacific* 27(1). 73–108. doi:10.1353/cp.2015.0023.
- Odango, Emerson Lopez. 2015c. May sasabihin ang kabataan 'the youth have something to say': Youth perspectives on language shift and linguistic identity. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 9. 32–58. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/24628>.
- Odango, Emerson Lopez. 2015d. Shóón Pakin, sóóu tittilap: Researching narrative discourse in Micronesia. In Suzanne S. Finney, Mary Mostafanezhad, Guido Carlo Pigliasco & Forrest Wade Young (eds.), *At home and in the field: ethnographic encounters in Asia and the Pacific islands*, 87–92. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. doi:10.21313/hawaii/9780824847593.003.0016.
- Otheguy, Ricardo, Ofelia García & Wallis Reid. 2015. Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics. *Applied Linguistics Review* 6(3). 281–307. doi:10.1515/applirev-2015-0014.
- Painter, D. & J. A. Dixon. 2013. Language attitudes in Southern Africa. In H. Giles & B. M. Watson (eds.), *The social meanings of languages, dialects, and accents: An international perspective*, 105–124. New York: Peter Lang.
- Pantos, Andrew J. & Andrew W. Perkins. 2013. Measuring implicit and explicit attitudes toward foreign accented speech. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 32(1). 3–20. doi:10.1177/0261927X12463005.
- Parker-Stephen, Evan. 2013. Tides of disagreement: How reality facilitates (and inhibits) partisan public opinion. *The Journal of Politics* 75(4). 1077–1088. doi:10.1017/s0022381613000789.
- Pavlenko, Aneta & Adrian Blackledge. 2004. Introduction: New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In Aneta Pavlenko & Adrian Blackledge (eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*, 1–33. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD.
- Peacock, Karen Marie. 1990. *The maze of schools: Education in Micronesia 1951–1964 "the Gibson years"*: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa dissertation.
- Pear, T. H. 1931. *Voice and personality*. London: Wiley.

- Peng, Chun-Yi. 2016. *Talk shows and language attitudes: A sociolinguistics investigation of language attitudes toward Taiwan Mandarin among Chinese mainlanders*. City University of New York dissertation.
- Petersen, Glenn. 1985. A cultural analysis of the Ponapean independence vote in the 1983 Plebiscite. *Pacific Studies* 9(1). 13–51. <http://lir.byuh.edu/jspui/handle/123456789/2408>.
- Petersen, Glenn. 1993. Kanengamah and Pohnpei's politics of concealment. *American Anthropologist* 95(2). 334–352. doi:10.1525/aa.1993.95.2.02a00040.
- Phillips, Lori. 2004. *Pohnpeian alphabet*. Honolulu: Pacific Resources for Education and Learning.
- Pohnpei State Government. n.d. The Constitution of Pohnpei. <http://fmsupremecourt.org/WebSite/pohnpei/constitution/entire.htm>.
- Poll, Melissa. 2008. Documentation of oral history and place names of Mwoakilloa Atoll.
- Potter, Jonathan & Margaret Wetherell. 1987. *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London: Sage Publication.
- Poyer, Lin. 1990. Being Sapwuahfik: Cultural and ethnic identity in a Micronesian society. In Jocelyn Linnekin & Lin Poyer (eds.), *Cultural identity and ethnicity in the Pacific*, 127–147. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Poyer, Lin. 1993. *The Ngatik massacre: history and identity on a Micronesian atoll*. Blue Ridge Summit: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- R Core Team. 2017. R: A language and environment for statistical computing (version 3.4.1). <http://www.R-project.org>.
- Raghavan, Usha Nandini, Réka Albert & Soundar Kumara. 2007. Near linear time algorithm to detect community structures in large-scale networks. *Physical Review E* 76(3). doi:10.1103/physreve.76.036106.
- Rehg, Kenneth L. 1998. Taking the pulse of Pohnpeian. *Oceanic Linguistics* 37(2). 323–345. doi:10.2307/3623413.
- Rehg, Kenneth L. 2004. Linguists, Literacy, and the Law of Unintended Consequences. *Oceanic Linguistics* 43(2). 498–518. doi:10.1353/ol.2005.0011.
- Rehg, Kenneth L. & Byron W. Bender. 1990. Lexical transfer from Marshallese to Mokilese: A case of intra-Micronesian borrowing. *Oceanic Linguistics* 29(1). 1–26. doi:10.2307/3623202.
- Rehg, Kenneth L. & Damian G. Sohl. 1969. *Kitail lokaiahn pohnpei : introductory lessons in ponapean*. Saipan: Peace Corps/Micronesia.
- Rehg, Kenneth L. & Damian G. Sohl. 1981. *Ponapean reference grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

- Rentz, Bradley. 2017. Topological relations in Pohnpeian. *Linguistics Vanguard* 3(1). doi:10.1515/lingvan-2016-0092.
- Roberts, Frederick & Donna Roberts. 2017. Standard normal distribution. mathbitsnotebook. <https://mathbitsnotebook.com/Algebra2/Statistics/STstandardNormalDistribution.html>.
- Rosa, Jonathan Daniel. 2010. *Looking like a language, sounding like a race: Making latin@ panethnicity and managing American anxieties*: University of Chicago dissertation.
- Ross, Melody. 2017. *Attitudes toward Tetun Dili, a creole language of East Timor*: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa dissertation.
- Rousseeuw, Peter J. 1987. Silhouettes: A graphical aid to the interpretation and validation of cluster analysis. *Journal of Computational and Applied Mathematics* 20. 53–65. doi:10.1016/0377-0427(87)90125-7.
- Rudis, Bob. 2017. hrbrthemes: Additional themes, theme components and utilities for 'ggplot2' (R package version 0.3.3). <http://github.com/hrbrmstr/hrbrthemes>.
- Rudolph, Johnny E. 2007. Nukuoro place names and oral histories.
- Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Random House.
- Sakiyama, Osamu. 2007. Languages of the Pacific Region: Malayo-Polynesian. In Osahito Miyaoka, Osamu Sakiyama & Michael E. Krauss (eds.), *The vanishing languages of the Pacific Rim*, 267–282. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Salvador, David. 2003. *U (Uh) place names*. Kolonia: Department of Land & Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation & Cultural Affairs.
- Salvador, David. 2005. U traditional title names.
- Santello, Marco. 2015. Bilingual idiosyncratic dimensions of language attitudes. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 18(1). 1–25. doi:10.1080/13670050.2013.864253.
- Santos, Kasiano. 2006. Documentation of Pohnpeian oral traditions.
- Saulik, Topias. 1956. *Beba kai o Nukuoro*. Pohnpei: Ponape Education Department.
- Schegloff, E. 1999. Talk and social structure. In A Jaworski & N Coupland (eds.), *The discourse reader*, 107–120. London: Routledge.
- Shaw, Willard D. 1981. Asian student attitudes toward English. In Larry E. Smith (ed.), *English for cross-cultural communication*, 108–122. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1985. Language and the culture of gender: At the intersection of structure, usage, and ideology. In E. Mertz & R.J. Parmentier (eds.), *Semiotic mediation: Sociocultural and psychological perspectives*, 219–59. Orlando: Academic Press.

- Silverstein, Michael. 2005. Axes of evals: Tokens versus type interdiscursivity. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15(1). 6–22. doi:10.1525/jlin.2005.15.1.6.
- Simons, Gary F. & Charles D. Fennig. 2018. Pohnpeian. In Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.), *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, Dallas: SIL International 21st edn. <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/pon>.
- Sohl, Damian, Kenneth L. Rehg & Robert Andreas. 2017. Pohnpeian–English online dictionary. <http://www.trussel2.com/pnp/>.
- Soja, Edward W. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Swyngedouw, Erik. 1996. Reconstructing citizenship, the re-scaling of the state and the new authoritarianism: Closing the Belgian mines. *Urban Studies* 33(8). 1499–1521. doi:10.1080/0042098966772.
- Teaiwa, Teresia K. 2010. What remains to be seen: Reclaiming the visual roots of Pacific literature. *Modern Language Association* 125(3). 730–736. doi:10.1632/pmla.2010.125.3.730.
- The Endangered Languages Project. 2012. Tobian language. <http://endangeredlanguages.com/lang/2451>.
- Therborn, Göran. 1980. *The ideology of power and the power of ideology*. London: NLB.
- wa Thiong'o, Ngũgĩ. 1994. *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.
- Trifonovitch, Gregory. 1981. English as an international language: an attitudinal approach. In Larry E. Smith (ed.), *English for cross-cultural communication*, 211–215. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Trust Territory Department of Education. 1955a. *Sahitame o tipine anga kinia tangata*. Pohnpei: Ponape Education Department.
- Trust Territory Department of Education. 1955b. *Sikesik in piriennou*. Pohnpei: Ponape Education Department.
- Trust Territory Department of Education. 1955c. *Talanga o nukuoro*. Pohnpei: Ponape Education Department.
- Trust Territory Department of Education. 1980. *Education. final report of Ponapean language arts project, a sub-project of the language arts basic skills project*. Saipan: Trust Territory Department of Education.
- Tuhiwai Smith, Linda. 2012. *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books 2nd edn.
- Tuwakham, Maliwan. 2005. *Language vitality and language attitudes of the Yong People in Lamphun province: A sociolinguistic study*: Payap Univeristy MA thesis.

- UCLA Institute for Digital Research and Education. 2017. Negative binomial regression: R data analysis examples. <https://stats.idre.ucla.edu/r/dae/negative-binomial-regression/>.
- UCLA: Statistical Consulting Group. 2011. R library contrast coding systems for categorical variables. <https://stats.idre.ucla.edu/r/library/r-library-contrast-coding-systems-for-categorical-variables/#DEVIATION>.
- Uitermark, Justus. 2002. Re-scaling, “scale fragmentation” and the regulation of antagonistic relationships. *Progress in Human Geography* 26(6). 743–765. doi:10.1191/0309132502ph401oa.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2012. 2010 census of population and housing: Guam demographic profile summary file. http://cnas-re.uog.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/KGI_2010-Guam-Demographic-Profile-Study.pdf.
- Walter, Maggie & Chris Andersen. 2013. *Indigenous statistics: A quantitative research methodology*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Wasserstein, Ronald L. & Nicole A. Lazar. 2016. The ASA’s statement on p-Values: Context, process, and purpose. *The American Statistician* 70(2). 129–133. doi:10.1080/00031305.2016.1154108.
- Weatherall, Ann. 2002. *Gender, language and discourse*. East Sussex: Routledge.
- Wei, Li. 2011. Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43. 1222–1235. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2010.07.035.
- Wendt, Albert. 1976. Towards a new Oceania. *Mana* 1(1). 71–85.
- West, Helen Faye. 2015. Language attitudes and divergence on the merseyside/lancashire border. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *Researching Northern English*, 317–342. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/veaw.g55.14wes.
- Wickham, Hadley. 2007. Reshaping data with the reshape package. *Journal of Statistical Software* 21(12). 1–20. <http://www.jstatsoft.org/v21/i12/>.
- Wickham, Hadley. 2017. ggplot2: An implementation of the grammar of graphics. R package (version 2.2.1). <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=ggplot2>.
- Williams, Frederick & Nancy Hewett. 1976. *Exploring the linguistic attitudes of teachers*. Rowley: Newbury House.
- Winter, Glyn. 2000. A comparative discussion of the notion of ‘validity’ in qualitative and quantitative research. *The Qualitative Report* 4(3-4). 1–14.
- Wooffitt, Robin. 2005. *Conversation analysis and discourse analysis: A comparative and critical introduction*. London: Sage Publications.

- Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998. Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard & Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 3–50. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 2008. Language and identity choice in Catalonia: The interplay of contrasting ideologies of linguistic authority. In Kirsten Süselbeck, Ulrike Mühlischlegel & Peter Masson (eds.), *Lengua, nación e identidad. la regulación del plurilingüismo en España y América Latina*, 303–323. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. & Bambi B. Schieffelin. 1994. Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23. 55–82. doi:10.1146/annurev.an.23.100194.000415.
- Yap State Government. 2006. Constitution of the State of Yap. <http://www.fsmsupremecourt.org/WebSite/yap/constitution/index.htm>.
- Yunick, Jr., Stanley. 2000. Linguistics, TESL, and language planning in Micronesia. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 30(1). 183–200. doi:10.1.1.572.3328.
- Zahn, Christopher J. & Robert Hopper. 1985. Measuring language attitudes: The speech evaluation instrument. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 4. 113–123. doi:10.1177/0261927X8500400203.